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THE

WORKS

OF

THOMAS SHEPARD,

FIRST PASTOR OF

THE FIRST CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

WITH A

MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

VOL. III.

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THESES SABBATICÆ,

OR

THE DOCTRINE

OF

THE SABBATH;

WHEREIN ARE CLEARLY DISCUSSED

THE MORALITY, THE CHANGE, THE BEGINNING, AND THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE SABBATH,

DIVERS CASES OF CONSCIENCE RESOLVED,

AND THE MORAL LAW, AS A RULE OF LIFE TO A BELIEVER, OCCASIONALLY AND DISTINCTLY HANDLED

Neh. xiii. 17, 18. — "What evil thing is this that ye do, and profane the Sabbath day? Did not your fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this city? yet ye bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath."

Jer. xvii. 24, 25. — "If ye hallow the Sabbath, to do no work therein, then shall there enter into the gates of this city kings and princes."

PREFACE

OF

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

That a seventh part of time hath been religiously and universally observed both under the law and under the gospel, is without all controversy; the great doubt and difficulty which now remains concerning this time is the morality of it, whether it was thus observed in the Christian churches by unwritten tradition, or by divine commission; whether from the churches' custom, or Christ's command; whether as a moral duty, or as a human law: for although some would make the observation of such a portion of time the sour fruit of the Ebionites' superstitious doctrines, yet all the ancient and best writers in the purest times do give such honor to it, that whoever doubts of it must either be utterly ignorant, or willfully blinded in the knowledge of the histories and doctrines of those times, and must desire a candle to show them the sun and noonday. Clemens only seems to cast some stains on it by making all days equal, and every day a Sabbath; but upon narrow search, his meaning may appear, not to deny the observation of the day, but only to blame the froth and vanity of sundry Christians, who, if they externally observed the day, they cared not how they lived every day after: nor is it to be wondered at if Origen turn this day sometime into an allegory and a continual spiritual rest day, who miserably transforms (many times) the plainest Scriptures into such shapes, and turns their substance into such shadows, and beating out the best of the kernels, feeds his guests with such chaff and husks; and although many other festivals were observed by those times, which may

make the Sabbath suspected to be born out of the same womb of human custom with the rest, yet we shall find the seventh day's rest to have another crown of glory set upon the head of it by the holy men of God in those times than upon those which superstition so soon hatched and brought forth; so that they that read the histories of those times, in observing two Sabbaths in some places, Easter, Whitsunday, yea, divers ethnic and heathenish days, will need no other comment on those texts of Paul, wherein he condemns the observation of days; which, beginning to fly abroad in the daylight of the apostles, might well outface the succeeding ages, and multiply with more authority in darker times; yet so as that the seventh day's rest (call it what you will) still kept its place and ancient glory, as in the sequel shall appear.

When, therefore, the good will of Him who dwelt in the burning bush of the afflicted primitive churches gave princes and emperors to be their nursing fathers, pious Constantine, among other Christian edicts, enjoins the observation of the Lord's day; wherein (if he was bound by his place to be a nourishing father) he went not beyond his commission, in swaddling and cherishing this truth and appointment of Christ, and not suffering it to die and perish through the wickedness of men; the power of princes extending to see Christ's laws observed, though not to impose any human inventions and church constitutions of their own. It is true, indeed, that this princely edict was mixed with some imperfection and corruption, it falling too short in some things, and extending too far in others; but there is no just cause for any to stumble much at this, that knows the sick head and heart by the weak and feeble pulse and cross temper of those clouded though otherwise triumphing times.

The successors of this man child (born out of the long and weary throes of the poor travailing church) were enlarged generally in their care and conscience to preserve the religious honor due to this day, until the time of Charles the Great, who, in the latter end of his reign, observing how greatly the Sabbath was profaned, (especially by the continuance and lewdness of church-

men,) did therefore call five national councils, (which I need not here mention,) in all which the Sabbath is advanced to as strict observation to the full as hath been of late years condemned by some in the Sabbatarian reformers, that it is a wonder how any man should cast off all shame, and so far forget himself as to make the Sabbath a device of Fulco, or Peter Bruis, Eustachius, or the Book at Golgotha, and put the visor of novelty upon the aged face of it, as if it were scarce known to any of the martyrs in Queen Mary's time, but receiving strength and growth from Master Perkins, was first hatched and received life from under the wings of a few late disciplinarian zealots.

And it can not be denied but that the Sabbath (like many other precious appointments and truths of God) did shake off her dust, and put on her comely and beautiful garments, and hath been much honored and magnified, since the times of the reformation; the doctrine and darkness of Popery (like that of the Pharisees) not only obscuring the doctrine of faith, but also of the law and obedience of faith, and so hath obscured this of the Sabbath; only herein they did excel their forefathers the scribes and Pharisees, for these added their own superstitious resting from things needful and lawful to their merely external observation of the day; but they (unto their external observation of the name of the day) added their abominable profanations to it, in May games, and May poles, in sports and pastimes, in dancing and revelings, and so laid it level, and made it equal, (in a manner,) to the rest of their holy days; that as they came to shuffle out the second commandment almost out of the decalogue, so in time they came to be blinded with that horror of darkness, as to translate the words of the commandment into some of their catechisms, *remember to keep the holy festivals;* and therefore those worthies of the reformation who have contended for all that honor which is due to this day are unjustly aspersed for pleading for a Jewish and superstitious strictness, when the cause they handle is no other, in truth, than to vindicate the Sabbath, both in the doctrine and observation of it, from Papists' profaneness; and therefore all the world may see, that under pretense of op-

posing in others a kind of Judaizing upon this day, the adversaries of it do nothing else but maintain a gross point of practical Popery, who are by law most ignorant and gross profaners of this day; and therefore when many of Christ's servants are branded and condemned for placing so much of religion in the observation of this day, and yet Bishop White and some others of them shall acknowledge as much as they plead for, if other festivals be taken in with it ordained by the church, (as that they are the nursery of religion and all virtue, a means of planting faith and saving knowledge, of heavenly and temporal blessings, and the profanation of them hateful to God and all good men that fear God, and to be punished in those which shall offend,) they do hereby plainly hold forth what market they drive to, and what spirit acts them in setting up man's posts by God's pillars, and in giving equal honor to other festivals and holy days, which those whom they oppose do maintain as due to the Sabbath alone, upon better grounds.

The daystar from on high visiting the first reformers in Germany, enabled them to see many things, and so to scatter much, yea, most, of the Popish and horrible darkness which generally overspread the face of all Europe at that day; but divers of them did not (as well they might not) see all things with the like clearness, whereof this of the Sabbath hath seemed to be one: their chief difficulty lay here; they saw a moral command for a seventh day, and yet withal a change of that first seventh day, and hence thought that something in it was moral in respect of the command, and yet something ceremonial, because of the change; and therefore they issued their thoughts here, that it was partly moral and partly ceremonial, and hence their observation of the day hath been (answerable to their judgments) more lax and loose; whose arguments to prove the day partly ceremonial have (upon narrow examination) made it wholly ceremonial; it being the usual unhappiness of such arguments as are produced in defense of a lesser error to grow big with some man child in them, which in time grows up, and so serve only to maintain a far greater; and hence by that part of the

controversy they have laid foundations of much looseness upon that day among themselves, and have unawares laid the corner stones of some gross points of Familism, and strengthened hereby the hands of Arminians, malignants, and prelates, as to profane the Sabbath, so to make use of their principles for the introduction of all human inventions under the name and shadow of the church, which if it hath power to authorize and establish such a day of worship, let any man living then name what invention he can, but that it may much more easily be ushered in upon the same ground; and therefore, though posterity hath cause forever to admire God's goodness for that abundance of light and life poured out by those vessels of glory in the first beginnings of reformation, yet in this narrow of the Sabbath it is no wonder if they stepped a little beside the truth; and it is to be charitably hoped and believed, that, had they then foreseen what ill use some in after ages would make of their principles, they would have been no otherwise minded than some of their followers and friends, especially in the churches of Scotland and England, who might well see a little farther (as they use to speak) when they stood upon such tall men's shoulders.

It is easy to demonstrate by Scripture and argument, as well as by experience, that religion is just as the Sabbath is, and decays and grows as the Sabbath is esteemed: the immediate honor and worship of God, which is brought forth and swaddled in the three first commandments, is nursed up and suckled in the bosom of the Sabbath. If Popery will have gross ignorance and blind devotion continued among its miserable captives, let it then be made (like the other festivals) a merry and a sporting Sabbath; if any state would reduce the people under it to the Romish faith and blind obedience again, let them erect (for lawful pastimes and sports) a dancing Sabbath; if the God of this world would have all professors enjoy a total immunity from the law of God, and all manner of licentiousness allowed them without check of conscience, let him then make an every-day Sabbath. If there hath been more of the power of godliness appearing in that small inclosure of the British nation than in those vast

continents elsewhere, where reformation and more exact church discipline have taken place, it cannot well be imputed to any outward means more than their excelling care and conscience of honoring the Sabbath; and although Master Rogers, in his Preface to the 39 Articles, injuriously and wretchedly makes the strict observation of the Sabbath the last refuge of lies, by which stratagem the godly ministers in former times, being driven out of all their other strongholds, did hope in time to drive out the prelacy, and bring in again their discipline, yet thus much may be gathered from the mouth of such an accuser, that the worship and government of the kingdom and church of Christ Jesus is accordingly set forward as the Sabbath is honored. Prelacy, Popery, profaneness must down, and shall down in time, if the Sabbath be exactly kept.

But why the Lord Christ should keep his servants in England and Scotland to clear up and vindicate this point of the Sabbath, and welcome it with more love than some precious ones in foreign churches, no man can imagine any other cause than God's own free grace and tender love, whose wind blows where and when it will; *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*, and the times are coming wherein God's work will better declare the reason of this and some other discoveries by the British nation, which modesty and humilty would forbid all sober minds to make mention of now.

That a seventh day's rest hath (therefore) been of universal observation, is without controversy; the morality of it (as hath been said) is now the controversy. In the primitive times, when the question was propounded, *Servasti Dominicum?* (Hast thou kept the Lord's day?) their answer was generally this: *Christianus sum; intermittere non possum*, (i. e., I am a Christian; I can not neglect it.) The observation of this day was the badge of their Christianity. This was their practice; but what their judgment was about the morality of it is not safe to inquire from the tractates of some of our late writers in this controversy; for it is no wonder if they that thrust the Sabbath out of paradise, and banish it out of the world until Moses' time, and then

make it a mere ceremony all his time till Christ's ascension. If since that time they bring it a peg lower, and make it to be a human constitution of the church, rather than any divine institution of Christ Jesus, — and herein those that oppose the morality of it by dint of argument, and out of candor and conscience, propose their grounds on which they remain unsatisfied, — I do from my heart both highly and heartily honor, and especially the labors of Master Primrose and Master Ironside, many of whose arguments and answers to what is usually said in defence of the morality of the day, whoever ponders them shall find them heavy; the foundations and sinews of whose discourses I have therefore had a special eye to in the ensuing theses, with a most free submission of what is here returned in answer thereto, to the censure of better minds and riper thoughts; being verily persuaded, that whoever finds no knots or difficulties to humble his spirit herein, either knows not himself, or not the controversy. But as for those whose chief arguments are reproaches and revilings of imbittered and corrupt hearts, rather than solid reasons of modest minds, I wholly decline the pursuit of such creatures, whose weapons is their swell, and not any strength, and do leave them to His tribunal who judgeth righteously, for blearing the eyes of the world, and endeavoring to exasperate princes, and make wise men believe that this doctrine of the Sabbath is but a late novelty; a doctrine tending to a high degree of schism; a fanatic Judaizing, like his at Tewksbury; *Sabbata sancta colo*, i. e., a piece of disciplinary policy to advance Presbytery; a superstitious seething over of the hot or whining simplicity of an overrigid, crabbed, precise, crackbrained, Puritanical party. The righteous God hath his little days of judgment in this life to clear up and vindicate the righteous cause of his innocent servants against all gainsayers; and who sees not (but those that will be blind) that the Lord hath begun to do something this way by these late broils? The controversy God hath with a land is many times in defense of the controversies of his faithful witnesses; the sword maintains argument, and makes way for that which the word could not; those plants which (not many years

since) most men would not believe not to be of God's planting, hath the Lord pulled up. The three innocent firebrands so fast tied to some foxes' tails are now pretty well quenched, and the tails almost cut off. This cause of the Sabbath, also, the Lord Jesus is now handling; God hath cast down the crowns of princes, stained the robes of nobles with dirt and blood, broken the crosiers, and torn the miters in pieces, for the controversy of his Sabbath. (Jer. xvii. 27.) He hath already made way for his discipline also, (which they feared the precise Sabbath would introduce again,) by such a way as hath made all hearts to ache, just according to the words, never to be forgotten, of Mr. Udal, in his Preface to the "Demonstration of Discipline." The Council of Matiscon imputed the irruption of the Goths into the empire to the profanation of the Sabbath. Germany may now see (or else one day they shall see) that one great cause of their troubles is, that the Sabbath wanted its rest in the days of their quietness. England was at rest till they troubled God's Sabbath. The Lord Jesus must reign; the government of his house, the laws of his kingdom, the solemn days of his worship must be established; the cause of his suffering and afflicted servants, (not of our late religious scorners at ordinances, laws, and Sabbaths,) who are now at rest from their labors, but in former times wept, and prayed, and petitioned, and preached, and writ, and suffered, and died for these things, and are now crying under the altar, must and shall certainly be cleared before men and angels. Heaven and earth shall pass away before one tittle of the law (much less a whole Sabbath) shall perish.

But while I am thus musing, methinks no measure of tears are sufficient to lament the present state of times; that when the Lord Jesus was come forth to vindicate the cause and controversy of Zion, there should rise up other instruments of spiritual wickednesses in high places, to blot out the name and sweet remembrance of this day from off the face of the earth. The enemies of the Sabbath are now not so much malignant time-servers and aspiring brambles, whom preferment principally biased to knock at the Sabbath; but those who have eaten bread

with Christ (a generation of professing people) do lift up their heel against his Sabbath. So that, what could not formerly be done against it by angels of darkness, the old serpent takes another course to effect it, by seeming angels of light; who, by a new device, are raised up to build the sepulchers of those who persecuted the prophets in former times, and to justify all the books of sports, and the reading of them; yea all the former and present profanations; yea, scoffs and scorns against the Sabbath day. For as in former times they have ceremonialized it out of the decalogue, yet by human *constitutio* have retained it in the church; so these of later times have spiritualized it out of the decalogue, yea, out of all the churches in the world. For by making the Christian Sabbath to be only a spiritual Sabbath in the bosom of God out of Heb. iv., they hereby abolish a seventh-day Sabbath, and make every day equally a Sabbath to a Christian man. This I hope will be the last, but it is the most specious and fairest color and banner that ever was erected to fight under against the Christian Sabbath; and is most fit to deceive, not only some sudden men of loose and wanton wits, but especially men of spiritual, but too shallow minds. In times of light, (as these are reputed to be,) Satan comes not abroad usually to deceive with fleshly and gross forgeries and his cloven foot, (for every one almost would then discern his haltings,) but with more mystical, yet strong delusions, and invisible chains of darkness, whereby he binds his captives the faster to the judgment of the great day. And therefore the watchword given in the bright and shining times of the apostle was, to try the spirits, and believe not every spirit. And take heed of spirits, who indeed were only fleshly and corrupt men, yet called spirits, because they pretended to have much of the Spirit, and their doctrines seemed only to advance the spirit; the fittest and fairest cobwebs to deceive and entangle the world, in those discerning times, that possibly could be spun out of the poisonful bowels of corrupt and ambitious wit.

The times are now come, wherein, by the refined mystical divinity of the old monks, not only the Sabbath, but also all the

ordinances of Christ in the New Testament, are allegorized and spiritualized out of the world. And therefore it is no marvel, when they abolish the outward Sabbath, because of a spiritual Sabbath in Christ, if (through God's righteous judgment blinding their hearts) they be also left to reject the outward word, because of an inward word to teach them; and outward baptism and Lord's supper, because of an inward baptism by the Holy Ghost, and spiritual bread from heaven, the Lord Christ Jesus; and all outward ordinances, ministries, churches, because of an inward kingdom and temple. And the argument will hold strongly, that if because they have an inward Sabbath of rest in the bosom of Christ, (which I deny not,) that they may therefore cast away all external Sabbaths, they may then very well reject all outward baptism, Lord's supper, all churches, all ordinances, because herein there is also the inward baptism — spiritual feeding upon Christ, and inward kingdom and temple of God. But thus they wickedly separate and sever what God hath joined and may well stand together, through the madness of which hellish practice I have long observed almost all the late and most pernicious errors of these times arise; and those men who have formerly wept for God's precious Sabbaths and ordinances, and have prayed for them, and pleaded for them, and have offered their lives in sacrifice for them, and fought for them, yea, that hath felt perhaps the comfort, sweetness, and blessing of God's Sabbaths, yea, the redeeming and saving power of God's ordinances to their own souls, yet through pretenses of more spiritual enjoyments above, and beyond, and without all these, they can part with these their old friends without weeping, and reject them as polluted rags, and fleshly forms, and dark veils and curtains which must be drawn aside, that so they may not hinder the true light from shining in them.

This, therefore, is the reason why the love of many at this day is grown cold toward the external Sabbath, because the internal and spiritual Sabbath is now all in all. And therefore many men walk either with bold consciences, and will observe no Sabbath, or else with loose consciences, thinking it lawful to

observe it, (if men will enjoin it,) but not thinking that they are tied and bound thereunto from any precept of God. That place of Heb. iv. which they so much stick to, wants not light to demonstrate that the Sabbatism there may well agree not only with the internal, but the outward Christian Sabbath. But some of the ensuing theses will serve to clear up these things. This only I fear, that because of these indignities done thus to God's Sabbaths, even by the underworkings of some of God's own people, that the time hastens, wherein if no man should speak, yet the right hand of the sore displeasure of a provoked God, by plagues and confusion upon the glory of all flesh, will plead for his own name, and for that in special which is engraven upon the forehead of his holy Sabbaths. Jerusalem remembered with regret of heart, in the days of her affliction and misery, all her pleasant things, and especially this of the Sabbath. (Lam. i. 7.) If the days of our rest and quietness can not make us to relish the good things of his temple in the fruition of our Sabbaths, then doubt not of it, but that the days of our affliction shall make a remnant to remember that they were pleasant things. Of all the mercies of God to Israel, this is reckoned to be one of the greatest, that he gave his laws to Israel, (Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20;) and of all laws, this of the Sabbath; for so the remnant of the captivity acknowledged it, (Neh. ix. 14,) who perhaps had far lower thoughts of it before their bondage. And if the very making of it known be such a sweet mercy, what then is the rest and peace of it, the blessing and comfort of it? for which I doubt not but many thousands are admiring God in heaven at this day. And shall a shady imagination of an every-day Sabbath make us sell away for nothing such a heavenly and precious season, and make it common? The Lord Jesus wished his disciples to pray that their flight from Jerusalem might not be in winter, nor on the Sabbath day, (Matt. xxiv. 20,) accounting it a great misery that his people should lose the public benefit (through the disturbance of any) of one Sabbath day; (for be it Jewish or Christian Sabbath, I now dispute not; sure I am it was a Sabbath day, which it seems was to continue after Christ's

ascension to the Father, and therefore not wholly ceremonial.) And shall we account it no affliction or misery to fight or fly, to ride or go, to work or play, to hear the word in public or stay at home upon the Sabbath day? Is it no mercy in these days to enjoy many Sabbaths, which was so sore a misery in Christ's account, and in the apostles' days to lose but one? If man's heart be lost in the necessary cumbers of the week, (upon the Sabbath,) the Lord is wont to recall it again to him. If any fear that the time of grace is past, the continuance of the Sabbaths (the special seasons of grace) confutes him. If a man's soul be wearied with daily griefs and outward troubles, the bosom of Jesus Christ (which is in special wise opened every Lord's day) may refresh him. And shall we have and profess so little love to such a time (more precious than gold to humbled hearts) as to cast away such a rich portion of precious time, and make it common, under a pretense of making every day a Sabbath, which is either impossible to do or sinful? The loudest voice (one of them of the love of Christ) which now sounds in the world continually in the ears of his people, is this: Come into my bosom, ye weary sinners, and enjoy your rest. And the next voice to that is this of the Sabbath, to call us off from all occasions, and then to say to us, Come to me, my people, and rest in my bosom of sweetest mercy all this day; which call would not be a mercy if it were every day; for then our own occasions must be neglected, which the wise and fatherly providence of God forbids, and spiritual work only minded and intended, which God did never command. Nor should any marvel that the voice of the law should contain such a voice of love, and therefore should not think that this controversy about the law (or for this one law of the Sabbath) is unfit and unsuitable to these evangelical and gospel times; for although the law is dreadful and full of terror as considered without Christ, and is to man fallen a voice of words and a voice of terror and fear, which genders unto bondage, yet as it is revealed with reference to Christ, and a people in Christ, so every commandment doth *spirare amorem*, (as he speaks,) and breathes out Christ's love, for which the saints can

not but bless the Lord with everlasting wonderment that ever he made them to know these heart secrets of his good will and love, especially then when he writes them in their hearts, and thereby gives unto them the comfort thereof. And verily if it be such a sweet voice of love to call us in to this rest of the day, certainly if ever the English nation be deprived of these seasons, (which God in mercy forbid,) it will be a black appearance of God against them in the days of their distress, when he shall seem to shut them out of his rest in his bosom by depriving them of the rest of this day. What will ye do in the solemn day, in the day of the feast of the Lord? For lo, they are gone because of destruction; Egypt shall gather them, Memphis shall bury them, their silver shall be desired, nettles shall possess them, thorns shall be in their tabernacles; the days of visitation are come, the days of recompense are come, Israel shall know it; the prophet is a fool, the spiritual man is mad, for the multitude of thine iniquity, and the great hatred. (Hos. ix. 5–7.) But let men yet make much of God's Sabbaths, and begin here; and if it be too tedious to draw near to God every day, let them but make conscience of trying and tasting how good the Lord is but this one day in a week, and the Lord will yet reserve mercy for his people, (Jer. xvii. 24–26;) for keep this, keep all; lose this, lose all; which lest I should seem to plead for out of a frothy and groundless affection to the day, and lest any in these times should be worse than the crane and the swallow, who know their times of return, I have therefore endeavored to clear up those four great difficulties about this day, in the theses here following: —

1. Concerning the morality.
2. The change.
3. The beginning.
4. The sanctification of the Sabbath.

Being fully persuaded that whosoever shall break one of the least commandments, and teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of God. I do therefore desire the reader to take along with him these two things: —

1. Suspending his judgment concerning the truth and validity of any part or of any particular thesis until he hath read over the whole; for they have a dependence one upon another for mutual clearing of one another; and lest I should *bis coctum apponere*, and say the same thing twice, I have therefore purposely left out that in one part, and one thesis which is to be cleared in another, either for proof of it, or resolution of objections against it; and although this dependence may not so easily appear, (because I have not so expressly set down the method,) yet the wise-hearted, I hope, will easily find it out, or else pick out and accept what they see to be of God, in such a confused heap; for it was enough to my ends if I might lay in any broken pieces of timber to forward this building, which those that are able to wade deeper into this controversy may please to make use of (if there be any thing in them, or in any of them) in their own better and more orderly frame; for it hath been, and still is, my earnest desire to heaven, that God would raise up some or other of his precious servants to clear up these controversies more fully than yet they have been, that the zeal for God's Sabbaths may not be fire without light, which perhaps hath hitherto been too little, through the wickedness of former times, encouraging the books one way, and suppressing those of most weight and worth for the other.

2. To consider that I do most willingly give way to the publishing of these things, which I could in many respects have much more readily committed to the fire than to the light; when I consider the great abilities of others; the need such as I am have to sit down and learn; the hazards and knocks men get only by coming but into the field in polemical matters, and the unusefulness of any thing herein for those in remote places, where knowledge abounds, and where to cast any thing of this nature is to cast water into the sea. I confess I am ashamed therefore to be seen in this garment; and therefore that I have thus far yielded, hath been rather to please others than myself, who have many ways compelled me hereunto. The things for substance contained herein were first preached in my ordinary

course, upon the Sabbath days, in opening the commandments. The desires of some students in the college, and the need I saw of resolving some doubts arising about these things in the hearts of some ordinary hearers among the people, occasioned a more large discussing of the controversy; to which I was the more inclined, because one among us (who wanted not abilities) was taken away from us, who had promised the clearing up of all these matters. When therefore these things were more plainly and fully opened and applied to the consciences of some more popular capacities as well as others, I was then put upon it to reduce the doctrinal part of these sermons upon the fourth commandment into certain theses, for the use of some students desirous thereof; when being scattered, and coming to the view of some of the elders in the country, I was by some of them desired to take off some obscurity arising from the brevity and littleness of them, by greater enlargements, and a few more explications of them; which promising to do, and then coming to the hearing of many, I was then desired by all the elders in the country, then met together, to commit them to public view; which hitherto my heart hath opposed, and therefore should still have smothered them, but that some have so far compelled me, as that I feared I should resist and fight against God in not listening to them; in which many things are left out, which perhaps might be more useful to a plain people, which then, in the application of matters of doctrine, were publicly delivered; and some few things are added, especial in that particular, wherein the directive power of the moral law is cleared against the loose wits of these times. We are strangers here (for the most part) to the books and writings which are now in Europe; but it is much feared that the increase and growth of the many tares and errors in England have been by reason of the sleepiness of some of the honest husbandmen; and that those who are best able to pluck them up have not seasonably stood in the gap, and kept them out by a zealous convicting and public bearing witness against them by word and writing; and that, therefore, such as have with too much tenderness and compliance tolerated errors, error will one

day grow up to that head that it will not tolerate or suffer them to speak truth. We have a proverb here, that "the devil is not so soon risen but Christ is up before him;" and if any of his precious servants have slept and lain longer abed than their Master hath done, and have not spoken or printed soon enough for Jesus Christ in other matters, yet O that in this matter of the Sabbath God would betimes awaken, and that these weaknesses might stir up their strength; for I much fear and foresee that if it be not done, there is an hour and a nick of temptation in such a juncture of times approaching, wherein the enemy will come in like a flood, and rise up from all quarters against the doctrine of the Sabbath, and then farewell all the good days of the Son of man, if this be lost, which then men shall desire to see, and shall not see them. I have therefore been the more willing to let my own shame and weakness appear to the world, (if so it be found,) if this might be any means of doing the least good for keeping up the price of God's Sabbaths in the hearts of any. I have therefore spent the more time about the morality of the Sabbath, because the clearing up of this gives light to all the rest.

THE

MORALITY OF THE SABBATH.

Thesis 1. TIME is one of the most precious blessings which worthless man in this world enjoys; a jewel of inestimable worth; a golden stream, dissolving, and, as it were, continually running down by us, out of one eternity into another, yet seldom taken notice of until it is quite passed away from us. Man (saith Solomon) knows not his time. (Eccl. ix. 12.) It is, therefore, most just and meet that He who hath the disposing of all other things less precious and momentous should also be the supreme Lord and Disposer of all our times.

Thesis 2. He who is the Disposer of all our times is the sovereign Lord of our persons also, and is therefore the utmost and last end of both; for if our persons and all our times be of him, they are then to be improved for him, as he sees most meet.

Thesis 3. Now, although all creatures in the world are of God, and for God, so that, being of him, they receive their being from him as their first efficient, and being for him, are therefore preserved and governed by him as their utmost end; yet no other inferior visible creature is set so near to God, and consequently is not in that manner for God, as man is.

Thesis 4. For although all inferior creatures are made lastly for God, yet they are made nextly for man; but man, having nothing better than himself, between him and God, is therefore made both lastly and nextly for God; and hence it is that no inferior creature, which comes out and issueth from God, hath such a reflux and return again back unto God, as man hath; because, in and by this reflux and return into him, man's immortal being is eternally preserved, like water running into the sea again, from whence it first came.

Thesis 5. For whatever is set next, and, as it were, contiguous to eternal, is eternal: *Omne contiguum æterno spirituali est æternum*, (say some,) and hence it is that the soul is eternal,

because it is made nextly for God, and as it were contiguous to him. The body also shall be eternal, because contiguous to the eternal soul. But no other inferior creatures are thus eternal; for although they be made nextly for man, yet so as that they are firstly for the body, which is of itself mortal, and not eternal, and therefore, not being contiguous to that which is spiritually eternal, are not so themselves; and the reason of this is, because all inferior creatures, as they come out from God, so their motion is toward man, for whom they are nextly made, and they go out straightforward from God, as it were, in a straight line toward man, to the last end and term of which straight line when they are come, in the service of man, they then can not proceed any farther, and do therefore perish and cease to be, without reflecting, or returning back again immediately unto God. But man, being made immediately and nextly for God, hath therefore his motion so toward God as that he returns immediately unto him again, and is not led in a straight line, but led (as it were) about in a circular motion, and hence returning immediately to him, he is hereby eternally preserved in him, for whom he is immediately made, and unto whom he is nextly contiguous, as hath been said.

Thesis 6. Now, although, in this return of man to God, (supposing it to be internal, regular, and spiritual,) man's blessed being once lost is hereby recovered and preserved in God, yet when man is left unto himself, the motions of his soul out of this circle, in straying from God, are innumerable, and would be endless, if God, who set him next unto himself, did not some time or other recall, return, and lead him back again (as it were in a heavenly circle) into himself.

Thesis 7. Look, therefore, as when man hath run his race, finished his course, and passed through the bigger and larger circle of his life, he then returns unto his eternal rest, so it is contrived and ordered by divine wisdom, as that he shall in a special manner return unto and into his rest once at least within the lesser and smaller circle of every week, that so his perfect blessedness to come might be foretasted every Sabbath day, and so be begun here; that look, as man standing in innocency had cause thus to return from the pleasant labors of his weekly paradise employments, (as shall be shown in due place,) so man fallen much more from his toilsome and wearisome labors, to this his rest again. And therefore, as because all creatures were made for man, man was therefore made in the last place after them; so man being made for God and his worship, thence it is that the Sabbath (wherein man was to draw most near unto

God) was appointed after the creation of man, as Peter Martyr * observes, for although man is not made for the Sabbath merely in respect of the outward rest of it, as the Pharisees dreamed, yet he is made for the Sabbath in respect of God in it, and the holiness of it, to both which, then, the soul is to have its weekly revolution back again, as into that rest which is the end of all our lives, labor, and in special of all our weekly labor and work.

Thesis 8. As, therefore, our blessed rest in the fruition of God at the end and period of our lives is no ceremony, but a glorious privilege and a moral duty, it being our closing with our utmost end to which we are called, so it can not be that such a law which calls and commands man in this life to return to the same rest for substance every Sabbath day, should be a ceremonial, but rather a moral and perpetual law; unless it should appear that this weekly Sabbath, like the other annual Sabbath, hath been ordained and instituted principally for some ceremonious ends, rather than to be a part, and indeed the beginning of our rest to come; there being little difference between this and that to come, but only this, that here our rest is but begun, there it is perfected; here it is interrupted by our weekly labors, there it is continued; here we are led into our rest by means and ordinances, but there we shall be possessed with it without our need of any help from them; our God, who is our rest, being then become unto us immediately all in all..

Thesis 9. Were it not for man's work and labor ordained and appointed for him in this life, he should enjoy a continual Sabbath, a perpetual rest. And therefore we see that when man's life is ended, his sun set, and his work done upon earth, nothing else remains for him but only to enter into his perpetual and eternal rest. All our time should be solemn and sacred to the Lord of time, if there were no common work and labor here, which necessarily occasions common time; why, then, should any think that a weekly Sabbath is ceremonial, when, were it not for this life's labor, a perpetual and continual Sabbath would then be undoubtedly accounted moral. It is hard for any to think a servant's awful attendance of his Lord and Master at certain special times not to be morally due from him, who, but for some more private and personal occasions allowed him to attend unto, should at all times continually be serving of him.

* Tu hic ordinem considera, alia creantur propter hominem, ideo post illa conditur homo. Homo vero ad Dei cultum ideo statim post illius creation em Sabbathi benedictio et sanctificatio inducitur. — *Pet. Mart. in Præc.* 4 *m.*

Thesis 10. The word is ἄγραφον, and no Scripture phrase, and therefore not proper fitly and fully to express the question in controversy, to wit, whether the fourth commandment be a moral precept. The best friends of this word find it slippery, and can hardly tell what it is, and what they would have to be understood by it, and hence it is become a bone of much contention, a fit mist, and swamp for such to fight in, who desire so to contend with their adversaries as that themselves may not be known, either where they are or on what ground they stand. Yet it being a word generally taken up and commonly used, it may not therefore be amiss to follow the market measure, and to retain the word with just and meet explications thereof.

Thesis 11. They who describe a moral law to be such a law as is not typically ceremonial, and therefore not durable, do well and truly express what it is not, but they do not positively express what it is.

Thesis 12. Some describe and draw out the proportions of the moral law by the law of nature, and so make it to be that law which every man is taught by the light of nature. "That which is morally and universally just, (say some,) which reason, when it is not misled, and the inward law of nature dictateth, by common principles of honesty, or ought to dictate unto all men without any outward usher. It is that (say others) which may be proved not only just, but necessary, by principles drawn from the light of nature, which all reasonable men, even in nature corrupted, have still in their hearts, which either they do acknowledge, or may at least be convinced of without the Scriptures, by principles still left in the hearts of all men." But this description seems too narrow; for, 1. Although it be true that the law natural is part of the law moral, yet if the law moral be resolved into the law of nature only, and the law of nature be shrunk up and drawn into so narrow a compass as what the principles left in corrupt man only suggest and dictate, then it will necessarily follow, that many of those holy rules and principles are not the law of nature, which were the most perfect impressions of the law of nature in man's first creation and perfection, but now, by man's apostasy, are obliterated and blotted out; unless any shall think worse than the blind Papists, either that man's mind is not now corrupted by the fall, in losing any of the first impressions of innocent nature, or shall maintain, with them, that the image of God (of which those first impressions were a part) was not natural to man in that estate. 2. It will then follow that there is no moral discipline, (as they call it,) that is, nothing moral by discipline informing, or positively moral, but only by nature

dictating, which is cross not only to the judgments, but solid arguments, of men judicious and most indifferent. 3. If that only is to be accounted moral which is so easily known of all men, by the light of nature corrupted, then the imperfect light of man's corrupt mind must be the principal judge of that which is moral, rather than the perfect rule of morality contained in the Scripture, which assertion would not a little advance corrupt and blind nature, and dethrone the perfection of the Holy Scripture.

Thesis 13. They who define a moral law to be such a law as is perpetual and universal, binding all persons in all ages and times, do come somewhat nearer to the mark, and are not far off from the truth, and such a description is most plain and obvious to such as are not curious; and in this sense our adversaries in this cause affirm the Sabbath not to be moral, meaning that it is not a law perpetual and universal. Others, on the contrary, affirming that it is moral, intend thus much — that it is perpetual and universal, a law which binds all persons, all times, and in all ages; and herein lies the chief matter of controversy at this day. Now in what respect and how far forth the law of the Sabbath is perpetual, shall be hereafter shown; meanwhile it may not be amiss to inquire more narrowly into the nature of a moral law. For though a law primarily moral is perpetual, yet perpetuity seems to be an adjunct rather than of the essence of a moral law, and the difficulty will still remain untouched, viz., to know when a law is perpetual, and what is internal and intrinsical to such a law as makes it perpetual, or moral; whereinto I would not search, lest I should seem to affect curiosity, but that our critical adversaries put us upon it, with whom there is nothing lost in case we gain nothing by wrestling a little with them upon their own grounds, where for a while we shall come up to them.

Thesis 14. A divine law may be said to be moral two ways. 1. More largely and generally moral. 2. More strictly and specially moral.

Thesis 15. A law generally moral is this — that the whole sovereign will of the Lord be done and submitted unto by every creature; and in this large sense, every law of God, whether ceremonial, judicial, or for special trial, may be said to be moral, because the sovereign will of God is in all these laws to be adored. It is a moral duty that God's will be done; and hence it is that so far forth as the will of God is in them, so far forth to yield obedience to them is a moral duty; but the question is not about this morality, nor what things are thus moral.

Thesis 16. A law more strictly and specially moral, which concerns the manners of all men, and of which we now speak,

may be thus described; viz., it is such a law, which is therefore commanded, because it is good, and is not therefore good merely because it is commanded.

Thesis 17. This is Austin's description of it long since, whom most of the schoolmen follow; which learned Cameron, with sundry late writers, confirms, and which our adversaries in this controversy plead hard for, and unto which the evidence of Scripture and reason seems to incline; for laws merely judicial and ceremonial are good laws, (Deut. vi. 18, 24;) but this was merely because they were commanded, and therefore it had been simply evil to burn incense, offer sacrifice, or perform any ceremonial duty in the worship of God, unless they had been commanded. What is there therefore in moral laws which is not in those laws? Verily, this inward goodness in them which others have not, and because of which goodness they are therefore commanded; for to love God, to honor parents, to preserve the life of man, to be merciful, and bountiful, and just in all our dealings, etc., are inwardly good, and are therefore commanded, and are therefore moral laws; and hence we see that when the apostle would set forth the glory and excellency of the moral law, (for of no other law can he speak, Rom. vii. 7, 12,) he gives these titles to it — that it is holy, just, and good; which holiness, justice, and goodness he opposeth to his own moral (not ceremonial) wickedness. I am carnal, (saith he,) but the law is holy, just, and good. And look, as it was evil in itself for to have a nature contrary to the law, so the law which was contrary to that nature was good in itself, and was therefore commanded; and therefore in this thing moral laws are in a higher degree good than such as were only ceremonial, which were therefore good merely because commanded. The prophet Micah therefore perceiving how forward many were in ceremonial duties and sacrifices, in opposition hereunto, he tells them, "The Lord hath showed thee, O man, what is good," (speaking of moral duties, of showing mercy, and walking humbly with God, Micah vi. 8.) Were not sacrifice and offerings good, as well as mercy and walking humbly? Yes, verily; but herein lies the difference, (as our most orthodox generally make it,) sacrifice and offerings were not *per se* and in themselves good, but only as commanded for higher ends, and to further moral obedience, (Jer. vii. 22, 23, and vi. 19, 20. Is. i. 14, 16. Ps. l. 13–15;) but such moral obedience as the prophet mentions, viz., to show mercy and to walk humbly, were good in themselves, and were therefore commanded of God, and here called by the prophet good. The sum of moral obedience is love to God and man. (Matt. xxii.) But what love is this?

Surely it is in such things as are in themselves lovely, and consequently in themselves good; for otherwise ceremonial obedience should be a part of moral obedience, because in performing such obedience as is merely ceremonial, we show our love to God also, it being a branch of love to have respect unto all God's commandments. (Deut. vi. 1–3, with v. 6.) Only herein our love toward God appears in ceremonial duties, because these laws are commanded; our love appears in the other, because the things commanded are also lovely in themselves. The image of God is good in itself, as God himself is good in himself. Now, the moral law is an exact rule of nothing else but God's image, as is evident, Eph. iv. 24, where the image of God is made to consist in holiness and righteousness, the first table being the rule of the one, the second table being the rule of the other; and hence it follows undeniably, that moral laws, respecting only God's image, have respect only to such things as are good in themselves, and wherein we resemble and are made like unto God. Some things (saith Cameron) are good in themselves, viz., such things wherein God's image shines forth, as he is holy, just, and good. (Col. iii. 10. Eph. iv. 24.) Some things are indifferent, neither good nor bad in themselves, but merely as commanded or forbidden, which also bear not God's image, unless it be *sub ratione entis*, but not *sub ratione boni moralis;* i. e., they resemble God as he is a being, but not as he is holy, just, and good in himself, the rule of which resemblance is the moral law, which therefore commands things because they are good.

Thesis 18. God, out of his absolute sovereignty, could have made laws binding all persons in all ages, (and in this respect moral,) without having any more goodness in them than merely his own will; but it is his will and good pleasure to make all laws that are moral to be first good in themselves for all men, before he will impose them upon all men. And hence it is a weakness for any to affirm, that a moral law is not such a law which is therefore commanded because it is good, because (say they) it is not the goodness of the thing, but the sovereign will of God, which makes all things good; for it is the sovereign will of God (as is proved) to make every moral law good, and therefore to command it, rather than to make it good by a mere commanding of it.

Thesis 19. The will of God is indeed the rule of all goodness, and consequently of all moral laws; but we know there is *voluntas decreti* and *voluntas mandati*, the first of which is, viz., the will of God's decree, (as it appears in the execution of it,) makes a thing to be good, whether it be creature or law; the

second of these, viz., the will of God's command, enjoins the practice of such a duty, the rule and law to guide which is first made good (if it be a moral law) by the wisdom and power of the will of God's decree; so that the will of God appearing in both these (viz., God's decreeing and commanding will) is the complete rule of every moral law; so that as no law is morally good merely because it is commanded, so neither is it thus good unless also it be commanded. God's will in all moral laws is first to make them good, and then to command them, when they are thus far made good; both which together make up a moral law.

Thesis 20. It is true that sin is the transgression of God's law. There is nothing, therefore, sinful but it is the transgression of some law; and hence there is no obedience good but what is conformable unto some law. But we must know that as transgression of any law doth not make a thing morally sinful, (for then to break a ceremonial law would be a moral sin,) so also obedience to every law doth not make a duty morally lawful and good, (for then obedience to a ceremonial law must be a moral obedience.) Moral transgression, therefore, is a breach of such a law which forbids a thing because it is evil, as moral obedience is our conformity to such a law which commands a thing because it is good; not that any thing is morally evil in itself before it be forbidden, for then there should be a moral sin before, and without any law to forbid it, which is most absurd; but because a thing is evil in itself, and is therefore forbidden, it is therefore morally evil. God may and doth make it fundamentally evil before it be forbidden, but it is not morally evil until it be forbidden. The like may be said concerning moral obedience according to any moral law. No man should therefore think that this description given of a moral law should give occasion to any to imagine that some things are morally good or evil, before any law pass upon them, and that therefore there are some duties, and some sins, which are so without, and before, any law of God. For we see that things good in themselves must be commanded, else they are not moral duties; yet withal they are therefore commanded, because they are good in themselves. It is true that, by the verdict of some of the schoolmen, some duties are morally good before any law commands them, (as to love and magnify God,) and that some sins (as to curse and blaspheme God) are morally evil, before any law forbids them; but (to omit other answers) if such suppositions may be rationally made, (which some deny,) yet it may be upon good grounds denied that any duty can be morally good, or any sin morally evil, until some

law pass upon them either to command or forbid the same. It is indeed suitable and meet in nature for man to love God, and unsuitable and unmeet to blaspheme and hate God; but such suitableness or unsuitableness, as they make things fundamentally good or evil, so they can not make any thing morally good or evil, unless we suppose some law; for it would be, in this case, with man as it is in brute creatures, who do many things unnatural, (as to eat up and destroy their own young,) which yet are not morally sinful, because they are not under any moral law; and one of the most ancient and best of the schoolmen, though he thinks that the observance of the Sabbath before Moses' time was not *secundum rationem præcepti*, or *debite fieri*, i. e., was not actually commanded, yet that it was *secundum rationem honesti, hoc est digne fieri; i.* e., it was congruous, and a thing meet and worthy to be observed, even from the first creation. But will any of our adversaries hence say, that because it was meet and worthy to be observed, that therefore it was a moral law from the beginning of the world, while it had no command (as is by them supposed) to be observed? For it must be something meet and congruous, and worthy to be observed of man, which, when it is commanded, makes it to be a moral law; for then the law commands a thing that is good, and because it is good it is therefore commanded; which goodness we must a little more narrowly now inquire into.

Thesis 21. If it be demanded therefore, What is that goodness in a moral law for which it is therefore commanded? the answer is given by Vasques, Suarez, Smisinga, and most of the schoolmen, and sundry of our own writers, that it is nothing else but that comely suitableness and meetness in the thing commanded unto human nature as rational, or unto man as rational, and consequently unto every man. When I say as rational, I understand as Master Ironside doth, viz., as right reason, neither blinded nor corrupted, doth require. When I say as suitable to man, and consequently to every man, I hereby exclude all laws merely judicial and evangelical from being moral; the first of which are suitable to some men only; the other are not suitable to some men as men, but to man as corrupt and fallen, and therefore bind not all men, but only those among whom they are sufficiently and actually promulgated, as is evident. (Rom. x. 14. John xv. 22.) But moral laws are suitable to all men, and have an inward meetness and congruity to be observed of all men. For look, as when the Lord gives laws to any particular nation, whether immediately by himself, or mediately by man, he ever makes them suitable to the people's peace and good

of that nation; so when he makes laws binding all mankind in all nations, he makes them suitable to human nature, or all mankind therein. And look, as national laws bind not merely by the mere will of the lawgiver, but from the goodness and suitableness in the thing unto their common good, so here moral laws, which concern all nations, bind not merely because of the will of God, (which of itself is sufficient to bind all men, if he had pleased to put no more in moral laws,) but also because of some goodness in the things commanded, which is nothing else but such suitableness as is mentioned unto the common good of man. What this suitableness to human nature is, we shall show in due place; meanwhile, I do not understand, by suitableness to human nature, the inclination of human nature now corrupted by sin; for infused and supernatural virtues and graces (to which therefore human nature is not inclined) are (as Vasques truly and strongly maintains) in some sense natural and good in themselves, not because human nature is inclined to them, but because they are very congruous and consentaneous thereunto, and perfecting human nature, as such, and consequently suitable thereunto. A good is said to be *utile et delectabile* in respect of some profit or delight which comes to man by it; but *bonum honestum in genere moris* (as Suarez and his fellows call it) consists in a kind of decency, comeliness, and sweet proportion between such an act and such a nature as acts by right reason; to which nature it is exceeding comely and suitable, whether any profit or delight come thereby, yea or no. As now in the divine nature it is exceeding beautiful and comely for it (and therefore good in itself) to be bountiful and merciful, and to do good unto the creature, although no profit could come to him thereby. It is God's nature, as I may so say, so to do; so it is in human nature; it is a comely thing to honor parents, reverence God's name, to be loving and merciful to all men, in heart, word, and deed; to give God a fit and the most meet proportion of time for solemn service of him, who allows us many days to serve our own good: this is good nature, and being thus seemly and suitable to it, this, and such like things, are therefore good in themselves, though perhaps neither profit nor pleasure should come unto man hereby. And hence it is well observed by some of the schoolmen, that right reason doth not make a thing moral, but only judgeth and discerneth what is moral; for right reason doth not make a thing suitable, but only seeth whether it be so or no: a thing may be suitable before right reason see it, yet when it is presented to reason, it sees it suitable, as the wall is white before the eye see it, yet when the eye doth see it, it

appears white also. It may be a meet and comely thing to give God a seventh part of our time, though no man's reason can of itself find out such a meet proportion; yet when reason sees it, it is forced to acknowledge a comeliness of equity, and suitableness therein, as shall hereafter appear.

Thesis 22. But here let it be observed, that although all moral laws are thus suitable to man's nature, yet they are not all alike suitable thereunto, and consequently not equally good in themselves; for some laws are more immediately suitable and good, others mediately. And as Wallæus well observes, out of Scotus, that there is a double morality: "The first is *de lege naturæ stricte sumpta*, i. e., such laws as are so deeply engraven upon nature as that these principles can not be blotted out but by abolishing of nature; the second is *de lege naturæ late sumpta;* and these laws do much depend upon the will of the Lawgiver, but yet they are very congruous and suitable to human nature, even from the light of those principles of nature." And hence I suppose it will follow, that the law for a seventh part of time to be dedicated to God, may well be a moral law, although it depends much upon the will of the Lawgiver, and is not so immediately written upon man's heart, nor so equally suitable to human nature, as the law of love and thankfulness to God our Creator is. For (as Cameron well observes) that some things which are good of themselves have more of God's image stamped upon them, some have less of it; and hence it is, that though all moral laws are good in themselves, yet not equally so: there is more unsuitableness to hate and curse God than to lust after another man's house or servant; and yet both are evil in themselves, and breaches of moral rules.

Thesis 23. Hence, therefore, it follows, that because moral precepts are of such things as are good in themselves, they are therefore perpetual and unchangeable, and because they are in this respect good in themselves, to wit, because they are suitable and comely to man's nature as rational, hence also they are universal: so that perpetuity and universality seem to be the inseparable adjuncts, rather than the essence of a moral law: yet when they are called perpetual and unchangeable, we must understand them in respect of God's ordinary dispensation; for he who is the great Lawgiver may, and doth sometimes extraordinarily dispense with moral laws. Abraham might have killed his son by extraordinary dispensation: Adam's sons and daughters did marry one another by special commission, which now to do ordinarily would be incestuous, and consequently against a

moral law, as is evident. (Lev. xviii.) Only let it be here remembered, that when I call moral laws perpetual and universal, that I speak of such laws as are primarily moral, which do firstly and originally suit with human nature; for laws as are at second hand moral, and as it were accidentally so, may be changeable, as hereafter shall appear.

Thesis 24. How these things may evince the morality of a seventh part of time will be difficult to conceive, unless further inquiry be made; to wit, when and by what rules may it be known that any law is suitable and agreeable unto human nature, and consequently good in itself? For resolution of which doubt, there is great silence generally in most writers: Bishop White endeavors it by giving three rules to clear up this mist; but *(pace tanti viri)* I much fear that he much darkens and obscures the truth herein, and muds the streams. For, 1. Because the Sabbath is not simply moral, but hath something positive in it, he therefore makes it temporary, as appears in his conclusion of that discourse; whenas it is evident, by his own confession, that some laws positively moral are general and universal. "For laws positively moral (he saith) are either personal only, as was Abraham's coming out of his own country. (Gen. xii. 1.) Some are for one nation or republic only. (Ex. xxii. 1, 3, 7.) Some are common and general for all mankind, as the law of polygamy." 2. He seems to make laws simply and entirely moral to be such as are in their inward nature morally good, before and without any external imposition of the Lawgiver. Now, if by external imposition he means the external manner of Mosaical administration of the law, there is then some truth in what he affirms; for doubtless before Moses' time the patriarchs had the law revealed after another manner; but if by external imposition be meant external revelation, whether immediately by God himself unto man's conscience, or mediately by man, then it is most false that any thing can be morally good or evil, much less entirely and simply so, before and without some such law: for though it may be good and suitable to man before a law pass upon it, yet nothing can be morally good or evil without some law, for then there should be some sin which is not the transgression of a law, and some obedience which is not directed by any law, both which are impossible and abominable. 3. "He makes moral laws by external imposition and constitution only to be such as, before the external imposition of them, are adiaphorous, and good or evil only by reason of some circumstance." Whenas we know that some such laws as are most entirely moral, yet in respect of their inward nature generally considered, they are

indifferent also; for not to kill and take away man's life is a moral law entirely so, yet, in the general nature of it, it is indifferent, and by circumstance may become either lawful or unlawful; lawful in case of war or public execution of justice; unlawful out of a private spirit and personal revenge. In one word, the whole drift of his discourse herein is to show that the Sabbath is not moral; and this he would prove because the Sabbath is not simply and entirely moral, (which is a most feeble and weak consequence;) and this he proves "because the Sabbath day hath (in respect of its inward nature) no more holiness and goodness than any other day, all the days of the week being equally good by creation." But he might well know that the day is not the law of the fourth commandment, but the keeping holy of the Sabbath day, which is a thing inwardly good, and entirely moral, if we speak of some day. Nay, (saith the bishop,) the law of nature teacheth that some sufficient and convenient time be set apart for God's worship; if, therefore, some day be moral, although all days by creation be indifferent and equal, according to his own confession, what then should hinder the *quota pars*, or the seventh part of time, from being moral? Will he say because all days are equally holy and good by creation? Then why should he grant any day at all to be entirely moral in respect of a sufficient and convenient time to be set apart for God? If he saith the will and imposition of the Lawgiver abolisheth its morality, because he binds to a seventh part of time, then we shall show that this is most false and feeble in the sequel.

Thesis 25. There are, therefore, four rules to guide our judgments aright herein, whereby we may know when a law is suitable and agreeable to human nature, and consequently good in itself; which will be sufficient to clear up the law of the Sabbath to be truly moral, (whether in a higher or lower degree of morality it makes no matter,) and that it is not a law merely temporary and ceremonial.

1. Such laws as necessarily flow from natural relation, both between God and man, as well as between man and man: these are good in themselves, because suitable and congruous to human nature; for there is a decency and sweet comeliness to attend to those rules to which our relations bind us. For from this ground the prophet Malachi calls for fear and honor of God as moral duties, because they are so comely and seemly for us, in respect of the relation between us. If I be your Lord, and Master, and Father, where is my fear? where is my honor? (Mal. i. 6.) Love also between man and wife is pressed as a

comely duty by the apostle, from that near relation between them, being made "one flesh." (Eph. v. 28, 29.) There are scarce any who question the morality of the duties of the second table, because they are so evidently comely, suitable, and agreeable to human nature, considered relatively, as man stands in relation to those who are or should be unto him as his own flesh; and therefore he is to honor superiors, and therefore must not kill, nor steal, nor lie, nor covet, nor defile the flesh, etc.; but the morality of all the rules of the first table is not seen so evidently, because the relation between God and man, which makes them comely and suitable to man, is not so well considered; for if there be a God, and this God be our God, according to the first commandment, then it is very comely and meet for man to honor, love, fear him, delight, trust in him, etc.; and if this God must be worshiped of man in respect of the mutual relation between them, then it is comely and meet to worship him with his own worship, according to the second commandment, and to worship him with all holy reverence, according to the third commandment; and if he must be thus worshiped, and yet at all times (in respect of our necessary worldly employments) can not be so solemnly honored and worshiped as is comely and meet for so great a God, then it is very fit and comely for all men to have some set and stated time of worship, according to some fit proportion, which the Lord of time only can best make; and therefore a seventh part of time which he doth make, according to the fourth commandment.

2. Such laws as are drawn from the imitable attributes and works of God are congruous and suitable to man's nature; for what greater comeliness can there be, or what can be more suitable to that nature which is immediately made for God, than to be like unto God, and to attend unto those rules which guide thereunto? Hence to be merciful to men in misery, to forgive our enemies and those that do us wrong, to be bountiful to those that be in want, to be patient when we suffer evil, are all moral duties, because they are comely and suitable to man, and that because herein he resembles and is made like unto God. Hence to labor six days and rest a seventh is a moral because a comely and suitable duty, and that because herein man follows the example of God, and becomes most like unto him. And hence it is that a seventh year of rest can not be urged upon man to be as much moral as a seventh day of rest, because man hath God's example and pattern in resting a seventh day, but not in resting any seventh year; God never made himself an example of any ceremonial duty, it being unsuitable to his glori-

ous excellency so to do, but only of moral and spiritual holiness; and therefore there is somewhat else in a seventh day that is not in a seventh year; and it is utterly false to think (as some do) that there is as much equity for the observation of the one as there is of the other. "And here, by the way, may be seen a gross mistake of Mr. Primrose, who would make God's example herein not to be morally imitable of us, nor man necessarily bound thereunto, it being not naturally, and in respect of itself, imitable, but only because it pleaseth God to command man so to do; as also because this action of God did not flow from such attributes of God as are in their nature imitable, as mercy, bounty, etc., but from one of those attributes as is not imitable, and which we ought not to imitate, viz., his omnipotency. But suppose it did flow from his omnipotency, and that we ought not to imitate his omnipotency, and that we, who are weakness itself, can not imitate omnipotent actions, yet it is obvious to common sense, that such acts which arise from such attributes as can not be imitated of us, in respect of the particular effects which are produced by them, yet in the actings of such attributes there may be something morally good which is imitable of us; as, for example, though we are not to imitate God in his miraculous works, (as in the burning of Sodom, and such like,) yet there may be that justice and wisdom of God shining therein which we ought to imitate; for we ought to see, before we censure and condemn, as God did in proceeding against Sodom. So it is in this extraordinary work of making the world, wherein, although we are not to go about to make another world within that time, as God did, yet therein the labor and rest of God was seen, which is imitable of man; which labor and rest, as they are moral duties, so they are confirmed by a moral example, and therefore most seemly and comely for man to imitate from such an example; and whereas he affirms that this example was not moral, because it was not in itself imitable, being grounded only upon God's free will." The reason is weak; for to labor in one's calling is, without controversy, a moral duty, (as idleness is a moral sin;) yet if one would ask why man is to labor here, and not rather to lead a contemplative life in the vision and fruition of God immediately, I suppose no reason can be given but the good pleasure of God, who, in his deep wisdom, saw it most meet for man to spend some proportionable time in labor for himself, and some in rest for God; whereunto he gave man such an eminent example from the beginning of the world. Master Primrose can not deny but that a convenient time for labor and rest, in general, is moral. "But," saith, he, "if God had not declared his will by a commandment particularly to labor six days,

and rest the seventh, the Jews would not have thought themselves bound to this observation from God's example only; which shows that there is no morality in it to bind the conscience forever." But it may be as well doubted whether acts of bounty and mercy (to which he thinks we are bound merely from God's example) in respect of the particular application of these acts to enemies of God and of ourselves, as well as to friends, be of binding virtue merely by God's example, unless we had a commandment thereunto; for in moral precepts, as the thing is commanded because it is good, so it is not morally good unless it be commanded: but suppose that God's example of labor six days, and rest the seventh, should not have been binding as other examples, unless there had been a commandment for so doing; yet this is no argument that this example is not moral at all, but only that it is not so equally moral, and known to be so, as some other duties be; for man may spend too much time in labor, and give God too short or too little time for rest. If, therefore, he wants the light of a commandment or rule to direct and guide him to the fittest and most meet proportion of time for both, is he not apt hereby to break the rule of morality, which consists (as hath been shown) in that which is most suitable, comely, and convenient for man to give to God or man? The commandment, therefore, in this case, measuring out and declaring such a proportion, and what time is most convenient and comely for man to take to himself for labor, or to give to God for rest, it doth not abolish the morality of the example, but doth rather establish and make it. It sets out the most comely and meet proportion of time for labor and rest, and therefore such a time as is most good in itself, because most comely and proportionable, which, being therefore commanded, is a moral duty in man, and the example hereof morally binding in God.

3. Such laws, which man's reason may see, either by innate light or by any other external help and light, to be just, and good, and fit for man to observe, such laws are congruous and suitable to human nature. I say by any external help, as well as by innate light; for neither internal nor external light makes a thing just and suitable to man, no more than the light of the sun, or the light of a lantern, makes the king's highway to the city; but they only declare and manifest the way, or that which was so in itself before. Hence it comes to pass, that although man's reason can not see the equity of some laws, *antecedenter*, by innate light, before it be illuminated by some external light, yet if by this external light the mind sees the equity, justice, and holiness of such a law, this may sufficiently argue the morality of such a law, which was just and good, before any light discovered it, and

is now discovered only, not made to be so, whether by internal or external light. "And hence Aquinas well observes, that moral laws (which he makes to be such as are congruous to right reason) sometimes are such as not only command such things which reason doth readily see to be comely and meet, but also such laws about which man's reason may readily and easily err, and go astray from that which is comely and meet." And hence it is, that although no reason or wit of man could ever have found out the most just and equal proportion of time, or what proportion is most comely and suitable, or that a seventh part of time should have been universally observed as holy to God, yet if any external light and teaching from above shall reveal this time, and the equity and suitableness of it, so that reason shall acknowledge it equal and good, that if we have six days for ourselves, God should have one for himself, this is a strong argument that such a command is moral, because reason, thus illuminated, can not but acknowledge it most meet and equal; for though reason may not, by any natural or innate light, readily see that such a division of time is most suitable, and yet may readily err and misconceive the most suitable and convenient proportion and division of time, it is then a sufficient proof of the morality of such a command, if the congruity and equity of it be discerned *consequenter* only, (as we say,) and by external light.

4. Whatever law was once writ upon man's heart in pure nature is still suitable, and congruous, and convenient to human nature, and consequently good in itself and moral. For whatever was so writ upon Adam's heart was not writ there as upon a private person, but as a common person, having the common nature of man, and standing in the room of all mankind. Hence, as nothing was writ then but what was common to all men, so such things thus writ were good for all men, and suitable to all men, it being most injurious to God to think that any thing evil should be imprinted there. If, therefore, it be proved that the law of the Sabbath was then writ upon man's heart, then it undeniably follows that it is meet and suitable to all men still to observe a Sabbath day; and indeed to the right understanding of what is suitable to man as man, and consequently moral, there is nothing more helpful than to consider of our primitive estate, and what was suitable to our nature then; for if that which is moral in marriage is to be searched for in the first and ancient records of our first creation by the appointment of our Saviour, I then know no reason (whatever others object) but morality in all other laws and duties is there to be sought also; for although our original perfection is now defaced and

lost, and in that respect is a *merum non ens*, (as some call it,) yet it had once a being, and, therefore, in this controversy, we may lawfully inquire after it, considering especially that this being which once it had may be sufficiently known by the contrary being of universal corruption that is in us now, as also by the light of the Scriptures, in which the Searcher and Maker of all hearts declares it unto us; and, indeed, there are many moral duties which will never appear good and suitable to man, but rather hard and unreasonable (because impossible) until we see and remember from whence we are fallen, and what once we had.

Thesis 26. If, therefore, a moral law command that which is suitable to human nature, and good in itself, then it follows from hence, (which was touched before,) that divine determination of something in a law doth not always take away morality from a law; for divine determination is many times no more but a plain and positive declaration of that which is suitable, just, and good, and equal for man to observe. Now, that which points out and declares unto us the morality of a law can not possibly abolish and destroy such a law. For a moral law commanding that which is suitable and good, (as hath been shown,) it is impossible that the commandment which determineth and directeth to that which is good, that by this determination it should overthrow the being of such a good law, nay, verily, particular determination and positiveness (as some call it) is so far from abolishing, as that it rather adds to the being, as well as to the clearing up and manifestation, of such a law. For if it be not sufficient to make a moral law, that the thing be good in itself, but that also it must be commanded, then the commandment which many times only determines to that which good (and consequently determination) doth add unto the being of a moral law.

Thesis 27. There is scarce any thing but it is morally indifferent, until it falls under some divine determination; but divine determination is twofold: 1. Of such things which are not good, fit, or needful for man to observe without a command, as sacrifices and sacraments, and such like: now herein, in such laws, positive determination may be very well inconsistent with morality; and it may be safely said, that such a law is not moral, but rather positive; and thus the learned sometimes speak. 2. Of such things as are equal, good in themselves, needful, and suitable for man; and here particular determination and morality may kiss each other, and are not to be opposed one to another: and hence it is, that if God's commandment positive determines

us to observe any part of instituted worship, (suppose sacraments or sacrifices,) yet such laws are not moral, (although it be moral in general to worship God after his own will,) because the things themselves are not good in themselves, nor needful: but if God shall determine us to observe a Sabbath day, this determination doth not take away the morality of the command, because it being good in itself to give God the meetest and fittest proportion of time for holy rest, and the commandment declaring that this seventh part, or so, is such a time, hence it comes to pass, that this time is good in itself, and therefore determination, by the commandment in this case, doth not abolish the morality hereof. It is a moral duty to pay tribute to Cæsar, to give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's: hence because a man may give too much or too little to him, that determination which directs us to that particular which is Cæsar's due, and most meet for him to receive and us to give, that is best in itself, and is therefore moral: so prayer is a moral duty; but because a man may be tempted to pray too oft or else too seldom, hence determination of the fittest, and this fittest season, makes this or that moral. So it is here in the Sabbath. I do willingly and freely profess thus far with our adversaries of the morality of the Sabbath; that it is a moral duty to give God some time and day of holy rest and worship, as it is moral to give Cæsar his due, and to pray to God: but because we may give God too many days or too few, hence the determination of the most meet and fittest proportion of time, and particularly of this time, makes this and that to be also moral. If no day at all in general was good and fit for man to give to God, and God should, notwithstanding, command a seventh day, then the commandment of such a day with such positive determination could not be moral any more than the determination of sacrifices and such like. But every day, (say some of our adversaries,) some day, (say others of them,) being acknowledged to be equal, just, and good, and most meet to give God, hence it is that determination of a seventh day doth not abolish, but clear up, that which is moral, because it points out unto man that which is most meet and equal. Hence, therefore, it follows that a seventh day is therefore commanded, because it is good, and not good merely because commanded. Determination, also, declaring what is most meet, declareth hereby that this commandment is also moral, and not merely positive and ceremonial; which not being well considered by some, this fourth commandment (having some more positiveness and determination than divers of the rest) hath therefore been the chief stumbling stone and rock of offense to many against the morality of it, by

which they have miserably bruised themselves, while they have endeavored to destroy it, upon so gross a mistake.

Thesis 28. It is true that God, out of his absolute sovereignty and good pleasure of his will, might have determined us to observe a fourth, a ninth, a twentieth part of our time in holy rest, more or less, as well as to a seventh; yet let us consider of God as acting by counsel, and weighing and considering with himself what is most meet and equal, and what proportion of time is most fit for himself; and then (with leave of better thoughts, when I see better reason) I suppose no man can prove (unless he be made privy to the unknown secrets of the wisdom of God) that any other proportion had been as meet as this now made by the actual determination of God; there was not, therefore, the mere and sovereign will of God which thus determined of this seventh part of time, but also the wisdom of God, which, considering all things, saw it most meet and suitable for man to give, and God to receive from man, and therefore, being commanded, and thus particularly determined, becomes moral.

Thesis 29. If that commandment be moral which is therefore commanded because it is good, then hence it follows, in the second place, that such laws only are not moral laws, which are known to all men by the light of corrupt nature. For, as hath been already said, a law may be holy, just, good, suitable, and meet for all men to observe, whether the light of corrupt nature, by awakening or sleeping principles, (as some call them,) know it or no, and such a comeliness and suitableness in such a law is sufficient to make it moral. There were many secret moral sins in Paul, which he never saw, nor could have seen by the light of corrupt nature, until the law fell upon him with mighty efficacy and power, (Rom. vii.;) for God is not bound to crook his moral laws to what our corrupt minds are actually able of themselves to see, any more than to what our corrupt wills are actually able to do. If the light of nature be imperfect in us since the fall, (which no wise man doubts of,) then there may be many things truly moral, which the light of nature now sees not, because it is imperfect, which in its perfection it did see; and this consideration of the great imperfection of the light of nature is alone sufficient forever to stop their mouths and silence their hearts, who go about to make an imperfect light and law of nature the perfect rule and only measure of moral duties, and who make so narrow a limitation of that which is moral to that which is thus imperfectly natural. It is not now *lex nata*, but *lex data*, which is the rule of moral duties: the whole Scriptures contain the perfect rule of all moral actions,

whether man's corrupted and imperfect light of nature see them or no. It is a common, but a most perilous, and almost groundless mistake of many in this controversy, who, when they would know what is moral, and what is not so, of such things as are set down in the Scriptures, they then fly to the light of corrupt nature, making it to be the supreme judge hereof, and there fall to examining of them, whether they are seen by the light of nature or no, which is no less folly than to set up a corrupt and blind judge to determine and declare that which is moral, to make the perfect rule of morality in Scripture to bow down its back to the imperfection and weakness of nature, to pull out the sun in heaven from giving light, and to walk by the light of a dim candle, and a stinking snuff in the socket almost gone out; to make the hornbook of natural light the perfection of learning, of the deepest matters in moral duties; to make Aristotle's ethics as complete a teacher of true morality as Adam's heart in innocency; and, in a word, to make man fallen, and in a manner perfectly corrupt and miserable, to be as sufficiently furnished with knowledge of moral duties, as man standing, when he was perfectly holy and happy. Imagine, therefore, that the light of nature could never have found out one day in seven to be comely and most meet for man to give unto God; yet if such a proportion of time be most meet for man to give to God, and it appears so to be when God reveals it, it may and should then be accounted a moral law, although the light of nature left in all men could never discern it. The schoolmen, and most of the Popish generation, not considering these things, (which, notwithstanding, are some of their own principles,) have digged pits for themselves, and made snares for some of their followers, in abolishing the fourth commandment from being (in the true sense of it) moral, because they could not see how such a special part of time, viz., a seventh part, could be natural, or by the light of corrupt nature discernible; which things so discernible they sometimes conclude to be only moral. But how far the light of corrupt nature may discern this proportion shall be spoken to in its proper place.

Thesis 30. If, lastly, those things which are thus commanded because they are good be moral, then the whole decalogue may hence appear to be the moral law of God, because there is no law in it, which is therefore good only because it is commanded, but is therefore commanded because it is good and suitable to human nature. When I say, suitable to human nature, I do not mean human nature considered absolutely, but relatively, either

in relation to God, or relation unto man; for not only the light of nature, but of common sense also, bears witness that every precept of the second table, wherein man is considered in relation to man, is thus far good; for how comely and good is it to honor parents, to be tender of other men's lives and comforts, to preserve one's self and others from filthy pollutions, to do no wrong, but all the good we can to other men's estates! etc. Nor do I think that any will question any one commandment of this table to be good and suitable to human nature, unless it be some Nimrod or Brennus, (that professed he knew no greater justice than for the stronger, like the bigger fishes of the sea, to swallow up the lesser in case they be hungry,) or some Turkish Tartar or cannibal, or some surfeited professor, transformed into some licentious opinionist, and so grown master of his own conscience, and that can audaciously outface the very light of nature and common sense, through the righteous judgment of God blinding and hardening his heart. And if the commandments of the second table be thus far good in themselves, are not those of the first table much more? Is love to man (when drawn out into all the six streams of the second table) good in itself, and shall not love to God, drawn out in the four precepts of the first table, as the spring from whence all our love to man should flow, much more? Are the streams morally sweet, and is not the spring itself of the same nature? Love to God and love to man are the common principles (saith Aquinas truly) of the law of nature; and all particular precepts (saith he, perhaps unawares) are conclusions flowing from these principles, out of Matt. xxii. And are the principles good in themselves and suitable to human nature, and do not all the conclusions participate of their nature. For what are all particular precepts but particular unfoldings of love to God and love to man? If all the precepts of the second table be moral, which do only concern man, why should any of the first fall short of that glory, which do immediately concern God? Shall man have six, and all of them morally good, and God have but four, and some one or more of them not so? Is it comely and good to have God to be our God in the first commandment, to worship him after his own mind in the second, to give him his worship with all the highest respect and reverence of his name in the third; and is it not as comely, good, and suitable that this great God and King should have some magnificent day of state to be attended on by his poor servants and creatures, both publicly and privately, with special respect and service, as oft as himself sees meet, and which we can not but see and confess to be most equal and just, according to the fourth commandment?

If man's life must be divided into labor and rest, is it not equal and good, if we have six days, that God should have a seventh? If the brute beasts could speak, they would say that a seventh day's rest is good for them, (Ex. xxiii. 12;) and shall man, who hath more cause and more need of rest, even of holy rest, say that it is not good for him even to rest in the bosom of God himself, to which he is called this day? Take away a Sabbath, who can defend us from atheism, barbarism, and all manner of devilism and profaneness? And is it evil thus to want it, and shall it not be good to have it? I confess, if God had commanded a perpetual Sabbath, it had not then been good, but simple, to observe any set Sabbath; but if God will have man to labor for himself six days, and this labor be morally good, being now commanded, why is it not then as good to observe a seventh in rest to God, being also commanded of him?

Thesis 31. It is therefore at least an indigested assertion of those who affirm that the decalogue sets out the precepts of the law of nature, and yet withal doth superadd certain precepts proper to the Jewish people; in which last respect they say all men are not bound to the observance thereof, (and they produce the fourth commandment for proof,) but in respect of the first they are. But although, in the application of a law, something may be proper to the Jewish people, yet (with leave of the learned) there is never a law in it but it is moral and common to all; for to make any law in the decalogue proper is an assertion springing from a false and blind principle, viz., that that law only is moral which is natural; not natural, as suitable to human nature, but which is seen and known by the common light of corrupt nature, without the help of any external usher or teacher. If also any laws in the decalogue be proper, how will any find out and discern moral laws which concern all, from proper laws which appertain only to some? For if God hath made such a mingling, and not severed moral laws by themselves, then man hath no law or revelation by any distinct and severed laws left unto him, to discern laws proper and peculiar from laws moral and common, which how pernicious it may be to men's souls to be left to such uncertainty, as also how injurious to God, and cross to his main ends in discovering moral laws, let the wise consider; for if they say that we must fly for help herein to the light of corrupt nature, then, as hath been shown, an imperfect light, and a blind guide, and a corrupt judge must be the chief rule of discerning that which is moral from that which is peculiar and proper, for doubtless such a kind of light is the light of corrupt nature.

Thesis 32. Some think that those commandments only are

morally good which the gospel hath declared and confirmed to be so; and by this shift they think to avoid the absurdity of flying to the blind guide of corrupt nature to judge of these colors, viz., what is moral and what is not. Mr. Primrose therefore excludes the fourth commandment from being moral, the other nine being ratified by the light of the gospel, which this (he saith) is not; but if his meaning be, that there must be a general ratification of laws moral by the verdict of the gospel, then the fourth commandment can not be excluded from being moral, because it hath a ratification in general from the gospel; for therein we read that the moral law is holy, just, and good, (Rom. vii.,) and that Christ came not to destroy the least jot or tittle of the law, (Matt. v.,) much less a whole law of the fourth commandment. In the gospel also God promiseth to write his law upon our hearts, wherein the fourth commandment is not excepted. But if his meaning be this, that the gospel must particularly mention, and so make a particular ratification (as it were) by name of every moral law, then his assertion is unsound; there being many judicial laws of Moses of which some are wholly moral, others containing in them something of common and moral equity, which we have no express mention of in the blessed gospel; and let him turn over all the leaves of the gospel, he shall not find that proportion of time, which himself affirms to be moral in the fourth commandment, to be expressly and particularly mentioned in the gospel; and therefore that also must be excluded from being moral upon his own principles, as well as what we contend for in this commandment so to be.

Thesis 33. "Some of those who maintain the law of the Sabbath to be ceremonial affirm that every law in the decalogue is not moral, upon this ground, to wit, because the law is called God's covenant, which covenant they show, from sundry instances, not only to comprehend morals, but also ceremonials; for they make it the excellency of the decalogue to comprehend, as a short epitome, all God's ordinances, both moral and ceremonial, which epitome is more largely opened in the writings of Moses, where not only moral, but also ceremonial laws are expressed and dispersed. And hence they think, that as the other nine are the summary and epitome of all moral ordinances, so the fourth commandment, which was kept with the practice of ceremonies, was the summary and epitome of all the ceremonial ordinances, and hence the fourth commandment becomes ceremonial. But for answer to this wily notion, unjustly fathered upon Austin and Calvin by some, it may thus far be granted, that as the word *law* is sometimes taken more strictly for the decalogue only, (Rom.

iii. 20; James iii. 8,) and sometimes more largely, for the whole doctrine contained in all the writings of the Old Testament, wherein the gospel also is comprehended, (Ps. xix. 7; cxix. 1, 51, 57,) so the word *covenant* is sometimes taken more strictly for the covenant of works, which is contained compendiously in the decalogue only, writ by the finger of God in two tables, (Deut. iv. 13, 14; Ex. xxxiv. 38,) and sometimes more largely for all the holy writings of Moses. (Ex. xxiv. 7, 8, and xxxiv. 10. Lev. xxvi. 14. Jer. xxxiv. 13.) Now, although all the writings of Moses may be called the covenant, as it is largely taken, and so the covenant comprehends not only moral but ceremonial laws, yet they are never called that covenant which was writ by the finger of God in two tables of stone, and given to Moses; and in this strict sense the word *covenant* comprehends no other laws but moral, nor can the places and texts which they allege evince the contrary, for, in that place of Ex. xxiv. 7, it is not said that the tables of the covenant, but the book of the covenant, was read in the audience of all the people; which book we readily acknowledge to comprehend ceremonials as well as morals, but not the tables of the covenant, of which the question now is. So also when the Lord saith (Ex. xxxiv. 10) that he will make a covenant, his meaning is, that he will revive his covenant by writing, (as it is there set down in the same chapter,) in which writing it is very true that there is mention made of many ceremonial laws; but suppose this covenant written by Moses comprehends sundry ceremonial laws, will it therefore follow that the tables of the covenant written with the finger of God did the like? No such matter; and therefore there is an express difference put in the same chapter, (ver. 27, 28,) between the covenant written by Moses, and the ten commandments written by the finger of God. But secondly, let it be granted that the decalogue comprehends summarily all the laws which are particularly dispersed here and there in the writings of Moses, yet it doth not follow that there must be one ceremonial law written by the finger of God, and lifted up in the decalogue to be the epitome and summary of all ceremonial laws elsewhere explained in the writings of Moses. For all laws, whether ceremonial or judicial, may be referred to the decalogue, as appendices to it, or applications of it, and so to comprehend all other laws as their summary. But such a summary will no way enforce a necessity of making any one of them the epitome of ceremonials, and the other nine of them of the morals, for we know that many judicial laws are comprehended under moral laws, being referred as appendices thereunto by

Calvin, Martyr, Chemnitius, Ames, and sundry others; and yet it will not follow from hence, that one of the laws in the decalogue must be a judicial law as the summary of all judicials, which are branches of the covenant, as well as Master Primrose's ceremonials.

Thesis 34. It should not seem strange that that law, which in the general nature of it is moral, may, in the particular application of it, be unto a thing ceremonial; and in this respect it can not be denied, that the moral law may comprehend all ceremonial laws; but it will not hence follow, (as Mr. Primrose infers,) that one law in the decalogue must be ceremonial as the head and summary of all ceremonial laws, because, we say, ceremonial laws may be comprehended under some moral law, as special applications thereof; e. g., it is a moral law to worship God according to his own will, and not after man's inventions, as the second commandment holds it forth. Now, in the application of this law, the Lord points out his own instituted worship in sundry significant ceremonies, sacrifices, sacraments, etc.; which particular institutions (though ceremonial) are to be referred unto, and are comprehended under, the second commandment, which is a moral law; for if God will be worshiped with his own worship according to this commandment, then it is necessary for the Lord to show (and that under his commandment) what those institutions be, wherein he will be worshiped, many of which are ceremonial, which are therefore directly comprehended here.

Thesis 35. There is therefore no necessity of making one law in the decalogue to be ceremonial, that it may be the summary head of all ceremonials, viz., because ceremonials are branches of the covenant, which is the decalogue; for upon the like ground, there must be one judicial law also as the summary of all judicials, nay, one evangelical law also as the head of all evangelicals, sprinkled here and there in Moses' writings, of which we read, (John v. 43; Rev. x. 6–8, with Deut. xxx. 12, 13; Gal. iii. 8, with Gen. xii. 3;) for judicials and evangelicals are branches of the covenant as well as ceremonials, if Mr. Primrose's principle be true; but if, by his own confession, nine of them are morals, and one of them only the head of ceremonials, how shall judicial and evangelical summaries come in? which either he must make room for in the decalogue, or acknowledge his foundation to be rotten, upon which he hath built one ceremonial law among the nine morals.

Thesis 36. It is true, that among men the same body of laws may be framed up of divers articles, as Mr. Primrose pleads; but that the decalogue was such a body as had ceremonials mixed with morals, it can never be made good by any color of proof,

except it be that which we have shown will as strongly enforce an introduction of some one judicial and another evangelical law into the decalogue, as well as one ceremonial; but such a confusion of law and gospel, evangelicals and judicials, ceremonials and morals, the blessed God abhors; for it neither suits with God's wisdom and end in giving the law, nor yet with man's weakness, (which God pities,) to make such a jumbling and confusion of things together; for who can then tell what law is moral, and what evangelical, and what ceremonial, unless it be (as was shown) by flying for light to the dictates and instinct of nature, to show unto poor deceitful man what laws are moral and what not, wherein the remedy would have been as bad as the disease.

Thesis 37. If "there must be one law in the decalogue ceremonial, that so the more authority may be procured hereby (as Mr. Primrose pleads) unto all God's ordinances, and therefore one of the ceremonials was written in the decalogue with God's own finger, and honored with the like prerogatives as the moral laws were, which were immediately spoken by God himself," then (if this reasoning be solid) why was not one judicial and another evangelical precept alike honored also? For was there not as much need to procure authority to this as well as to ceremonials? And yet we see their authority was sufficiently procured without being shuffled into the decalogue, and so might ceremonials also.

Thesis 38. There were three sorts of laws which are commonly known, and which were most eminently appearing among the Jews: 1. Moral. 2. Ceremonial. 3. Judicial.

Thesis 39. The moral respected their manners as they were men, and are therefore called moral. The ceremonial respected them as a church, and as such a kind of church. The judicial as a commonwealth, and as that particular commonwealth. Moral laws were to govern them as a human society, ceremonial as a sacred society, judicial as a civil society. Thus the learned speak, and being candidly understood, are true.

Thesis 40. The moral law, contained in the decalogue, is nothing else but the law of nature revived, or a second edition and impression of that primitive and perfect law of nature, which in the state of innocency was engraven upon man's heart, but now again written upon tables of stone, by the finger of God. For man being made in the image of God, he had therefore the law of holiness and righteousness, in which God's image consisted, written in his heart; but having by his fall broken this table, and lost this image, neither knowing nor doing the will of God through the law of sin now engraven on it, hence the Lord hath in much

pity made known his law again, and given us a fair copy of it in the two tables of stone, which are the copy of that which was writ upon man's heart at first, because the first table contains love to God in holiness, the second love to man in righteousness; which holiness and righteousness are the two parts of God's image which was once engraven upon man's soul, in his primitive and perfect estate. (Eph. iv. 24.) Nor indeed do I see how that Popish argument will be otherwise answered, pleading for a possibility in man to keep the law perfectly in his lapsed and fallen estate in this life, for, say they, God makes no laws of impossible things, it being unjust for God to require and exact that of a man which he is not able to do; to which it is commonly and truly answered, that man had once power to keep the law in his innocent estate, and hence, though man be not able to keep it now, yet God may require it, because he once gave him power to keep it; and that therefore it is no more unjust to exact such obedience which he can not perform, than for a creditor to require his money of his broken debtor, or spendthrift, who is now failed, (as they say,) and not able to repay. Man, therefore, having once power to keep the law, and now having no power, this argues strongly that the law of the decalogue contains nothing but what was once written as a law of life upon his heart in his innocent estate; for I see not how God's justice can be cleared, if he exacts such obedience in the decalogue which is impossible for man to give, unless the very same law and power of obedience was written upon his heart at first; and therefore it is a wild notion of theirs who think that the covenant of works which God made with Adam is not the same for matter with the covenant of works expressed in the moral law; for we see that there is the same image of holiness and righteousness required in the tables of stone, as the condition of this covenant, which was once written upon man's heart, and required in the same manner of him. Now, this law, thus revived and reprinted, is the decalogue, because most natural and suitable to human nature, when it was made most perfect; therefore it is universal and perpetual; the substance also of this law being love to God and man, holiness toward God, and righteousness toward man. (Matt. xxii. 37, 39. Luke i.) Hence also this law must needs be moral, universal, and perpetual, unless any should be so wicked as to imagine it to be no duty of universal or perpetual equity, either to love God or to love man, to perform duties of holiness toward the one or duties of righteousness toward the other. Hence, again, the things commanded in this law are therefore commanded because they are good, and are therefore moral, unless any shall think

that it is not good in itself to love God or man, to be holy or righteous; and which is still observable, there is such a love required herein, and such a loveliness put upon these laws, as that, by virtue of these, all our obedience in other things which are not moral becomes lovely; for there were many ceremonial observances, in which and by which the people of God expressed their love to God, as M. Primrose truly concludes from Deut. vi. 1–6, and Matt. xxii. 37, 38, 40; but yet this love did arise by virtue of a moral rule, for therefore it was lovely to worship God in ceremonial duties, because it was lovely to worship God with his own worship, (of which these were parts,) which is the moral rule of the second commandment. And hence M. Primrose may see his gross mistake in making one law of the decalogue ceremonial, because the summary of the decalogue being love to God and love to man, and our love to God being shown in ceremonial as well as in moral duties, because our love is seen and shown in our obedience to all the commandments of God, ceremonial as well as moral. For though there be love in ceremonial duties, it is not so much in respect of themselves as in respect of some moral rule, by virtue of which such duties are attended.

Thesis 41. The ceremonial law, consisting chiefly of types and shadows of things to come, (Heb. viii. 5,) and therefore being to cease when the body was come, (Col. ii. 17,) was not therefore perpetual, (as the law moral,) but temporary, and of binding power only to the nation of the Jews and their proselytes, and not putting any tie upon all nations, as the moral law did. Every ceremonial law was temporary, but every temporary law was not ceremonial, (as some say,) as is demonstrable from sundry judicials, which in their determinations were proper to that nation, while the Jewish polity continued, and are not, therefore, now to be observed.

Thesis 42. The judicial laws, some of them being hedges and fences to safeguard both moral and ceremonial precepts, their binding power was therefore mixed and various, for those which did safeguard any moral law, (which is perpetual,) whether by just punishments or otherwise, do still morally bind all nations; for, as Piscator argues, a moral law is as good and as precious now in these times as then, and there is as much need of the preservation of these fences to preserve these laws in these times, and at all times, as well as then, there being as much danger of the treading down of those laws by the wild beasts of the world and brutish men (sometimes even in churches) now as then; and hence God would have all nations preserve their fences

forever, as he would have that law preserved forever which these safeguard; but, on the other side, these judicials which did safeguard ceremonial laws which we know were not perpetual, but proper to that nation, hence those judicials which compass these about are not perpetual nor universal; the ceremonials being plucked up by their roots, to what purpose then should their fences and hedges stand? As, on the contrary, the morals abiding, why should not their judicials and fences remain? The learned generally doubt not to affirm that Moses' judicials bind all nations, so far forth as they contain any moral equity in them, which moral equity doth appear not only in respect of the end of the law, when it is ordered for common and universal good, but chiefly in respect of the law which they safeguard and fence, which if it be moral, it is most just and equal, that either the same or like judicial fence (according to some fit proportion) should preserve it still, because it is but just and equal that a moral and universal law should be universally preserved; from whence, by the way, the weakness of their reasonings may be observed, who, that they may take away the power of the civil magistrate in matters of the first table, (which once he had in the Jewish commonwealth,) affirm that such civil power then did arise from the judicial, and not from any moral law; whenas it is manifest that this his power in preserving God's worship pure from idolatrous and profane mixtures, according to the judicial laws, was no more but a fence and safeguard set about moral commandments; which fences and preservatives are therefore (for substance) to continue in as much power and authority now as they did in those days, as long as such laws continue in their morality, which these preserve; the duties of the first table being also as much moral as those of the second, to the preserving of which latter from hurt and spoil in respect of their morality, no wise man questions the extent of his power.

Thesis 43. If, therefore, the question be now made whether the law of the fourth commandment be moral or no, we must then remember that the true state of the question is not in this, to wit, whether the law of the Sabbath be a principle of the light of nature, known and evident of itself, or at least such as every man that hath the use of reason may readily find out without some external revelation, (as Mr. Ironside injuriously states it, wrestling herein with his own shadow, with many others of his fellowship in this controversy.) For morality (as hath been declared) is of larger extent than such a naturality. But the question is, whether it is one of those laws, which is therefore commmanded because it is holy, just, and good in itself,

whether man see it by any previous light of corrupt nature, ay or no; and being thus commanded as such a law, whether it be not therefore of perpetual and universal obligation, binding all nations and persons in all ages, in their hearts, lives, manners, to the observance thereof, as a part of that holiness we owe to God, and which God requires of men according to rules of moral equity; or, on the contrary, whether it be not rather a typical, ceremonial, figurative, and temporary precept, binding only some persons, or that one nation of the Jews for some time, from the obedience of which law Christians (in respect of any law of God) are now exempted.

Thesis 44. For clearing up whereof it may not be amiss to take notice of the agreement (at least in words) herein, on all hands, even by those who oppose that morality of the Sabbath which we plead for. All sides agree in this, viz., that the law of this fourth commandment concerning the Sabbath is moral. But as the differences about the meaning of *Tu es Petrus* are many, so here the difficulty lies to know how, and in what sense and respect, it may be called moral; for M. Ironside expressly consents in this, viz., "that all the commandments of the decalogue are moral, but every one in his proportion and degree, and so (saith he) is that of the Sabbath; it is moral for substance, but not for circumstance.

"Master Primrose also (when he is awake) expressly confesseth thus much, viz., that the Sabbath is moral in its foundation, end, marrow, and principal substance; and that a stinted time is moral, and grounded on the principles of nature; and therefore the Gentiles (saith he) had their set days of religion; and this (he tells us) is ratified by the gospel, which commendeth to the faithful the assembling of themselves together for word and sacraments, and consequently that they have appointed times to attend upon them, wherein the word of God be read and preached as under the Old Testament every Sabbath day; nay, he yields yet more, viz., that not only stinted times, but that also there should be a convenient proportion and suitable frequency of time for God's service, now under the gospel as under the law; and therefore affirms that the Jewish annual feasts and new moons, being but once a year or once a month, and so being rare and seldom, could not teach us the convenient and most suitable frequency of God's public service, as the Sabbath did, which returned weekly; and therefore he saith that the commandment runs not thus, viz., Remember to keep the new moons, but, Remember to keep holy the Sabbath day. So that by M. Primrose's concession, not only a time, but a stinted time, not only

a stinted time, but also such a convenient proportion and suitable frequency of time, as is once in seven days, is morally holy by virtue of the fourth commandment.

"Gomarus also concludes that the public worship of God, required in the fourth commandment, calls for observation, not only of certain, but also of sufficient days for worship; and what these sufficient days be, is to be gathered from the fourth commandment, viz., that they be not more rare and less frequent than the weekly Sabbaths of the Israelites, because, if God (as he shows) challenged a weekly Sabbath of a stiff-necked people laden with the burden of many other festivals and ceremonies, how then should Christians, freed from their yokes and burdens, have them less frequent?"

Master Breerwood also to the like purpose professeth, that Christians should not be less devout and religious in celebrating the Lord's day than the Jews were in celebrating their Sabbath; and his reason (laboring with some spice of a contradiction) is this, viz., because the obligation of our thankfulness to God is more than theirs, although the obligation of his commandment to us in that behalf is less; for I confess it is beyond my shallowness to conceive how the thankfulness should be more, and the commandment less, unless he will imagine some such Popish work as exceeds the command.

Wallæus comes almost quite over the threshold unto us, and maintains, upon solid arguments, "that, by the force and analogy of this fourth commandment, all the true worshipers of God are bound to the exact observation of one day in the circle and compass of seven;" and then he produceth a cloud of witnesses, both ancient fathers and the chief of our late reformers, testifying to the same morality of one day in seven, which himself maintains; that whoever shall read him herein would wonder how it should ever enter into the hearts of learned men (as White, Rogers, Dow, the historian, and many others) to imagine and go about to befool the world, as if the morality of a seventh day was the late and sour fruit growing out of the crabbed and rigid stock of some English Puritans and reformers, wherein they are forsaken of all their fellows, whom in all other things they so much admire in other reformed churches. It being therefore confessed on all hands that the Sabbath is moral, (though I confess at other times our adversaries unsay this, at least in their arguments,) the controversy therefore only lies in this, viz., how and in what respect it should be so.

Thesis 45. The general consent herein also is this, to wit, that the morality of the Sabbath chiefly is in respect of some

generality, or in respect of something which is more general in this commandment, rather than in respect of that particular day which the commandment doth also point at; for if the morality of it did lie in observing that particular day only, how could there be a change of that day to another? For if the morality of a Sabbath was limited unto a particularity, or to that one particular day, it is then impossible that any other day to which that first is changed should be moral by virtue of the same commandment; but we shall show in fit place, that the day is lawfully changed, and morally observed, and therefore that which is in this commandment firstly moral must of necessity be somewhat more general.

Thesis 46. The general which we acknowledge to be moral in this command (rightly understood) is a seventh day. Our adversaries would make it more general, and resolve it into a day or some day for solemn worship; yet when they are forced to see and acknowledge, by the dint of argument, that this is too general, because thus the commandment may be observed, if one day in a thousand, or once in one's life it be sanctified, they do, therefore, many times come nearer to us, to somewhat less general than a day, viz., to a stinted, fixed, and appointed day, and to such an appointed day as contains such a sufficient proportion of time for God, with convenient frequency, no less frequent than theirs in the Old Testament, which was every seventh day, as may be seen Thess. i. 44; and truly, thus much being acknowledged by them, one would think that the controversy (with this sort of men) was brought unto a comfortable and quiet issue and full agreement; but it is strange to see how contrary the language is of these men sleeping, from what it is when they are awake. They strike fiercely at a seventh day, and a determinate time, as impossible to be moral, when they meet with them in the dark, and yet we see acknowledge them (in effect) to be moral, when they meet with them sometimes in the light.

Thesis 47. But because a seventh day may be accounted convenient by some, and moral by others, and because the determination of it may be made by some either more lax or narrow, viz., either to any in seven, which man or the church may appoint, or to such a seventh day as God shall determine, it is, therefore, needful, for the clearing up of this controversy, to seek out, with an impartial and sober mind, the true meaning of the fourth commandment, and to inquire more particularly and exactly what is required in it, and what is commanded by virtue of it, which some able men, not taking a right observation of in the dark and tempestuous times of controversy, have therefore made

miserable shipwreck, not only of the truth, but also of themselves, and souls of others.

Thesis 48. The things which are morally enjoined in this commandment are these two : —

1. Some things are *Primario*, i. e., primarily, firstly, and more generally moral.

2. Some things are *Secundario ;* i. e., secondarily, derivatively, and consequently moral.

A time, a day, a seventh day of rest are in the first respect moral, but in the other respect this or that particular seventh day may be said to be moral. Things primarily moral are perpetual ; things secondarily moral are not necessarily so. As, for example, to honor superiors and fathers, whether of commonwealth or family, is primarily moral ; but to honor these or those particular superiors is secondarily moral, because our honoring of them ariseth from that primary and general law of moral equity, viz., that if our fathers are to be honored, then, in the second place, it follows, that these and those particular persons, being our lawful fathers, are to be honored also. To honor our fathers whom God hath set over us is perpetual ; to honor these or those particular fathers is not perpetual, because themselves are not perpetual, but changeable. It was a moral duty to honor this particular King David, but it was not perpetual ; for when David was taken away, they were not bound to honor King David any more, when King Solomon, his son, became his successor : nor was it a ceremonial duty to honor this or that particular king, because it was changeable from one to another, but it was a moral duty so to do ; wherein the law and rule is not changed, (it being primarily moral,) but only the object, which we are bound to honor secondarily in respect of the general rule. So it is in this law of the Sabbath. To keep a day, a seventh day's Sabbath, is perpetual, it being primarily moral ; but to observe this or that particular day is of itself changeable, being secondarily moral ; for if it be a moral duty to sanctify a seventh day which God shall appoint, then it is moral, (as it were,) in the second place, to sanctify this or that seventh interchangeably which God doth appoint ; and yet it doth not follow that this or that particular seventh is in itself ceremonial, because it is changeable ; for in such a change the moral rule is not changed, but the moral object only, to which it is morally applied : the duty is not changed, but only the day ; and in this respect it should not seem hard to make some things moral which are not perpetual ; for laws primarily moral are properly perpetual, but laws secondarily moral, not necessarily so, but changeable, be-

cause, as hath been said, herein there is no change of the rule, but only of the object or application of the rule, which may be variously and yet morally observed.

Thesis 49. This distinction of things primarily and secondarily moral is taken from the truth of things, and which those who study this controversy will see themselves forced unto by the shifts and fallacies of the adversaries of the truth herein; the commandments of God are exceeding broad, according to David's measure, (Ps. cxix. 96,) and very comprehensive, and hence the generals include many particulars, and sometimes the particulars have a special respect to things more general, as is evident in the second and fifth commandments, which synecdoche Mr. Broad acknowledgeth to be in all other commands except the Sabbath, wherein he will have no general understood, but only a commandment to observe that particular day only, that so he may go one step farther than some of his betters, and utterly abolish the morality of this command: but whether this commandment is so narrowly restrained, will appear more fully in showing the truth of this distinction out of the commandment more particularly.

Thesis 50. Those things first which are primarily and more generally moral, and morally commanded, are these three:—

1. That there be some solemn convenient time set apart for God's worship.

2. That this time be not any small pittance of time, but a solemn day of worship, bearing the most meet proportion to those days man hath for himself.

3. That this day be not any day indefinitely which man sees meet, but (as it is in the commandment) the Sabbath or rest day, which God himself interprets and determines to a seventh day.

Some of our adversaries in this controversy will not acknowledge any set time or day to be moral by virtue of this commandment, because they think that that particular seventh day from the creation is only commanded, but now abolished under the gospel; and it only is commanded (they say) because it is only expressed and made mention of in the commandment. I confess that that particular seventh is expressed and pointed at, but not only expressed, (as we shall show in fit place;) but suppose it were granted, that that seventh only is expressed, yet it will not follow that therefore a seventh day, and consequently a day, and consequently a time of worship, is excluded: for look, as it is in the second commandment, we see the worship of a graven image is particularly forbidden, and yet that which is more general is

also herein forbidden, viz., the worship of God by human inventions: and why may not the like general be enjoined by commanding that particular seventh in the fourth commandment? Others of our adversaries, on the contrary, acknowledge, therefore, that in this particular seventh (which they make ceremonial) something more general and moral is herein required; but this general they limit to a time or some day of worship, but a seventh day which is more general than that particular seventh, yet less general than a day or time, they fly from this as from some serpent or bugbear, and will not admit it as any thing generally moral in this commandment. But it is very observable in this controversy, that upon the same grounds on which they would exclude this general of a seventh from being moral, they may as well exclude their own generals, viz., a time or a day, from being moral; for if they think it irrational, that because a particular seventh day is required, that therefore a seventh day more general can not be commanded, why is it not as irrational, upon the same ground, to exclude a time, a day, also? Surely a seventh day lies nearer the bosom of a particular seventh, and is of nearer kin to it than a day. And I marvel that they should gather a solemn time and day of worship, which is more general, rather than a seventh out of that particular day, as not possibly to be intended, although in a manner expressed in the commandment itself. I know there are some who think that there is nothing generally moral in this commandment but a seventh day; which unless it be well and warily explicated, I then crave leave to concur thus far with our adversaries, viz., that a solemn time, and a day of worship, are generally moral in this command, but not only moral, but that a seventh day also which God shall determine is generally, yea, principally moral also, in this commandment.

Thesis 51. First, therefore, that which is most generally moral in this command is that which is called *tempus cultus*, or the time of worship: now, this time must either be indeterminate time, which necessarily attends all acts of worship and duties of piety, or else determinate and solemn time. Indeterminate time is not required here, because to make a special commandment about such a time would be both needless and ridiculous; for if it be impossible that any duty should be performed without such time, then wherever that duty is required, the time which necessarily attends it must be supposed and enjoined in the same commandment. Some determinate and solemn time is, therefore, herein generally, though not only, commanded.

Thesis 52. It is a scruple to some to know to what command-

ment solemn time should be referred; to which the answer is easy — that the same things may be referred in several respects unto several commandments, and so may this. Solemn time may be referred to the second commandment, where solemn worship (in respect of the means of worship) is required, in some respect to the first commandment, which requiring us to acknowledge God as our sovereign Lord and happiness, he would have us therefore to have some full scope of time to be serious and solemnly taken up in the worship of him. But it is referred to this fourth commandment as it stands in a general reference and relation to a seventh day's Sabbath, wherein this general of solemn time is swallowed up and preserved; and, verily, if the six days' labor be required in the fourth commandment, in case it be done in reference to the seventh day's rest, much more all solemn time of worship, as it stands in reference to a Sabbath day.

Thesis 53. The worship itself therefore is not required in this commandment, if only the time of worship be enjoined; and if ignorance or prejudice did not bias and sway men's judgments from the naked and genuine meaning of each commandment, it would soon appear that the whole worship of God itself is contained in the three first commandments, and therefore nothing left that could possibly be enjoined by the fourth, but only the time. I know a time of worship may in some respect be called worship, but the worship itself in all other respects is not required in this, but in other commandments; for if in the first commandment we are to have God to be our God, by love of him, trust to him, delight in him, etc., (which nature, as it were, calls for, if God be our God,) then all that which we call natural worship is required here; and if devised forms of worship be forbidden in the second commandment, which are of human invention and institution, then all God's instituted worship must be commanded herein; and if vain and irreverent manner of worship be forbidden in the third commandment, then all common worship, as some call it, or rather all that holy and reverent manner of worship which we owe to God, is required in the same command; and if all natural, instituted, and common worship, or holy manner of worship, be required in the three first commands, I marvel then how any worship (any further than as a time of worship may be called worship) can be required in this fourth command. The time, therefore, and not the worship itself, is required herein; for if any worship be required, it is either the whole worship of God, or some special kind of worship; if the whole worship, then there should be no worship of God required directly in the three first commandments, but the very same which is commanded in

the fourth also, which gross tautology is most absurd to imagine in the short sum of these ten words; but if any special kind of worship should be required, and not the whole, then the Sabbath day is sanctified to some one kind of worship, rather than to the exercise of all kind of worship, which is most false and profane; for who will affirm that the Sabbath is to be sanctified, suppose by that kind of worship which is public, and not private also; by external, and not by internal worship also; by natural worship in love and fear of God, etc., and not with instituted in the use of all God's ordinances, and that with all holy preparation and reverence also?

Thesis 54. The exercise of worship is one thing, the worship itself is another; it is most true that the holy exercise of all worship is here required, but most false that the worship itself is so. The worship itself is required in the three first commands, but the special exercise of all this worship at such a time is required in the fourth command: the exercise of holiness and holy duties is here required as the end, and a holy rest as a means thereunto; and in this respect it is true which Wallæus observes, viz., that it is not a bare and naked circumstance of time, but the rest itself from labor, and the application of the day to holy uses, which is here enjoined; but doth it therefore follow that the worship itself, and the holy duties themselves, are here directly commanded? which he seems to maintain. No, verily, no more than that works of mercy in the second table are required in this fourth command of the first table, because the exercise of mercy and love, as well as of piety and necessity, is required also in this command.

Thesis 55. It is generally and frequently affirmed by those who seek to support the morality of the Sabbath, to wit, that the exercise of worship and holy duties, at this time, is required for the duties' sake, as, at other times, the time is required for the time's sake; by which words they seem to make the bare circumstance of time to be required here; but this assertion had need be understood with much candor, and the true explication of it; for in some sense it is most true which our Saviour affirms, that man is not made for the Sabbath or the time of it. (Mark ii. 27.)

Thesis 56. This time therefore may be considered two ways: 1. Abstractly. 2. Concretely. 1. Abstractly, for the bare circumstance of time, abstracted and stripped from all other considerations; and so it is very absurd to imagine all the holy duties of the Sabbath to be for the time, as if God and all his holy worship should give homage unto, and attend upon, a naked, empty circumstance. Time, in this respect, is rather for the

worship's sake. 2. Concretely, as it is wholly sanctified and set apart for God, or as it is a holy time, set apart for holy rest, that so man might attend upon God; and in this respect all holy duties are for this time, because in this respect they are for God, who is all in all in holy time. And therefore Wallæus need not put us upon search to see whether the holy rest of the day be required in the second or any other command, for it is not affirmed by any, that the naked circumstance of time is here only required, without any holy rest; but that a holy time of rest is herein commanded, and therefore to be referred to this command; hence also it is most false which some affirm, viz., "that the rest from ordinary labors on this day, as it is connected with holy duties of worship, without which they can not be performed, is as necessary now as when the Jewish Sabbath was in being; but otherwise out of these duties there is no holy time of rest commanded." For such a restraint of time to holy duties as makes the time holy for the duties' sake, so that no time is holy but in the performance of holy duties, and these duties (upon narrow examination) only public duties, doth but open a gap for licentiousness, voluptuousness, sports, May poles, and dog markets, and such like profaneness, out of the time of holy public worship, or what private worship each man shall think most meet. For in this sense holy duties are for the time, because, the whole day being sanctified, holy duties are therefore to attend, and in this respect are for this time, and not the time for them, viz., that when the time of the exercise of some holy duties doth cease, the time of holy rest or holy time must then cease also.

Thesis 57. Nor should it seem strange that holy duties should attend holy time, and be for the sake of such time; because, although it be true that this time is sanctified, that man may perform holy duties, yet man is now called to the performance of all holy duties, that he may lastly honor God in all holiness in such a special time; which time, if any human power only should put any holiness in, and it therefore should be attended on, what would it be else but an observing of days and times? condemned by the apostle, (Rom. xiv.; Gal. iv.;) which dirty ditch of observing times they unawares fall into who plead against a determined Sabbath, sanctified of God, and yet would have some time and day observed by the appointment of men; for the observation of such days which God shall appoint can not be condemned as an observing of times; but the observation of days, which human wisdom shall think fit may be quickly reduced to such a transgression.

Thesis 58. If any think that there is a peculiar manner of

holiness and of worshiping God herein required, which is not required in any other commandment, it may be readily granted. if by peculiar manner of sanctification be meant a more special degree and manner of exercising the whole worship of God, in respect of such a time; but it doth not therefore follow, that any new kind of worship (which Wallæus hence pleads for) is required herein; for this higher degree and special manner of worship is not the substance of any new worship, it being only a peculiar degree of worship, and therefore varies not the kind. And if the three first commandments enjoin the worship itself, then they do command the highest measures and degrees also severally; for where any duty is required, the highest degree and extension of it is also therewithal required. Hence, therefore, it still follows, that this peculiar manner of exercising holy duties upon this day is chiefly with reference and relation to the time which God hath sanctified, that herein he might be in a special manner worshiped and served; and, verily, Wallæus, foreseeing the blow, had no other way to expedite himself from making the three first commandments either to be mere ciphers, or the fourth commandment from laboring with a needless tautology, but by flying for refuge to this peculiar manner of holiness, which he thinks is required herein, and not in any of the rest;* but what hath been said may be sufficient to clear up the ungroundedness of this mistake.

Thesis 59. A little error is a great breeder, and begets many more; and hence it is that Wallæus, among many others, that he might make the worship itself to be required in the fourth commandment, disputes therefore against those who place the instituted worship of God directly under the second commandment, which if he could make good, he had then the fairer probabilities to show that the worship itself was required directly in the fourth command; which principle, if it was granted, would expose the morality of the Sabbath to sorer blows and bruises than perhaps appears at first blush. It may not therefore be amiss, but be rather of special use for the clearing up both of the meaning and morality of the fourth command, to demonstrate, that the instituted worship of God (which Wallæus calls *cultus externus et instrumentalis salutis nostræ, per auditum verbi et sacramentorum usum*, etc.,) is directly required in the affirmative part of the second command.

* In hoc quarto præcepto aliquem peculiarem sanctificationis modum mandari quæ in aliis præceptis non mandatur, a nobis quoque extra controversiam debet collocari, cum in bis decem verbis tautologia supervacua non committatur. — *Wal., Dissert. de* 4 *Præc. c.* 6.

Thesis 60. The clearing up of this depends much upon a right and true understanding of two things in the second commandment: 1. What the graven image and likeness is. 2. What is meant by those words, "Love me and keep my commandments."

Thesis 61. First. Graven images, after which the whole world almost hath been enticed, and gone a-whoring from the true worship of God, were worshiped two ways: 1. Terminative, i. e., when people terminated their worship upon the dumb idols themselves, as if they were gods, without looking any farther to any God more supreme and glorious. This is the sin of many of the ignorant sort of Papists, by Bellarmin's own confession, as also many of the brutish sort of the blind heathens. And this kind of worship and idolatry is directly forbidden, not in the second, but in the first commandment; and that appears upon this undeniable ground, to wit, that if the first commandment expressly enjoins us to have no other God but Jehovah, to trust in, pray to, love, fear no other God but Jehovah, then for any to have and worship such images as their gods which are not Jehovah, is directly forbidden here. Hence, therefore, it undeniably follows, that by the making to ourselves a graven image, in the second commandment, somewhat else must be understood than the worshiping of images terminatively as gods. 2. Or else they were worshiped relative, i. e., relatively, or in reference to the true God, as means and helps, in which, at which, and by which the true God was worshiped. And thus the learned and well-instructed Papists maintain their abominable worship of images, whether graven or painted, crosses, crucifixes, etc., to be good and lawful; for, say they, we do not worship, nor are we so senseless as to honor the image or crucifix itself, but only as helps to devotion, to carry our hearts to God and Christ, resembled by these images. Thus, also, the Jews of old, they did never worship the images themselves, but God in them and by them. They were not grown so soon so extremely sottish as to think that the golden calf was the true God himself which brought them a few weeks before out of the land of Egypt, but it was a visible help to carry their hearts to God only, and therefore the feast was proclaimed to Jehovah. (Ex. xxxii. 4, 5.) Micah's idolatrous mother professeth that she had dedicated the eleven hundred shekels of silver to Jehovah to make a molten image, (Judg. xvii. 3;) she was not simple (no, not in those confused and blind times) to think that the image was Jehovah, nor did her son Micah think so, and therefore he doth not say, Now I know that the teraphim will bless

me, but that Jehovah will now bless me, having set up an image for his service. Nay, verily, the wisest and best instructed among the heathens did never think that the idols and images themselves were God, but they only worshiped God by them; which if any doubt of, let him but read Doctor Rainolds, who by pregnant and most eminent proofs demonstrates, that neither the Jews nor the heathens, in their deepest apostasies, did ever worship their images any other ways than relatively, as helps and means of the worship of the true God; and hereby sets forth the abominable idolatry of the Romish church, for such a worship of their images, which even themselves condemn in the idolatrous Jews and heathens, who had as much to say for their image worship as the Papists have. Hence, therefore, it follows, that if the graven image in the second commandment was not worshiped as God, but only as a means devised and invented by man to carry the heart unto God, then (by a usual synecdoche in every command) all human inventions, and institutions, and devised means of worship, or of carrying the heart better unto God, are forbidden in this commandment; and if all human institutions and devised means of worship be herein directly forbidden, then certainly all divine institutions and means of worship, and consequently all God's instituted worship, in ministry, sacraments, etc., are directly commanded in the affirmative part of this second command, and consequently not in the fourth command. And if all orthodox divines condemn the Popish relative worship of images, as directly cross and contrary to the second command, I then see no reason why any should question but that all the instituted means of worship (images, as it were, of God's own devising) should belong to the affirmative part of the same command. The second thing to be explained in this commandment is, What is love to God, and keeping of his commandments, which we read of in the close of the commandment? Love to God is here opposed to hatred of God, and those that love him to those that hate him. Now, this hatred is not hating of God at large, for there is a hatred of God in every sin, (Prov. i. 29; viii. 36,) but in particular, when it appears in this particular sin of setting up of images and men's inventions, forbidden in this commandment, which therefore sets down the proper punishment for this sin. So by love of God is not meant love of God at large, (which is seen in keeping every command,) but in particular, when we love God in his own ordinances and institutions. Look, therefore, as hatred of God in setting up man's inventions and institutions (which superstitious persons think to be much love to God) is here condemned in the

negative part of the commandment, so, on the contrary, love to God in closing with him and seeking of him in his own institutions, whether word or sacraments, etc., is here enjoined in the affirmative part of this command, and consequently not (as Wallæus would have it) in the affirmative part of the fourth command, keeping my commandments being set down as a fruit of this love, and both together being opposed to hatred of God. Hence by commandments can not be meant in general all the ten commandments, (as some imagine upon miserable weak grounds, which I list not to mention,) but in special, God's institutions and ordinances commanded in special by him, to which human inventions and images of men's heads and hands are commonly in Scripture opposed, and are therefore condemned, because not commanded, or because none of his commandments. (Jer. vii. 31. Deut. xii. 30, 31. Matt. xv. 9.) If, therefore, again, God's institutions and commandments are here enjoined in this second commandment, they can not be directly required in the fourth command. These things being thus cleared, the objections of Wallæus are easily answered. For, first, he saith, "that from the negative part of this second commandment can not be gathered such an affirmative part as this is, viz., that God will be worshiped by the word and sacraments." But that this assertion, thus barely propounded, but not proved, is false, appears from what hath been said concerning the true meaning of the negative part of this command. For if human inventions, under the name of graven image, be forbidden, then divine institutions, such as word and sacraments be, are here commanded, and from that negative any ordinary capacity may readily see what the affirmative is. He saith again, secondly, "that if instituted worship was contained under the affirmative part of the second commandment, then this commandment is mutable, because God was thus worshiped one way before Christ, and another way since Christ; but (saith he) the second commandment is moral, and therefore immutable, and therefore such mutable worship can not be enjoined herein." But we have formerly shown that, although this commandment be moral and immutable in respect of itself, yet in respect of the application of it to this or that object or thing commanded, it may be in that respect mutable. For it is an immutable law that God must be worshiped with his own worship, such as he shall institute, (and this is the sum of the second commandment itself;) yet the things instituted (wherein there is only an application of the command) may be mutable: the second commandment doth not immutably bind to the observance of this or that particular instituted worship only, but to

observe God's instituted worship, and to attend his appointments, which is the only moral law and rule in the affirmative part of this command. He thirdly objects, "that the worshiping of God in word and sacraments, etc., is never opposed in all the Scripture to the worshiping of images." But this is false; for God's institutions (of which word and sacraments are a part) are frequently opposed to human inventions, the worship appointed by God to the worship devised by man. Images of God's devising are oft opposed to images of men's own inventing; the voice of God, which was only heard with the ear, is opposed to an image or similitude which might be seen. (Deut. iv. 12.) A graven image, a teacher of lies, is opposed to the Lord's teaching of truth, and also to his presence in his temple, which was the seat of instituted worship. (Hab. ii. 18–20.) The worship of images which God would have abolished is opposed to the worship of God by sacrifices and ceremonies, in the place which God should choose, (Deut. xii. 1–20;) but yet he tells us, "that to worship God in images, and to worship him in spirit and truth," (which is inward worship,) "are opposite; as also the lifting up of pure hands in every place." (John iv. 28. 1 Tim. ii. 8.) He tells us also, that acknowledging of God in his immensity and infinite majesty are opposed to image worship. (Rom. i. 20–22. Is. xl. 22.) Be it so. But will it therefore follow, that to worship God according to his own institutions is not to worship him in spirit and in truth? Is it rather a carnal than a spiritual worship, to attend on God in word and sacraments? May we not lift up pure hands in the use of God's own institutions? Is not God's immensity and majesty acknowledged and seen in the use of his own ordinances, as well as creatures and providences? I confess the blinder sort of heathens might worship stocks, and stones, and images of creeping things, and four-footed beasts, in the place of God himself, terminatively, and God might account of all their image worship as such, though used relatively; and hence the opposition may well be made between worshiping them as God, and an infinite God; and this worship (as was said) falls then under the first commandment: but assuredly this image worship which the apostle condemns, (Rom. i. 21, 23,) in debasing the infinite majesty, and limiting it to this and that image wherein they did worship it, is forbidden (being only relative worship) in the second command. For I think the apostle (in Rom. i.) hath an eye principally at the most lascivious idolaters in the world, viz., the Egyptians, among whom principally we read of those images of creeping things and four-footed beasts, in their hieroglyphics: and yet we know that all that base

worship did set out something or other of the Deity, which therein (and so relatively) they did worship. But I must not enter into the discourse of these things here; sufficient is said to clear up this point, viz., that God's instituted worship falls directly under the second, not fourth command.

Thesis 62. It is true that the exercise of public worship of many together is to be at this time upon the Sabbath; but doth it follow that therefore this public worship itself falls directly under this command? For if public assemblies be (as some think) a part of natural worship, so as that the light of nature directs all men dwelling together, as creatures, to worship God together publicly as Creator, then this worship falls directly under the first (not fourth) commandment, where natural worship is directly commanded; but if public assemblies be considered as distinct churches politically united and combined, publicly to worship God, then such churches, considered thus as political, not mystical assemblies, do fall directly under the second command, as parts of instituted worship; for as all devised forms of churches, whether diocesan, provincial, national, universal, (being the inventions of man to further the worship of God,) are condemned directly in the second command, so all such churches as are framed into a spiritual polity, after the fashion and pattern of the word and primitive institution, are (with leave of Erastus and his disciples) enjoined in the same commandment, and therefore not in the fourth. Gomarus and Master Primrose, therefore, do much mistake the mark and scope of the fourth commandment, who affirm, "that as, in the three first commandments, God ordained the inward and outward service, which he will have every particular man to yield to him in private and severally from the society of men every day, so in the fourth commandment he enjoineth a service common and public, which all must yield together unto him, forbearing in the mean while all other business." But why should they think that public worship is more required here than private? Will they say that the Sabbath is not to be sanctified by private and inward worship, as well as by public and external worship? Are not private preparation, meditation, secret prayer, and converse with God, required upon this day, as well as public prayer and hearing the word? If they say that these are required indeed, but it is in reference to the public, and for the public worship's sake, it may be then as easily replied, that the public worship is also for the sake of the private, that each man secretly and privately might muse and feed upon the good of public helps; they are mutually helpful one to another, and therefore are appointed one for

another, unless any will think that no more holiness is required upon this day than while public worship continues; which we hope shall appear to be a piece of professed profaneness: in the mean while, look, as they have no reason to think that private worship is required in this command, because the exercise of private worship is at this time required, so they have as little reason to think that the public worship itself is herein enjoined, because the exercise of it is to be also at such a time. It is therefore the time, not the worship itself, either public or private, which is here directly commanded; although it be true, that both of them are herein indirectly required, viz., in relation to the time.

Thesis 63. If, therefore, the moral worship itself, whether public, external, or private, be not directly required in this fourth command, much less is the whole ceremonial worship here enjoined, as Master Primrose maintains; for the whole ceremonial worship, both in sacrifice, ceremonies, types, etc., was significant, and were, as I may so say, God's images, or *media cultus*, means of worship, by carrying the mind and heart to God, by their special significations, and therefore were instituted worship, and therefore directly contained under the second, and therefore not under the fourth command: "And if there be but nine commandments which are moral, and this one (by his reckoning) is to be ceremonial, and the head of all ceremonials, and that therefore unto it all ceremonial worship is to appertain," then the observation of a Sabbath is the greatest ceremony, according as we see in all other commandments, the lesser sins are condemned under the grosser, as anger under murder, and lust under adultery; and inferior duties under the chief and principal, as honoring the aged and masters, etc., under honoring of parents; and so if all ceremonials are referred to this, then the Sabbath is the grossest and greatest ceremony one of them; and if so, then it is a greater sin to sanctify a Sabbath, at any time, than to observe new moons and other festivals, which are less ceremonial, and are therefore wholly cashiered, because ceremonial; and if so, why then doth Master Primrose tell us "that the Sabbath is moral for substance, principal scope and end, and that it is unmeet for us to observe fewer days than the Jews, in respect of weekly Sabbaths"? Why is not the name and memorial of the Sabbath abandoned wholly and utterly accursed from off the face of the earth, as well as new moons and other Jewish festivals, which upon his principles are less ceremonial than the weekly Sabbath? It may be an audacious Familist, whose conscience is grown iron, and whose brow is brass, through a conceit of his immunity from,

and Christian liberty in respect of, any thing which hath the superscription of law or works upon it, may abandon all Sabbaths together with new moons equally: but those I now aim at, I suppose, dare not, nor I hope any pious mind else, who considers but this one thing, viz., that when the Lord commands us to remember to keep the Sabbath holy, he must then (according to this interpretation) command us that, above all other commandments, we observe his ceremonial worship, (which they say is here enjoined,) rather than his moral worship, which they acknowledge to be enjoined in all the other nine commandments, at the gate of none of which commands is written this word *remember;* which undoubtedly implies a special attendance to be shown unto this, above any other; for as we shall show, keep this, keep all; break this, slight this, slight all; and therefore no wonder if no other command hath this word *remember* writ upon the portal of it, which word of fence denotes special affection and action, in the Hebrew language: but I suppose it may strike the hardest brow and heart with terror and horror to go about to affix and impute such a meaning to this commandment, viz., that principally above all other duties we remember to observe those things which are ceremonial; for although the observation of ceremonies be urged and required of God, as Master Primrose truly observes from Ps. cxviii. 27; Jer. xvii. 26; Joel xix. 13; Mal. i. 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, yet that God should require and urge the observation of these above any other worship, is evidently cross to reason, and expressly cross to Scripture. (Is. i. 11–15; lxvi. 3. Ps. l. 13. Jer. vi. 20. Amos iii. 21. Micah vi. 7.) To remember therefore to keep the Sabbath is not to remember to observe ceremonial duties.

Thesis 64. Nor should it seem strange that Jewish holy days are not here enjoined, where a holy time, a Sabbath day, is commanded; for those Jewish holy days were principally instituted (as Wallæus well observes) for signification of Christ and his benefits, (as may appear from 1 Cor. v. 7; Luke iv. 19; Heb. x. 5,) and therefore, being significant, were parts of instituted worship, belonging to the second, not fourth command, but the Sabbath day (as shall be shown) is in its original institution and consecration of another nature, and not significant; yet this may be granted, that ceremonial holy days may be referred to the fourth command, as appendices of it; and if Calvin, Ursin, Danæus, and others aim at no more, it may be granted, but it will not follow from hence that they therefore belong to the second command indirectly, and directly to the fourth, (which Master Primrose contends for,) but rather directly to the second,

and reductively and indirectly as appendices to the fourth; which appendices, as they may be put to, so they may be taken off again, the moral commandment remaining entire: even as we know Calvin refers many ceremonial duties as appendices to such commands, concerning the morality of which Master Primrose doubts not; and therefore for him to think that the Sabbath comprehends all Jewish festival days upon this ground, viz., because the Sabbath is joined with and put in among the reckoning of such festivals, (Lev. xxiii.; Is. i. 13, 14,) hath no more force in it, than by retorting the argument, and upon the like ground prove it to be moral, because it is joined with moral commandments, as honoring of parents (Lev. xix. 3) and prayer, (Is. i. 19,) and by his own confession with the other nine, which are all of them moral also.

Thesis 65. Secondly, not only a solemn time, but more particularly a solemn day, a whole day of worship, is here also required by virtue of this fourth command; and the Lord gives us good reason for it, that if he gives us many whole days for our own work, then, not some part of a day, but a day, a whole day, according to the reason and express words of the commandment, should be marked out and set apart for his work and service. If that place, Is. lvi. 6, 7, will not demonstrate a seventh day's Sabbath under the New Testament, yet it sufficiently and fully clears the point in hand, viz., that a Sabbath day is to be observed by the sons of the stranger or Gentiles, who are called strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, (Eph. ii. 12;) and indeed Wallæus freely confesseth and proveth, that a whole day is here required; and if a whole day, I hope none will think that the time out of public assemblies is common and profane, if a whole day be holy; and therefore Master Primrose tells us that the Gentiles, having no other law but the light of nature, have appointed set days for the exercise of their religion, and that as the Jews had their set days, (which we know were whole days,) so should Christians have theirs for their public assemblies under the gospel; which I hope must be therefore whole days also: it is also considerable that if the three first commandments requiring God's worship do consequently require some time for that worship, (as being a necessary adjunct to all actions, whether moral or civil, and without which they can not be performed,) then the fourth command must require somewhat more particularly than a time of worship: and therefore they that place the morality of the fourth command in requiring only a time of worship (because, say they, a time of worship is necessary) may, upon this ground, wholly and perfectly abolish the fourth command as superfluous and

needless, because such a time of worship is required in all other commandments necessarily. They may also imagine as great a morality in the command of building the temple the place of worship, because a place of worship is a necessary as well as a time: it is not, therefore, a time, but such a time as is preserved in a day, even in a whole day, for worship, which is here commanded.

Thesis 66. The wise God could have appointed some part of every day to be kept holy, rather than a whole day together; but his wisdom saw this proportion of time every day to be more unmeet, in respect of man's daily cumbers, which do so easily entangle man's thoughts and affections, so as within some small piece of a day he can not ordinarily nor easily recover and unloose himself to find the end of a Sabbath service, which is most sweet and full rest in the bosom of his God, as he may within the compass of a whole day set apart for that end: or suppose he could do so in a piece and part of a day, yet God's name should lose by it, if he should not have the honor of some solemn day, which we see do serve to advance the names of idol gods, and men on earth: it is meet and just that God's name should be magnified by us commonly every day, by setting apart some time which we may well spare (as whet to the scythe) out of our callings, for God, and this doth honor him, but a day much more.

Thesis 67. They, therefore, who maintain that a seventh day is not moral, because it is but a circumstance of time, may as well abolish time to be moral, or any day to be moral, because a day (let it fall out when it will) is but a circumstance of time; which notwithstanding they account to be moral in this command; but we know that much morality lies in circumstances, and why a day sanctified may not be as much moral as a duty, I yet see not.

Thesis 68. The Familists and Antinomians of late, like the Manichees of old, do make all days equally holy under the gospel, and none to be observed more than another by virtue of any command of God, unless it be from some command of man to which the outward man they think should not stick to conform, or unless it be *pro re nata*, or upon several occasions, which special occasions are only to give the alarums for church meetings and public Christian assemblies — an audacious assertion, cross to the very light of nature among the blind heathens, who have universally allowed the Deity whom they ignorantly worshiped the honor of some solemn duties; cross to the verdict of Popish schoolmen and prelatists, whose stomachs never stood much toward any Sabbath at all; cross to the scope of the law of the Sabbath, which, if it hath any general morality, (not denied

scarce to any of Moses' judicials,) surely one would think it should lie in the observation of some day or days, though not in a seventh day, for which now we do not contend; cross also to the appointment of the gospel, foretold by Isaiah and Ezekiel, (Is. lvi. 4, 6; Ezek. xliii. 27,) made mention of by our Saviour to continue long after the abolishing of all ceremonies by his death, (Matt. xxiv. 20,) who therefore bids them pray, that their flight may not be in the winter, nor on the Sabbath day, which, whether it be the Jewish or Christian Sabbath, I dispute not; only this is evident, that he hath an eye to some special set day, and which was lastly ordained by Christ, and observed in the primitive churches, commonly called the Lord's day, as shall be shown in due place, and which notion, under pretense of more spiritualness, in making every day a Sabbath, (which is utterly unlawful and impossible, unless it be lawful to neglect our own work all the week long, and without which there can be no true Sabbath,) doth really undermine the true Sabbath, in special set days; and look, as to make every man a king and judge in a Christian commonwealth would be the introduction of confusion, and consequently the destruction of a civil government, so to crown every day with equal honor unto God's set days and Sabbaths which he hath anointed and exalted above the rest, this anarchy and confusion of days doth utterly subvert the true Sabbath; to make every day a Sabbath is a real debasing and dethroning of God's Sabbath.

Thesis 69. It is true that every day, considered, materially and physically, as a day, is equally holy; but this is no argument to prove that therefore every day is morally and theologically holy; for those things which of themselves are common may by divine appointment superadded to them become holy (witness the dedicated things of the temple,) and so it is in days and times; under the Old Testament we see some days were more holy by God's appointment than others, and yet all days then were materially and alike holy.

Thesis 70. It is true that, under the New Testament, all places (in a safe sense) are equally holy; but it doth not follow from hence (as our adversaries would infer) that therefore all times are so; and Wallæus himself confesseth the argument to be invalid; for it was not easy nor meet, but very dissonant from divine and heavenly wisdom, to appoint in his word all particular places where his people should meet, their meetings being to be in so many thousand several countries, and various situations, which places are indeed for their general nature commanded and necessary, but in respect of application to circumstances of this and that place and country, the variation of them is almost

endless, and therefore very incongruous and useless to set them down in the word; but it was not so in respect of solemn time, or a solemn day of worship, for herein the Lord might easily appoint a particular day to be observed, according to the rising and setting of the sun proportionably throughout all the world; and the Scripture hath expressly foretold in respect of place, that neither in Jerusalem, Judea, nor Samaria, but that in every place incense should be offered up to God, (Mal. i. 11;) but it hath not so spoken, but rather the contrary, in respect of time.

Thesis 71. Nor is any time morally holy, in this sense, viz., instrumentally holy, or as an instrument and means by which God will convey any spiritual and supernatural grace, (as sacraments now do, and sacrifices of old did;) but being sanctified of God, they are holy seasons, in which God is pleased to meet and bless his people, rather than at other times and days of our own devising, or of more common use; reserving only the Lord's prerogative to himself, to work at other times also more or less, as he sees meet. Indeed, it is true that by our improvement of our time, and of such times, the Lord sweetly conveys himself to us, yet still it is not by time itself, nor by the day itself; but as he conveys himself to us by holy things, and at holy places, (as the ark and temple,) so in holy times.

Thesis 72. There are, indeed, sundry scriptures, which, to one who is willing to have all days equal, may carry a great breadth, and make a specious show; and I ingenuously confess that, upon a *rigidum examen* of them, they are more weighty and heavy than the disputers in this controversy usually feel them, and therefore they do more lightly cast them by and pass them over; and it is to be wished, that those who do not think that all days are equal, yet will not acknowledge a seventh day to be moral, had not put weapons unawares into the hands of others, strengthening them thereby to destroy the morality of any day, and so to lay all days level; for I scarce know an argument or scripture alleged, by any German writer, against the morality of a seventh day, but it strikes directly against the morality of any day, which yet they acknowledge to be moral.

Thesis 73. The fairest color and strongest force from Gal. iv. 10, and Col. ii. 16, lies in the gradation which some suppose to be intended in both those places. "Ye observe" (saith the apostle) "days, and months, and times, and years." (Gal. iv. 10.) Wherein the apostle seems to ascend from the lesser to the greater, from days (which are less than months, and therefore weekly Sabbath days) to months, from months, or new moons, to times, which are higher than months, and by which is meant their an-

nual feasts and fasts, ordered according to the καιροι, or fittest seasons of the year; and from times he ascends yet higher to years, viz., their sabbatical years, because they were celebrated once in many years, sometimes seven, sometimes fifty years; by which gradation it seems evident that the observation of days, which are less than months, and therefore of weekly Sabbaths, are hereby condemned. The like gradation is urged from Col. ii. 16, where the apostle seems to descend from condemning the greater to the condemnation of the lesser: "Let no man judge you" (saith the apostle) "in respect of a holy day, new moon, or Sabbath days." There holy days seem to be their annual or sabbatical days, their new moons are less than them, being every month; and therefore by Sabbath days (they infer) must needs be meant the weekly Sabbaths, less than new moons. Indeed, some understand by days and times (in Gal. iv.) heathenish days; but he speaking of such days as are beggarly rudiments, under which not the heathens, but the children of the Old Testament were in bondage, (ver. iii.,) he must therefore speak not of heathenish but of Jewish days. I know also that some understand that of Col. ii. 16 to be meant of Jewish and ceremonial Sabbaths, which were annual; but this the apostle's gradation seems to overthrow.

Thesis 74. To both these places, therefore, a threefold answer may be given. First, admit the gradation in them both; yet by days (Gal. iv 10) is not necessarily meant all weekly Sabbath days, for there were other days ceremonial which the Jews observed, and which the Jewish teachers urged, besides the Sabbath; to instance only in circumcision, which they zealously pressed, (Gal. v. 3,) which we know was limited unto the eighth day, and which they might urge as well as circumcision itself. However, look, as the apostle when he condemns them for observing times, καιροι, which signifies fit seasons, he doth not therein condemn them for observing all fit seasons, (for then we most not pray nor hear the word in fit seasons,) but he condemns the Jewish ceremonial times and seasons; so when he condemns the observation of days, the apostle doth not condemn the observation of all days, (for then days of fasting and feasting must be condemned, as well as days of resting under the New Testament,) but the observation of ceremonial days, which the Jews observed, and false teachers urged; and indeed the apostle speaks of such days as were beggarly elements and rudiments. Now, James speaking of the moral law, which comprehends Sabbath days, he doth not call it a beggarly law, but a royal law, (James ii. 8, 12;) nor doth he make subjection thereunto to be the bondage of

servants, (as that was, Gal. iv. 9.) but the liberty of children, and therefore called a royal law of liberty.

Secondly, suppose the weekly Sabbath be here comprehended under days, as also that by Sabbath is meant weekly Sabbaths, (Col. ii. 16;) yet hereby can not be meant the Christian Sabbath, but the Jewish Sabbath; for the apostle condemns that Sabbath and those Sabbath days which the Jewish teachers pleaded for among the Colossians. Now, they never pleaded for the observation of the Christian Sabbath, but were zealous and strong proctors for that particular seventh day from the creation, which the Jews, their forefathers, for many years before observed, and for the observation of which some among us of late begin to struggle as at this day. Now, as was said, admit the gradation; we do not observe the Jewish Sabbath, nor judge others in respect of that Sabbath, no more than, for observing new moons or holy days, we do utterly condemn the observation of that Sabbath. If it be said, Why do we not observe new moons and holy days, as well by substituting other days in their room, as we do a Christian Sabbath in the room of that Jewish Sabbath? we shall give the reason of it in its proper place, which I mention not here, lest I should *bis coctam apponere.* These places therefore are strong arguments for not observing that seventh day which was Jewish and ceremonial, but they give no sufficient ground for abandoning all Christian Sabbaths under the gospel.

Thirdly, there is a double observation of days, (as Wallæus and Davenant well observe:) 1. Moral. 2. Ceremonial. Now, the apostle, in the places alleged, speaks against the ceremonial and pharisaical observation of days, but not moral; for days of fasting are to be observed under the gospel, (the Lord Christ our Bridegroom being now taken from us, when our Saviour expressly tells us, that then his disciples, even when they had the greatest measures of Christ's spiritual presence, should fast.) (Matt. ix. 15, 16.) But we are to observe these days with moral, not ceremonial observation, such as the Jews had, in sackcloth, ashes, tearing hair, rending garments, and many other ceremonial trappings; we are to rend our hearts, and cry mightily unto God upon those days, which is the moral observance of them. So it is in respect of the Sabbath; no Sabbath day, under the gospel, is to be observed with ceremonial or pharisaical observation, with Jewish preparations, sacrifices, needless abstinence from lawful work, and such like formalities; but doth it hence follow, that no days are to be observed under the gospel with moral observation, in hearing the word, receiving the sacraments, singing of psalms? etc. There was no morality in the new moons, by virtue of any special

commandment, and therefore it is in vain to ask why new moons may not be observed still, as well as Sabbaths, provided that it be *observatione morali ;* for there is a morality in observing the Sabbath, and that by a special command, which is not in new moons and holy days; and therefore, as we utterly abandon all that which was in the Sabbath ceremonial, so we do and should heartily retain and observe that which is moral herein, with moral observance hereof.

Thesis 75. There were among the Jews days ceremonially holy, as well as meats ceremonially unclean ; now, in that other place which they urge against the observation of any days under the gospel, (Rom. xiv. 5,) therein days ceremonial are compared with meats ceremonial, and not moral days with ceremonial meats. It is therefore readily acknowledged that it was an error and weakness in some to think themselves bound to certain ceremonial days, as well as it was to abstain from certain ceremonial meats; but will it hence follow, that it is a part of Christian liberty and strength to abandon all days as ceremonial ? and that it is a part of Christian weakness to observe any day under the gospel ? This verily hath not the face of any reason for it from this scripture, wherein the apostle (doubtless) speaks of ceremonial, not moral days, as (shall appear) our Christian Sabbaths be. And, look as it is duty (not weakness) sometimes to abstain from some meats, as in the case of extraordinary humiliation, as we see in Daniel, (Dan. ix. and xi.,) so it may be duty (not weakness) still to observe some days ; I say not the seventh day, for that is not now the question, but some days are or may be necessary to be observed now.

Thesis 76. If any man shall put any holiness in a day which God doth not, and so think one day more holy than another, this is most abominable superstition, and this is indeed to observe days ; and of this the apostle seems to speak, when he saith, "Ye observe days ;" but when the Lord shall put holiness upon one day more than upon another, we do not then put any holiness in the day, but God doth it, nor do we place any holiness in one day more than in another, but God placeth it first; and this is no observation of days, which the apostle condemns in those that were weak, but of the will of God which he every where commands.

Thesis 77. There is (as some call it) *Sabbathum internum et externum,* i. e., an internal and external Sabbath ; the first (if I may lawfully call it a Sabbath) is to be kept every day in a special rest from sin ; the second is to be observed at certain times and on special days ; now, if that other place (Is. lxvi. 23)

(which is much urged for the equality of all days) be meant of a continual Sabbath, so that those words, "from Sabbath to Sabbath," if they signify a constant, continual worship of God indefinitely, then the prophet speaks of an internal Sabbath, which shall in special be observed under the gospel; but this doth not abolish the observation of an external Sabbath also, no more than in the times before the gospel, when the people of God were bound to observe a continual Sabbath and rest from sin, and yet were not exempted hereby from external Sabbaths, only because more grace is poured out upon the people of God under the New Testament than under the Old, and under some times and seasons of the New Testament, and some people, more than at and upon others: hence this prophecy points at the times of the gospel, wherein God's people shall worship God more spiritually and continually than in former times. But if by this phrase, "from Sabbath to Sabbath," be meant succession, i. e., one Sabbath after another successively, wherein God's people shall enjoy blessed fellowship with God from Sabbath to Sabbath, successively in the worship of him, one Sabbath after another, then this place is such a weapon in their own hands against themselves, as that it wounds to the heart that accursed conceit, that all days should be abandoned by those under the New Testament. But suppose that by Sabbath is not meant the weekly Sabbath, (for then, say some, what will you understand by new moons, which are conjoined with them?) yet these two things are evident: 1. That Sabbaths and new moons were set times of worshiping God under the Old Testament. 2. That it is usual with the prophets to vail (and not always to type out) the worship, and so the times of worship which were to be under the New Testament, under the ordinances of God observed in the Old, as may appear, Is. xix. 19; Mal. i. 11; as also by Ezekiel's temple, and such like: hence, then, it follows, that although this place should not evict a seventh day's Sabbath, yet it demonstrates at least thus much, that some set times and days, shadowed out under the name of new moons and Sabbaths, are to be observed under the New Testament; and this is sufficient to prove the point in hand, that all days are not equal under the gospel.

Thesis 78. The kingdom of heaven, indeed, doth not consist in meat and drink, as the apostle saith, (Rom. xiv. 17,) i. e., in the use of external indifferent things, as those meats and drinks, and some kind of days, were; or if in some sense it did, yet not chiefly in them, as if almost all religion did chiefly consist in them: but doth it from hence follow, that it consists not in things commanded, nor in any set days of worship, which are com-

manded? If because the kingdom of God consists in internal peace, and righteousness, and joy of the Holy Ghost, that therefore all external observances of times and duties of worship are not necessary to be attended by gospel worshipers, (as some secretly imagine,) then farewell all external preaching, sacraments, profession, and confession of the name of Christ, as well as Sabbaths: and let such artists of licentiousness bring in all profaneness into the world again, by a law from heaven, not condemning the acts of the outward man, though never so abominable, in abstinence from which (by this rule) the kingdom of heaven doth not consist. Is it no honor to the King of glory (as it is to earthly princes) to be served sometimes upon special festivals, in special state, with special and glorious attendance by his people, as well as after a common and usual manner every day? We have seen some, who have at first held community of days only, to fall at last (through the righteous judgment of God blinding their hearts) to maintain community of wives; and that because the kingdom of God hath (as they have thought) consisted no more in outward relations, (as that is between husbands and wives) than in the observation of external circumstances and days.

Thesis 79. But this is not the ordinary principle by which many are led to maintain an equality of days under the gospel: but this chiefly, viz., that the moral law is not to be a Christian's rule of life; for we acknowledge it to be no covenant of life to a believer, that either by the keeping of it he should be justified, or that for the breach of it he should be condemned; but they say, that when a believer hath life by the covenant of grace, the law is now not so much as a rule of life to such a one; and then it is no wonder if they who blow out the light of the whole moral law from being a light to their feet and a lamp to their paths, if they hereby utterly extinguish this part of it, viz., the commandment of the Sabbath. This dashing against the whole law is the very mystery of this iniquity, why some do cashier this law of the Sabbath: and they do but hide themselves behind a thread, when they oppose it by their weapons, who therefore abandon it, because it alone is ceremonial, above any other law.

Thesis 80. "The Sabbath" (saith one) "is perpetual and moral, but not the Sabbath day; the Sabbath" (which some make continual and inward only) "is perpetually to be observed, but not the Sabbath day; a Sabbath is by divine ordination, but a Sabbath day is to be observed only as a human constitution." But they should do well to consider, whether that which they call an inward continual Sabbath be inconsistent with a special day; for I

am sure that they under the Old Testament were bound equally with us to observe a continual Sabbath in resting from all sin, and resting in God by Jesus Christ, (Heb. iv. 1, 2;) yet this did not exempt them from observing a special day. A special day is a most powerful means to Sabbatize every day; why then may not a Sabbath and a Sabbath day consist together? An every-day Sabbath is equally opposite to a time occasionally set, as to a set day, which the commandment enjoins; and therefore, if it exempts a Christian from observing a set day, it sets him free also from all observation of any such set time; for if, because a Christian Sabbath ought to be continual, and that therefore there ought to be no set days, then there should not be any occasionally set times for the worship of God, because these neither can be continual; and if there ought to be no such set times, we may then bid good night to all the public worship and glory of God in the world, like the man with one eye to him who put his other eye quite out. And if any here reply, that there is not the like reason, because holy time and days are not necessary, but holy duties are necessary, and therefore require some occasional set time for them, I answer, that, let the difference be granted, yet that which I now dispute on is this ground and supposition only, viz., that if all set days are to be abandoned, because a Christian's Sabbath ought to be continual and inward, then all occasional set times also are to be abandoned upon the same ground, because these can not be continual and inward no more than the other: as for them who think no holy day necessary, but holy duties lawful every day, we have already, and shall hereafter clear up more fully in its proper place. Meanwhile it is yet doubtful to me whether those who follow Master Saltmarsh and some others will acknowledge the lawfulness of any occasional set times for public worship, of hearing the word and prayer, etc. For he makes the bosom of the Father to be the Christian Sabbath, typified in the seventh day of the first creation, and he makes the six days of work to be a type, not only of the Lord Jesus in his active and fulfilling administrations while he was in the flesh, but also to be a figure of the Christian in bondage, or (to use his own words) of a Christian under active and working administrations, as those of the law and gospel are, as all forms of worship, duties, graces, prayer, ordinances, etc. From whence it will follow, (from his principles, for I know not his practice,) that all forms of worship, duties, graces, prayer, ordinances, are then to cease, as types, and shadows, and figures, when once the substance is come, to wit, when they come in this life to the highest attainment, which is the bosom of the Father,

which bosom is the true Sabbath of a Christian man. Now, I confess that the bosom of God in Christ is our rest, and our all in all in heaven, and our sweet consolation and rest on earth, and that we are not to rest in any means, ordinances, graces, duties, but to look beyond them all, and to be carried by them above them all, to Him that is better than all, to God in Christ Jesus; but to make this bosom of God a kind of canker worm to fret and eat out the heart and being, not only of all Sabbaths and ordinances of worship, but also of all duties and graces of God's Spirit, nay, of Christ Jesus himself, as he is manifested in the flesh, and is an external Mediator, whom some lately have also cast into the same box with the rest, being sent only (as they think) to reveal, but not to procure the Father's love of delight, and therefore is little else than a mere form, and so to cease when the Father comes in the room of all forms, and so is all in all. This, I dare say, is such a high affront to the precious blood of Christ, and his glorious name, and blessed spirit of grace, that he who hath his furnace in Zion, and his fire in Jerusalem, will not bear it long, without making their judgments and plagues (at least spiritual) exemplary and wonderful, and leading them forth in such crooked ways, with the workers of iniquity, when peace shall be upon Israel. Are these abstracted notions of a Deity (into the vision and contemplation of whose amazing glory — without seeing him as he is in Christ — a Christian, they say, must be plunged, lost, and swallowed up, and up to which he must ascend, even to the unapproachable light) the true and only Sabbath? Are these (I say) the new and glorious light breaking out in these days, which this age must wait for? which are nothing else (upon narrow search) than monkish imaginations, the goodly cobwebs of the brain-imagery of those idolatrous and superstitious hypocrites, the anchorites, monks, and friars; who, to make the blind and simple world admire and gaze upon them, gave it out hereby, like Simon Magus, that they were some great ones, even the very power and familiars of God. Surely, in these times of distraction, war, and blood, if ever the Lord called for sackcloth, humiliation, repentance, faith, graces, holiness, precious esteem of God's ordinances, and of that gospel which hath been the power of God to the salvation of thousands, now is the time; and must God's people reject these things as their A, B, C? and must the new light of these times be the dreams, and visions, and slaverings of doting and deluded old monks? Shall the simplicity of gospel ministry be rejected, as a common thing, and shall *Harphius, Theologia Mystica, Augustinus Eluther-ius, Jacob Behmen, Cusanus, Raimundus Sabund, Theologia*

Germanica, and such like monk-admirers, be set up as the new lights and beacons on the mountain of these elevated times? Surely (if so) God hath his time and ways of putting a better relish to his precious gospel, and the cross of Christ, which was wont in Paul's time to be plainly preached, without such Popish paintings, and wherein God's people knew how to reconcile their sweet rest in the bosom of the Father, and their Sabbath day.

Thesis 81. If sin (which is the transgression of the law) be the greatest evil, then holiness (which is our conformity to the law) is our greatest good. If sin be man's greatest misery, then holiness is man's greatest happiness: it is therefore no bondage for a Christian to be bound to the observance of the law as his rule, because it only binds him fast to his greatest happiness, and thereby directs and keeps him safe from falling into the greatest misery and woe; and if the great design of Christ, in coming into the world, was not so much to save man from affliction and sorrow, (which are lesser evils,) but chiefly from sin, (which is the greatest evil,) then the chief end of his coming was not (as some imagine) to lift his people up into the love and abstracted speculation of the Father above the law of God, but into his own bosom only, where only we have fellowship with the Father above the law of sin.

Thesis 82. The blood of Christ was never shed to destroy all sense of sin and sight of sin in believers, and consequently all attendance to any rule of the law, by which means chiefly sin comes to be seen; but he died rather to make them sensible of sin; for if he died to save men from sin, (as is evident, 1 John iii. 5; Tit. ii. 14,) then he died to make his people sensible of sin, because hereby his people's hearts are chiefly weaned and severed from it, and saved out of it, (as by hardness and insensibleness of heart under it, they chiefly cleave to it, and it to them;) and therefore we know that godly sorrow works repentance never to be repented of. (2 Cor. vii. 10.) And that Pharaoh's hardness of heart strengthened him in his sin against God unto the last gasp, and hence it is also that the deepest and greatest spirit of mourning for sin is poured out upon believers, after God hath poured out upon them the Spirit of grace, as is evident, (Zech. xii. 10, 11,) because the blood of Christ, which was shed for the killing of their sin, now makes them sensible of their sin, because it is now sprinkled and applied to them, which it was not before, for they now see all their sins aggravated, being now not only sins against the law of God, but against the blood and love of the Son of God: it is therefore a most accursed doctrine of some libertines, who imagining that (through

the bloodshed and righteousness of Christ in their free justification) God sees no sin in his justified people, that therefore themselves are to see no sin, because now they are justified and washed with Christ's blood; and therefore lest they should be found out to be gross liars, they mince the matter, they confess that they may see sin by the eye of sense and reason, but (faith being cross to reason) they are therefore to see the quite contrary, and so to see no sin in themselves by the eye of faith; from whence it follows, that Christ shed his blood to destroy all sight and sense of sin to the eye of faith, though not to the eye of reason, and thus, as by the eye of faith they should see no sin, so (it will follow) that by the same blood they are bound to see no law, no, not so much as their rule, which as a rule is *index sui et obliqui*, and in revealing man's duty declares his sin. I know that, in beholding our free justification by the blood of Christ, we are to exclude all law from our consciences as a covenant of life, not to see or fear any condemnation for sin, or any sin able to take away life: but will it hence follow, that a justified person must see no sin by the eye of faith, nor any law as his rule to walk by, to discover sin? and is this the end and fruit of Christ's death too? Surely this doctrine, if it be not blasphemous, yet it may be known to be very false and pernicious, by the old rule of judging false doctrines, viz., if either they tend to extenuate sin in man, or to vilify the precious grace of Jesus Christ, as this doctrine doth.

Thesis 83. If sin be the transgression of the law, (which is a truth written by the apostle with the beams of the sun, (1 John iii. 4,) then of necessity a believer is bound to attend the law as his rule, that so he may not sin or transgress that rule, (Ps. cxix. 11;) for whoever makes conscience of sin can not but make conscience of observing the rule, that so he may not sin; and consequently whoever make no conscience of observing the rule do openly professs thereby that they make no conscience of committing any sin, which is palpable and downright atheism and profaneness; nay, it is such profaneness (by some men's principles) which Christ hath purchased for them by his blood; for they make the death of Christ the foundation of this liberty and freedom from the law, as their rule; the very thought of which abominable doctrine may smite a heart, who hath the least tenderness, with horror and trembling. Porquius, therefore, a great libertine, and the Beelzebub of those flies in Calvin's time, shuts his sore eyes against this definition of sin, delivered by the apostle, and makes this only to be a sin, viz., to see, know, or feel sin, and that the great sin of

man is to think that he doth sin, and that this is to put off the old man, viz., *non cernendo amplius peccatum*, i. e., by not seeing sin. So that when the apostle tells us, that sin is the transgression of the law, Porquius tells us, that sin is the seeing and taking notice of any such transgression; surely if they that confess sin shall find mercy, then they that will not so much as see sin shall find none at all. A believer, indeed, is to die unto the law, and to see no sin in himself in point of imputation, (for so he sees the truth, there being no condemnation to them in Christ Jesus,) but thus to die unto the law, so as to see no sin inherent in himself against the law, this is impious, (for so to see no sin, and die unto the law, is an untruth, if the apostle may be believed. (1 John i. 10.) Those that so annihilate a Christian, and make him nothing, and God all, so that a Christian must neither *scire*, *velle*, or *sentire* any thing of himself, but he must be melted into God, and die to these, (for then they say he is out of the flesh,) and live in God, and God must be himself, and such like language, which in truth is nothing else but the swelling leaven of the devout and proud monks, laid up of late in that little peck of meal of *Theologia Germanica*, out of which some risen up of late have made their cakes, for the ordinary food of their deluded hearers: I say, these men had need take heed how they stand upon this precipice, and that they deliver their judgments warily; for although a Christian is to be nothing by seeing and loathing himself for sin, that so Christ may be all in all to him, yet so to be made nothing, as to see, know, think, feel, will, desire nothing in respect of one's self, doth inevitably lead to see no sin in one's self, by seeing which the soul is most of all humbled, and so God and Jesus Christ is most of all exalted; and yet such a kind of annihilation the old monks have pleaded for, and preached also, (as I could show abundantly from out of their own writings,) insomuch that sometimes they counsel men not to pray, because they must be so far annihilated as *nihil velle;* and sometimes they would feign themselves unable to bear the burden of the species of their own pitchers in their cells from one end of them unto another, because, forsooth, they were so far annihilated as neither to *velle*, so neither to *scire* or know any thing beside God, whom they pretended to be all unto them, and themselves nothing, when God knows these things were but brain bubbles, and themselves in these things as arrant hypocrites as the earth bore, and the most subtle underminers of the grace of Christ and the salvation of men's souls.

Thesis 84. A true believer, though he can not keep the law perfectly, as his rule, yet he loves it dearly; he blames his own

heart when he can not keep it, but doth not find fault with the law as too hard, but cries out with Paul, "The law is holy and good, but I am carnal;" he loves this copy, though he can but scribble after it; when, therefore, the question is made, viz., whether a believer be bound to the law as his rule, the meaning is not, whether he hath power to keep it exactly as his rule, or by what means he is to seek power to keep it; but the question is, whether it be in itself a believer's rule; for so to be a rule is one thing, but to be able to keep it, and by what means we should keep it, whether by our own strength or no, or by power from on high, is another.

Thesis 85. If the apostle had thought that all believers were free from this directive power of the law, he would never have persuaded them to love, upon this ground, viz., because all the law is fulfilled in love, (Gal. v. 13, 14,) for they might then have cast off this argument as weak and feeble, and have truly said, (if this principle were true,) What have we to do with the law?

Thesis 86. There is the inward law written on the heart, called the law of the Spirit of life, (Rom. viii. 2,) and there is the outward law revealed and written in the Holy Scriptures. Now, the external and outward law is properly the rule of a Christian life, and not the internal and inward law, (as some conceive;) for the outward law is perfect, in that it perfectly declares what is God's will and what not; but the inward law (as received and writ in our hearts) is imperfect in this life, and therefore unfit to be our rule. The inward law is our actual (yet imperfect) conformity to the rule of the law without; it is not, therefore, the rule itself; the law within is the thing to be ruled. (Ps. xvii. 4; cxix. 4, 5.) The outward law, therefore, is the rule; the law of the Spirit of life (which is the internal law) is called a law, not in respect of perfect direction, (which is essential to the rule,) but in respect of mighty and effectual operation, there being a power in it as of a strong law effectually and sweetly compelling to the obedience of the law; for as the law of sin within us (which the apostle calls the law of our members, and is contrary to the law of our minds, or the law of the Spirit of life within us) is not the rule of knowing and judging what sin is, but the law of God without, (Rom. vii. 7,) and yet it is called a law, because it hath a compulsive power to act and incline to sin, like a mighty and forcible law; so the law of the Spirit of life, the law of our minds, is called a law; not that it is the rule of a Christian's life, but that it compels the heart, and forceth it, like a living law, to the obedience of that directing rule (when it is made known to it) from without. It is therefore a great mistake to think that

because God translates the law without into a believer's heart, that therefore this heart law is his only or principal rule of life, or to imagine that the Spirit without the external law is the rule of life; the Spirit is the principle, indeed, of our obedience, whereby we conform unto the rule, but it is not therefore the rule itself. It is true indeed, 1. That the Spirit inclines the heart to the obedience of the rule. 2. It illuminates the mind also many times to see it by secret shinings of preventing light, as well as brings things to their remembrance which they knew before. 3. It acts them also sometimes, so as when they know not what to pray, it prompts them. (Rom. viii. 16.) When they know not what to speak before their adversaries, in that day it is given to them, (Matt. x. 19;) when they know not whither to go, nor how to go, it is then a voice behind them, and leads them to fountains of living waters. (Is. xxx. 21. Rev. vii. 17.) But all these and such like quickening acts of the Spirit do not argue it to be our rule, according to which we ought to walk, but only by which, or by means of which, we come to walk, and are inclined, directed, and enabled to walk according to the rule, which is the law of God without. For the pilot of the ship is not the compass of the ship, because that by the pilot the ship is guided: nor doth it argue that the Spirit is our rule, because he guides us according to the rule; it is not essential to the rule to give power to conform unto it, but to be that according to which we are to be conformed. And therefore it is a crazy argument to prove the law of the Spirit to be the rule of our life, because it chiefly gives us power to conform unto the rule; for if the law be that according to which we are to be guided, although it should give us no power, yet this is sufficient to make it to be our rule.

Thesis 87. The Spirit of God which writ the Scriptures, and in them this rule of the holy law, is in the Scriptures, and in that law, as well as in a believer's heart; and therefore to forsake and reject the Scriptures, or this written rule, is to forsake and reject the Holy Spirit speaking in it as their rule; nay, it is to forsake that Spirit which is the supreme Judge, according to which all private spirits, nay, all the actings, dictates, movings, speakings of God's own Spirit in us, are to be tried, examined, and judged. To the law and the testimony was the voice of the prophets in their days. (Is. viii. 20.) The Lord Christ himself refers the Jews to the searching of Scriptures concerning himself. (John v. 39.) The men of Bereah are commended for examining the holy and infallible dictates of God's Spirit, in Paul's ministry, according to what was written in the Scriptures of old.

It is therefore but a cracking noise of windy words for any to say that they open no gap to licentiousness by renouncing the written and external law as their rule, considering that they cleave to a more inward and better rule, viz., the law of the Spirit within; for (as hath been shown) they do indeed renounce the Holy Spirit speaking in the rule, viz., the law without, which, though it be no rule of the Spirit, (as some object,) yet it is that rule according to which the Spirit guides us to walk, and by which we are to judge whether the guidance be the Spirit's guidance or no.

Thesis 88. Some say, "that the difference between the Old Testament dispensation and the New, or pure gospel and new covenant, is this, to wit, that the one, or that of Moses, was a ministry from without, and that of Christ from within; and hence they say, that the mere commandment, or letter of Scripture, is not a law to a Christian why he should walk in holy duties, but the law written on our hearts, the law of life." But if this be the difference between the Old and New Testament dispensation, the ministry of the Old and the ministry of the New, then let all believers burn their Bibles, and cast all the sacred writings of the New Testament and Old unto spiders and cobwebs in old holes and corners, and never be read, spoken, or meditated on, for these external things are none of Christ's ministry, on which now believers are to attend; and then I marvel why the apostles preached, or why they writ the gospel for after times, (for that was the chief end of their writing, as it was of the prophets in their times, Is. xxx. 8,) that men might believe, and believing have eternal life, and know hereby that they have eternal life. (John xx. 31. 1 John v. 13.) For either their writing and preaching the gospel was not an external and outward ministry, (which is cross to common sense,) or it was not Christ's ministry, which is blasphemous to imagine; and it is a vain shift for any to say, that although it was Christ's ministry, yet it was his ministry as under the law, and in the flesh, and not in mere glory and spirit; for it is evident that the apostle's preachings and writings were the effect of Christ's ascension and glory, (Eph. iv. 8, 11,) when he was most in the spirit, and had received the spirit that he might pour it out by this outward ministry, (Acts ii. 33;) and it is a mere new-nothing and dream of Master Saltmarsh and others, to distinguish between Christ in the flesh, and Christ in the Spirit, as if the one Christ had a diverse ministry from the other: for when the Comforter is come, (which is Christ in the Spirit,) what will he do? He will lead (it is said) unto all truth. (John xvi. 13.) But what truth will he

guide us unto? Verily to no other (for substance) but what Christ in the flesh had spoken; and therefore it is said that he shall bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you, (John xiv. 26;) and therefore (if I may use their phrase) Christ in the Spirit leads us to what Christ in the flesh said; inward Christ leads the faithful to the outward ministry of Christ; Christ in the Spirit to Christ speaking in the letter, the Spirit of truth to the word of truth, the Spirit within to the word without, by which we shall be judged at the last day, (John xii. 48,) and therefore certainly are to be regulated by it now.

Thesis 89. It is true that the faithful receive an unction or an anointing of the Spirit, which teacheth them all things; but is this teaching immediate or mediate? If immediate, why doth John tell them that he writ to them that hereby they might know they had eternal life? (1 John v. 13;) but if it be mediate, viz., by the word externally preached or writ, then the external word still is to be our rule, which the anointing of the Spirit helps us to know; it is true, the apostle saith, (1 John ii. 27,) that they, being taught of the Spirit, did not need that any man should teach them: what then? was their teaching therefore immediate? No, verily, for the apostle explains his meaning in the words following, viz., otherwise, and after another way and manner, then as the Spirit taught them, for so the words run, "You need not that any man should teach you, but as the anointing teacheth you all things, and is truth." For if ministers are to preach and write in demonstration of the Spirit, then those that hear them, and are taught by them, need no man to teach them otherwise than as the same Spirit in the same demonstration teacheth them all things. It might be truly said that the men of Bereah did need no man to teach them otherwise than as the Spirit, in comparing and searching the Scriptures, did teach them the things which Paul spake. And Calvin well observes upon this place, that the scope of the apostle, in these words, is to confirm his doctrine which he writ to them, it being no unknown thing, but a thing known to them by the anointing of the Spirit, which either they had received by former ministry of the word, or which now they might receive by this writing; as therefore the Spirit leads us to the word, so the word leads us to the Spirit, but never to a spirit without and beyond the word; I mean so far forth as that the outward administration of Christ in the flesh, or in the word, or letter, must cease, and be laid aside, when the inward administration of Christ in the Spirit comes.

Thesis 90. It is as weak an argument to imagine that we are not to be led and guided by any outward commands in our obe-

dience unto God, because God is to work all our works for us, and because we are not to live, but Christ is to live in us, as to think that we are not to look to any promises without us to direct and support our faith, because Christ is also to fulfill and accomplish all the promises for us. For, if the question be, By what are we to live? the apostle's answer is full, (Gal. ii. 19, 20,) that as he did not live but by the faith of the Son of God, so are we. But if the question be, According to what rule are we to live, and wherein are we to live? the answer is given by David, (Ps. cxix. 4, 5,) "Thou hast commanded us to keep thy precepts diligently. O that my heart were directed to keep thy statutes. Deal bountifully with thy servant, that I may live and keep thy word." (ver. 17.) "Let thy mercy come to me, that I may live, for thy law is my delight." (ver. 77.) So that if the question be, What is the rule of faith by which we live? the answer is, The gospel. (Phil. iii. 16.) But if the question be, What is the rule of life itself? the answer is, The moral law; and of this latter is the controversy.

Thesis 91. The commanding will of God, called *voluntas mandati*, is to be our rule, and not the working will of God, *voluntas decreti*, or the will of God's decree; for we can not sin by fulfilling the one, but we may sin in fulfilling the other. God's secret and working will was fulfilled when Joseph's brethren sold him into Egypt, and when Nebuchadnezzar afflicted God's people seventy years, as also when the scribes and Pharisees caused Christ to be crucified; yet in all these things they sinned and provoked God's wrath against them. How? Was it in crossing and thwarting God's working will, or the will of God's decree? No, verily, for it is expressly said, that Christ was crucified according to the determinate counsel and will of God. (Acts iv. 28.) It was therefore by crossing God's commanding will. It is therefore a hellish device of libertines to exempt men from all law, and from the sense of all sin. Because (say they) all things good and evil come from God's will, and all things that are done are wrought by him, and all that he doth is good, and therefore all sinful actions are good, because God works them; for what have we to do to take the measure of our ways by his working will? God's will is his own rule to work with, not our rule to work by. Our actions may be most sinful, when his working in and about these may be most just and holy; for though God purposeth to leave the creature to fall and sin, yet he so purposed it as that it should be only through their own fault that so they sin. And although a Christian is to submit humbly to the just dispensations of God when he

leaves it to any evil, yet God's working will in all such dispensations must not be our rule, for then we must will not only our own sin, but our own affliction and perdition forever; for all these are contained under his working will. It is therefore a most subtle and pernicious practice in many, who, when they are overtaken with any sin, or hampered with sin, they wash all off from themselves, and lay all the blame (if any be) upon God himself, saying, The Lord left me, and he doth not help me, and he must do all, and hath undertaken to do all; if therefore I sin, upon him be the blame; or if there be any upon them, it is but little. But why should any judge of the evil of their sin by God's working will? for that is not your rule, but the commanding will of God; according to which Samuel convinced Saul (when he was left of God to spare Agag) that his disobedience against the commandment was rebellion, and as the sin of witchcraft in the eyes of God. (1 Sam. xv. 23.)

Thesis 92. It is a great part of Christ's love to command us to do any thing for him, as well as to promise to do any thing for us. When the King of glory hath given us our lives by promise, it is then the next part of his special grace and favor to command us to stand before him and attend upon his greatness continually. They that see how justly they deserve to be forsaken of God, and given over to their own hearts' lusts, and to be forever sinning and blaspheming God in hell, where God will never command them to think of him, speak of him, do for him, pray to him more, can not but account it a high and special favor of Jesus Christ to command them any thing, or bid them do any thing for him; a poor, humbled prodigal will account it great love to be made a hired servant; John Baptist will count it a high favor if he may but untie Christ's shoe latchet, and be commanded by him to do the meanest work for him: David wondered at God's grace toward him, that God should command him, and in some measure enable him to offer willingly: "Lord, (saith he) what are we?" I do therefore marvel how any can pretend that they are acted by the love of Christ, and not by the law of commands, considering that there is so much love in this for Christ to command, and how they can profess their relish of preaching God's free grace and love, and yet can not away with sweet and gracious exhortations pressing to holiness and holy duties, in the revealing and urging of which there is so much free grace and heart love of Christ Jesus; surely if the love of Christ is to lead us, then the commands of Christ (wherein he discovers one chief part of his love) are to guide us, and be a rule of life unto us. The man who in his cool and delib-

erate thoughts imagines that a Christian under the rule of the law is a Christian under bondage, may be justly feared that himself is still under the bondage of sin and Satan, and never yet knew what the true love of Christ Jesus is to this day.

Thesis 93. The fundamental error of Antinomians ariseth from this — in imagining the great difference between the law and gospel to be this, viz., that the law requires doing, but the gospel no doing, and that all believers, being under the gospel, are therefore under no law of doing; but we must know that, as the gospel exacts no doing, that thereby we may be just, so it requires doing also when by Christ Jesus we are made just. For if the gospel command us to be holy as God is holy, (1 Pet. i. 15,) and perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect, (Matt. v. 48,) then the gospel doth not only require doing, but also as much perfection of doing as the law doth; the law and the gospel require the same perfection of holiness, only here is the difference, (which many have not observed:) the gospel doth not urge this perfection, nor require it of us as the law doth; for the law calling and urging of it that so hereby we may be made just, it therefore accepts of nothing but perfection; but the gospel requiring it because we are perfectly just already in Christ, hence, though it commands us as much as the law, yet it accepts of less, even the least measure of sincerity and perfection mixed with the greatest measure of imperfection.

Thesis 94. The law (say some of the Antinomians) is to be kept as an eternal rule of righteousness; but their meaning then is, that believers are thus to keep it in Christ, who hath kept it for them, and if they meant no more but that Christ hath kept it for righteousness to their justification, they speak truly: but their meaning herein is not only in respect of their justification, but also in respect of their sanctification; for they make Christ's righteousness to be materially and formally their sanctification: hence they say, A believer hath repented in Christ, and mortified sin in Christ, and that mortification and vivification are nothing but a believing that Christ hath mortified sin for them, and been quickened for them, and that that sanctification which is inherent in Christ, and not that which is inherent in us, is an evidence of our justification. But this principle, which confounds a Christian's justification and sanctification, as it casts the seed of denying all inherent graces in a believer, so it lays the basis of refusing to do any duty, or conform to any law in our own persons; for if this principle be true, (which no orthodox writer doubts of,) viz., that we are to seek for no righteousness in ourselves to our justification, because we are perfectly just and

made righteous for that end in Christ, then it will undeniably follow, that we are not to seek for any holiness and sanctification in ourselves, because we are perfectly sanctified also in Christ Jesus, who hath repented, and believed, and mortified sin perfectly for us in his own person; look, therefore, as the perfection of Christ's righteousness to our justification should make a Christian abhor any personal righteousness of his own to his justification, so if we be perfectly sanctified in Christ, then perfection of Christ's holiness to our sanctification should make a believer not only renounce the law, but to abhor all personal holiness through the Spirit to our sanctification, and then a believer must abhor to seek any love or fear of God in his heart, which is not painted but professed profaneness, and the inlet, not *per accidens*, but *per se*, to all manner of looseness and wickedness in the world.

Thesis 95. We deny not but that Christ is our sanctification as well as our righteousness, (1 Cor. i. 30;) but how? Not materially and formally, but virtually and meritoriously, and (with meet explications) exemplarily; our righteousness to our justification is inherent in him, but our sanctification is inherent in ourselves, yet it is derived from him, and therefore it is virtually and meritoriously only in him; and hence it is that we are never commanded to justify ourselves, unless it be instrumentally and sacramentally, whenas we are commanded by faith to wash ourselves, (Is. i. 16,) and as Paul at his baptism was commanded to wash away his sins, (Acts xxii. 16;) but we are frequently and abundantly exhorted to repent, believe, mortify our affections upon earth, to walk in newness of life, to be holy in all manner of conversation, etc., because these things are wrought by Christ in us to our sanctification, and not wrought in Christ for us as our righteousness to our justification.

Thesis 96. They that are in Christ are said to be complete in Christ, (Col. ii. 10,) and that they receive all grace from his fullness, (John i. 16;) so that it seems that there is no grace in themselves, but it is first in him, and consequently that their sanctification is perfected in him; but we must know, that though the perfection and fullness of all grace is first in Christ, yet that believers have not all in him after one and the same manner, nor for the same end; for our righteousness to our justification is so in him as never to be inherent in us, in this or in the world to come; but our righteousness to our sanctification is so far in him, as that it is to be derived and conveyed unto us, and hence it is formally in ourselves, but meritoriously and virtually only in him; even as our resurrection and glorification at last day are

not so in Christ as never to be derived to us, (for then the resurrection were past already,) but they are so in him as that they are to be conveyed to us, and therefore they are meritoriously and virtually in him, and we are meritoriously and virtually risen in him: a Christian therefore may be complete in Christ, and yet not be perfectly formally sanctified in Christ, our sanctification being completed in him after another manner, and for other ends than our justification.

Thesis 97. The chief end of Christ's first coming was to lay down his life a ransom for many in way of satisfaction and merit. (Phil. ii. 8. Matt. xx. 28.) Now, by this satisfaction he did two things: 1. He brought in such a righteousness before God as might merit mercy and make us just. Now, this is wholly in Christ out of ourselves; but because there was a righteousness of new obedience and thankfulness to be wrought in us for this love, therefore, 2. By the same satisfaction he hath merited, not that this new obedience might justify us or make us accepted, but that it might be accepted though imperfect and polluted with sin, (1 Pet. ii. 5, 6,) as also that it might be crowned and recompensed. Now, hence it follows, that the Lord Jesus hath not performed our duty of thankfulness and new obedience for us, *sub hoc formali*, or as of thankfulness; for though Christ was thankful and holy for us, yet it was not under this notion of thankfulness for his own love to us, for this is personally required of us, and it sounds very harsh to say that Christ walked in all holy thankfulness to himself, for his love to us; but he was thus thankful for us, *sub ratione meriti*, or in way of merit, it being part of that satisfaction which justice exacted. All that which might satisfy justice, and merit any mercy, Christ did for us in himself; but he did not believe and repent, and perform duties of thankfulness for us, because these and such like are not to satisfy justice, but follow as fruits of that satisfaction, and therefore are wrought within us, and so are personally required of us; and therefore, when a Christian finds a want of these things in himself, he is not to comfort himself with fond thoughts of the imputation of these in Christ only unto him, but he is to look up to Christ Jesus for derivation of these out of Christ into himself; otherwise, by making Christ his sanctification, only in way of imputation, he doth really destroy Christ from being his sanctification; for if Christ be our righteousness only by imputation, then if Christ be our sanctification, it must be by derivation from him, which they must needs destroy who make him their sole sanctification by mere imputation.

Thesis 98. Spiritual errors, like strong wine, make men's judg-

ments reel and stagger, who are drunken therewith; and hence the Antinomians speak so variously in this point, that we know not where to find them, or what they will stand to; for sometimes they will say that a believer is free from the law in all its authority and offices; but this being too gross, at other times they speak more warily, and affirm that a Christian is to observe the law as his rule personally, thus far forth, viz., to do what is commanded, but not in virtue of a command: the Spirit, say they, will bind and conform their hearts to the law, but they are not bound by any authority of the law to the directions thereof; the Spirit, they say, is free, and they are under the government of the Spirit, which is not to be controlled and ruled by any law. Now, if by virtue of a command they meant by virtue of our own natural strength and abilities looking to the command, so it is true that a believer is not so bound to act by virtue of the law, for then he was bound to conform to the law pharisaically; for what is our strength but weakness and sin? But if by virtue of a command they mean thus much, viz., that a believer is not bound by the commanding power of any law to conform thereunto, only the Spirit will conform his heart thereunto, so that he shall do the things (perhaps) which the law requires, but not because the law requires or commands them to be done. If this, I say, be their meaning, (as surely it seems to be,) then the mystery of this iniquity is so plain, that he that runs may read it. For hence it undeniably follows, that in case a believer fall into any sin of whoredom, murder, theft, witchcraft, etc., these wicked acts, though they be sins in themselves, (because they are against the law,) yet they are not sins unto him, because he is now set free from the law, and not bound to the obedience of it by virtue of any command; for where there is no law, there is no transgression, and if there be no law which binds him, there is no transgression then at least unto him. They are sins indeed in themselves, but not unto him; they are sins (as some say) to sense, but not to faith; sins in the conversation, but not to conscience; sins before men, (because they may cross their laws,) but not sins before God, who exempts them from all law. And it is in vain here to reply, that they may be sins to him, because they may be against the law of the Spirit which is his rule; for we have already shown, that although the Spirit be the principle by which we obey, yet it is not our rule according to which we are to obey. Indeed, it is a high aggravation of sin when it is against the Spirit; but to cross the Spirit doth not firstly make these things sinful, nor could they be sins unless they cross such a spirit as speaks in and by some holy law, the very essence of

sin lying in the transgression, not of any law, but of the law, i. e., the known moral or evangelical law. Again: if these and such like be sins, because they are only against the law of the Spirit, then it is no sin to bow down before an image, to commit filthiness, theft, etc., supposing that the Spirit shall suspend his act, and not restrain; nay, then it will follow, that sins of ignorance (of which the Spirit hath not convinced a Christian) are no sins, nor to be repented of, which is expressly cross to the holy practice of David: "Who knows his errors? Lord, cleanse me from my secret sins." If sin therefore be the transgression of the law, (whether the Spirit work upon a Christian or no,) then certainly, if he be under no commanding power of the law, he can not be guilty, or be said to commit any sin; and then the conclusion is this, that every believer neither hath sin, or should say he doth sin, no, not when he commits murder, adultery, and the foulest enormities in the world; which doctrine, though so directly and expressly against the light of Scripture, the confessions of all the saints, yea, of the light of nature and common sense, and is the very filth of the froth of the fume of the bottomless pit, yet some there are who are not ashamed to own it, the very *βαθος* and depth of a perfect Familist consisting in this, viz., when a man can sin and never feel it, or have any remorse or sorrow for it, and when one hath attained to this measure, he is then deified, and then they profess the Godhead doth *petere fundum animæ*, (as they call it,) when believing that he hath no sin, he can therefore neither see it nor feel it. From which depth of darkness the God and Father of mercies deliver his poor people in these corrupting times, and I wish that those who defend this kind of a believer's immunity from the law did not lay this corner stone of hell and perdition to their followers. I am sure they lead them hereby to the mouth of this pit, who, upon this principle, refuse either to mourn for sin, or pray for pardon of sin, or to imagine that God afflicts for sin, being now freed from the mandatory power of any law of God, they being now not bound to act by virtue of any command.

Thesis 99. If God did work upon believers as upon blocks or brute creatures, they might then have some color to cast off all attendance to the directive power of the law, and so leave all to the Spirit's omnipotent and immediate acts; as the stars, which being irrational and incapable of acting by any rule, they are therefore acted and run their course by the mighty word of God's power, and therefore attend no rule; but believers are rational creatures, and therefore capable of acting by rule, and they are also sanctified and delivered from the power of their corrupt

nature, and therefore have some inherent power so to act; for if they be not now dead in trespasses and sins, they have then some new life, and therefore some inherent power to act, according to the rule of life: the image of God, renewed in them, is (in part) like to the same image which they had in the first creation, which gave man some liberty and power to act according to the will of Him that created him. And if the first Adam, by his fall, conveys to us, not only condemnation, but also an inherent power of corruption, then the second Adam, the Lord Jesus, much more conveys unto all his posterity, not only justification, but also some inherent power of grace and holiness, which is begun here, and perfected in glory; for as sin hath abounded, so grace aboundeth much more: and yet suppose they had no inherent power thus to act, yet they have an adherent power, the Lord Christ Jesus, by faith in whose name they may and shall receive power to act. And therefore, although God works in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure, yet this hinders not but that we are to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, by attending the rule, by virtue of which we are bound to work, both by putting forth that power which we have already received from God, as also in fetching in that power we have not yet received, but is reserved daily in Christ's hands for us, to enable us thereunto.

Thesis 100. If they that say a believer is not to act by virtue of a command do mean this only, viz., that he is not to act by virtue of the bare letter and external words and syllables of it, they then speak truly; for such kind of acting is rather witchery than Christianity, to place power and virtue in bare characters and letters, which, though mighty and powerful by the Spirit, yet are empty and powerless without it. But if their meaning be, that we are not to act by virtue of any command in any sense, then the assertion is both pernicious and perilous; for the Lord Jesus being the πρῶτον δεικτικον, or first subject of all grace and gracious efficacy and power, hence it is true, we are not to make the command of God the first principle of our obedience, for this is proper unto Christ by the Spirit. (John v. 40; xvi. 13, 14. 2 Tim. ii. 1. Eph. vi. 10. Rom. viii. 2.) But because the Lord Jesus conveys by his Spirit virtue and efficacy through his word, not only words of promise, but also words of command, (as is evident, Jer. iii. 22; Acts ii. 38, 41; Matt. ix. 9; Ps. xix. 8,) hence it is that a believer is bound to act from a command, though not as from a first, yet as from a second principle, though not as from the first efficient, yet as from an instrument in the hand of Christ, who in commanding of the duty

works by it, and enables to it; and therefore we see Abraham comes out of his own country, because called and commanded of God to follow him he knew not whither. (Heb. xi. 8.) And Peter cast his net into the sea merely because he was commanded. (Luke v. 5.) And David desired, O that my heart were directed to keep thy precepts, because God had commanded. (Ps. cxix. 45.) There is a virtue, a *vis* or efficacy in the final cause, as well as in the efficient, to produce the effect, and every wise agent is bound to act by virtue or for the sake of his utmost and last end. Now, the naked commandment of the Lord may be and should be the chief motive and last end of our obedience to his highness; for whatever is done merely because of God's command is done for his glory, (which glory should be our utmost end in all our obedience;) and hence it is that that obedience is most absolute and sincere (whether it be in doing or suffering the will of God) which is done merely in respect of commandment and will of God; when the soul can truly say, Lord, I should never submit to such a yoke but merely for thy sake, and because it is thy will, and thou dost command it. What is it to love Christ but to seek to please him, and to give contentment to him? What is it to seek to give contentment to him but to give contentment to his heart or his will? And what is his will but the will of his commandment? If therefore it be unlawful to act by virtue of a command, then it is unlawful, 1. To love Christ; 2. To be sincere before Christ; 3. Or to act for the glory of Christ. And hence it is, that, let a man do the most glorious things in the world out of his own supposed good end, (as the blind Papists do in their will works and superstitions,) which God never commanded, nay, let him do all things which the law of God requires, give his goods to the poor, and his body to be burnt, and yet not do these things because commanded, let him then quit himself from hypocrisy and himself from being a deep hypocrite in all these if he can. Surely those who strain at this gnat, viz., not to do a duty because commanded, will make no bones of swallowing down this camel, viz., not to forsake sin because it is forbidden; and whosoever shall forsake sin from any other ground shows manifestly hereby that he hath little conscience of God's command. I know the love of Christ should make a Christian forsake every sin; but the last resolution and reason thereof is, because his love forbids us to continue in sin; for to act by virtue of a command is not to act only as a creature to God considered as a Creator, but by virtue of the will and commandment of God in a Redeemer, with whom a believer hath now to do.

Thesis 101. To act therefore by virtue of a command, and by virtue of Christ's Spirit, are subordinate one to another, not opposite one against another, as these men carry it; this caution being ever remembered, that such acting be not to make ourselves just, but because we are already just in Christ; not that hereby we might get life, but because we have life given us already; not to pacify God's justice, but to please his mercy, being pacified toward us by Christ already; for as Junius well observes a great difference between *placare Deum* and *placere Deo*, i. e., between pacifying God and pleasing God, for Christ's blood only can pacify justice when it is provoked, but when revenging justice is pacified, mercy may be pleased with the sincere and humble obedience of sons. (Col. i. 10. Heb. xiii. 21.) When a believer is once justified, he can not be made more just by all his obedience, nor less just by all his sins in point of justification, which is perfected at once; but he who is perfectly justified is but imperfectly sanctified, and in this respect may more or less please God or displease him, be more just or less just and holy before him. It is, I confess, a secret but a common sin in many to seek to pacify God (when they perceive or fear his anger) by some obedience of their own, and so to seek for that in themselves chiefly which they should seek for in Christ, and for that in the law which is only to be found in the gospel; but corrupt practices in others should not breed, as usually they do, corrupt opinions in us, and to cast off the law from being a rule of pleasing God, because it is no rule to us of pacifying of God. For if we speak of revenging (not fatherly) anger, Christ's blood can only pacify that, and when that is pacified and God is satisfied, our obedience now pleaseth him, and his mercy accepts it as very pleasing, the rule of which is the precious law of God.

Thesis 102. They that say the law is our rule as it is given by Christ, but not as it was given by Moses, do speak niceties, at least ambiguities; for if the Lord Christ give the law to a believer as his rule, why should any then raise a dust, and affirm that the law is not our rule? For the law may be considered either materially, or in itself, as it contains the matter of the covenant of works; and thus considered, a believer is not to be regulated by it, for he is wholly free from it as a covenant of life; or it may be considered finally, or rather relatively, as it stood in relation and reference unto the people of the God of Abraham, who were already under Abraham's covenant, which was a covenant of free grace, viz., "to be his God, and the God of his seed." (Gen. xvii. 7.) And in this latter respect, the law,

as it was given by Moses, was given by Christ in Moses, and therefore the rule of love toward man (commanded by Moses) is called the law of Christ. (Gal. vi. 2.) For the law, as it was applied to this people, doth not run thus, viz., "Do all this, and then I will be your God and Redeemer," (for this is a covenant of works,) but thus, viz., "I am the Lord thy God," (viz., by Abraham's covenant,) "who brought thee out of the land of Egypt and house of bondage; therefore thou shalt do all this." If therefore the law delivered by Moses was delivered by Christ in Moses, then there is no reason to set Christ and Moses together by the ears, in this respect I now speak of, and to affirm that the law, not as delivered by Moses, but as given by Christ, is our law and rule.

Thesis 103. The law therefore which contains in itself absolutely considered (which Luther calls Moses Mosissimus) the covenant of works, yet relatively considered as it was delivered by Moses to a people under a covenant of grace, (which the same author calls Moses Aaronicus,) so it is not to be considered only as a covenant of works, and therefore for any to affirm that the law is no covenant of works, as it is delivered on Mount Sion, and by Jesus Christ, and that it is a covenant of works only, as it is delivered on Mount Sinai, and by Moses, is a bold assertion, both unsafe and unsound; for if, as it was delivered on Mount Sinai, it was delivered to a people under a covenant of grace, then it was not delivered to them only as a covenant of works, for then a people under a covenant of grace may again come under a covenant of works, to disannul that covenant of grace; but the apostle expressly affirms the quite contrary, and shows that the covenant made with Abraham and his seed, (which was to be a God to them, Gen. xvii. 7,) and which was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, can not disannul. (Gal. iii. 17.) Now, that the people were under a covenant of grace when the law was delivered on Mount Sinai, let the preface of the ten commandments determine, wherein God's first words are words of grace, "I am the Lord thy God," etc., and therefore thou shalt have no other gods but me, etc. I know Paræus, Zanchy, and others affirm that the law is abrogated as it was in the hands of Moses, but not as it is in the hand of Christ; but their meaning is at sometime in respect of the manner of administration of the law under Moses, and when they speak of the moral law simply considered, yet it never entered into their hearts, that the law, as delivered on Mount Sinai, was delivered only as a covenant of works, as some would maintain.

Thesis 104. But there is a greater mystery intended by some in this phrase, as given by Christ, for their meaning is this, to wit, as Christ by his Spirit writes it in our hearts, not any way a rule as written by Moses. A believer's heart (saith Master Saltmarsh) is the very law of commands, and the two tables of Moses, and in this respect it becomes not (saith he) the glory of Christ to be beholding to any of the light upon Moses' face. It seems, then, that the law written is not to be a Christian's rule, but only so far as it is written in the heart — a most accursed assertion; for how and why did Christ Jesus himself resist temptation to sin? Was it not by cleaving to the written word? (Matt. xliv. 10;) and was not this done for our imitation? Why did David and Christ Jesus delight to do God's will? Was it not this, because it was written of them that so they should do? (Ps. xl. 7, 8.) Did not the law in their hearts make them thus cleave to the written law without? Why did Paul persuade children to honor their parents? Was it not because this was the first commandment with promise? (Eph. vi. 2.) Had it not been more evangelically spoken to persuade them rather to look to the law of Moses written on their hearts within, to direct them hereunto, rather than to be beholding for any light upon Moses' face to direct them herein? How comes it to pass that Paul preacheth no other thing but what was in the Old Testament of Moses and the prophets, who were only the interpreters of Moses? (Acts xxii. 20.) How is it that Christ himself borrows light from Moses, Psalms, and all the prophets, to clear up his resurrection and suffering, (Luke xxiv. 27, 32,) if no light must be borrowed from the face of Moses? If indeed we were perfect in this life as we shall be in heaven, there would then be no need of the writings of the apostles, prophets, or Moses, of law or gospel; but we being but imperfectly enlightened, it is no less than extreme ingratitude and unthankfulness to prefer our own imperfect and impure light before that perfect, spotless, and heavenly law and counsels of God without us, which when the most perfect believer doth see, he may cry out with Paul, "The law is holy, but I am carnal." What is this but painted Popery, to make the spirit within to be the supreme Judge, and superior to the Spirit of God in the written word without? only they shrine it up in the pope's private conclave and kitchen, or somewhat worse, but these in a company of poor, imperfect, deluded, and perhaps corrupted men: it is true, the covenant of grace (strictly taken) in the gospel needs not to borrow any light from the covenant of works in the law; but yet, for all this, the grace of God, appearing in the gospel, will have us to walk worthy of God

unto all well pleasing according to the law, (Tit. ii. 12, 13,) and to mourn bitterly that we are so unlike the will and image of God revealed in the law. (Rom. vii. 23, 24.)

Thesis 105. The apostle Paul, as he sometimes condemns works and sometimes commends them, so he sometimes rejects the law and sometimes commends the law; sometimes he would have believers die to the law, and sometimes he exhorts them to live in all holy obedience to it: the apostle, therefore, must speak of the law under various considerations, or else must speak daggers and flat contradictions; and therefore of necessity we are to consider the law not always under one respect, but variously; for consider the law as a covenant of works, or as the way unto or matter of our justification, and so works are condemned, and the law is rejected and abrogated, and so we are to die to the law; but consider the law as a rule of life to a person justified already, and so the law is to be received, and works are to be commended, and we are to live thereunto.

Thesis 106. When the gospel nakedly urgeth believers to good works and obedience to the law, it is then considered only as a rule of life; but when we meet with such scriptures as set the law and Christ, the law and grace, the law and promise, the law and faith, etc., at opposition one against another, then the law in such places is ever considered as a covenant of life, from which we are wholly freed, and unto which we should be wholly dead, that we may be married unto Christ, (Rom. vii. 4;) hence therefore their arguings are feeble and weak, who would prove a Christian to be wholly free from the directive power of the law, because a Christian is said not to be under the law, but under grace, (Rom. vi. 14,) and because the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, (John i. 17,) and because the inheritance is not by the law, but by promise and by faith, (Gal. iii. 12, 18;) for these and such like scriptures speak of the law as standing in opposition to Christ, and therefore speak of it as of a covenant of life, by which men seek to be justified; from which (we grant) a believer is wholly freed, and unto which he is not bound, nay, he is bound to renounce it, and cast out this bond woman; but all this doth not prove that he is free from it as his rule of life.

Thesis 107. The law and man's sinful heart are quite opposite one to another, (Rom. vii. 9, 10, 11, 13;) but when (through the grace of Christ) the heart is changed, so as there is a new nature or new man in a believer, then there is a sweet agreement between this new nature and the law, for, saith Paul, "I delight in the law of God in my inner man." It is therefore a most

false assertion to say that the old man of a believer is to be kept under the law, but the new man, or new nature, is above all law; for though the new nature be above it as a legal covenant, yet it never comes to be willingly under it as a rule until now: an imperfect new nature is infinitely glad of the guidance of a holy and most perfect law. (Ps. cxix. 140.)

Thesis 108. It is very evident that the children and sons of God under the New Testament are not so under the law as the children and sons of God were under the Old Testament for the apostle expressly tells, (Gal. iii. 23,) that before the faith came, we (i. e., the children of the Old Testament) were shut up and kept under the law, and were under it as under a schoolmaster, (ver. 24;) and these of whom the apostle thus speaks are not only wicked and carnal Jews, but the dear children of God and heirs of eternal life in those times, as is evident from Gal. iv. 1–3; but the apostle, speaking of the sons of God in gospel times, since faith is come and revealed, speaks as expressly that we are now no longer under the law as under a schoolmaster, (Gal. iii. 25,) and that now, "when the fullness of time is come, God sent his Son, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons," (Gal. iv. 3–5;) which though it be true of all men by nature, viz., that they are under the law, yet an impartial, clear eye will easily discern that the apostle's dispute is not of our being under the law by nature merely, but of being under the law by peculiar dispensation, which was the state not only of the Jewish church, but of the children of God, heirs of the promise (and consequently such as were believers) in this church, in those Old Testament times; we are not therefore now, in these New Testament times, under the law, as they were; the great difficulty therefore remains to know how we are not under the law, as they were. Those who say we are not under the ceremonial law, as they were, do speak truly; but they do not resolve the difficulty in this place; for certainly the apostle speaks, not only of the ceremonial law, but also of that law which was given because of transgressions, (Gal. iii. 19,) and which shut up, not only the Jews, but all men, under sin, (ver. 22;) which being the power of the moral law chiefly, the apostle must therefore intend the moral law, under which the Old Testament believers were shut up, and we now are not: the doubt therefore still remains, viz., how are we not now under the moral law? Will any say that we are not now under the malediction, and curse, and condemnation of it, but the Jews under the Old Testament were thus under it, even under the curse of it? This can notbe the meaning; for

although the carnal Jews were thus under it, yet the faithful (whom the apostle calls the heir and Lord of all, Gal. iv. 1) were not thus under it, for believers were as much blessed then with faithful Abraham as believers now. (Cap. iii. 9.) How then are we not under it, as they were? Is it in this, that they were under it as a rule of life to walk by, and so are not we? Thus indeed some strain the place, but this can not be it; for the apostle in this very epistle presseth them to "love one another," upon this ground, because "all the law is fulfilled in love," (cap. v. 13, 14;) and this walking in love according to the law is walking in the spirit, (ver. 16,) and they that thus walk in the spirit, according to the law, are not (saith the apostle) under the law, which can not, without flat contradiction, be meant of not being under the rule or directive power of it; and it would be a miserable weak motive to press them to love, because all the law is fulfilled in love, if the law was not to be regarded as any rule of life or of love; for they might upon such a ground easily and justly obect, and say, What have we to do with the law? If we therefore, as well as they, are thus under the law as a rule of life, how are we not under it as they were? Is it because they were under it as a preparative means for Christ, and not we? They were under the humbling and terrifying preparing work of it, but not we. There are some, indeed, who think that this use of the law under the gospel is but a back door, or an Indian path, or a crooked way about, to lead to Jesus Christ; but certainly these men know not what they say, for the text expressly tells us that the Scripture has concluded, not only the Jews, but "all under sin, that so the promise by faith might be given to them that believe." (Gal. iii. 22.) So that the law is subservient to faith, and to the promise, that so hereby not only the Jews, but all that God saves, might hereby feel their need, and fly by faith to the promise made in Jesus Christ; and verily, if Christ be the end of the law to every one that believes, (Rom. x. 4,) then the law is the means, (not of itself so much as by the rich grace of God,) not only to the Jews, but to all others to the end of the world, to lead them to this end, Christ Jesus. If therefore the faithful under the New Testament are thus under the preparing work of the law, as well as those under the Old, how were they therefore so under the law, as we are not, and we not under it as they were? I confess the place is more full of difficulties than is usually observed by writers upon it; only for the clearing up of this doubt, omitting many things, I answer briefly, that the children of the Old Testament were under the law, and the pedagogy of it, two ways, after which the children of the New Testament are not under it now, but are redeemed from it,

1. As the moral law was accompanied with a number of burdensome ceremonies, thus we are not under it, thus they were under it; for we know this law was put into the ark, and there they were to look upon it in that type; if any man then committed any sin against it, whether through infirmity, ignorance, or presumption, they were to have recourse to the sacrifices and high priests yearly and to their blood and oblations. They were to pray, (which was a moral duty,) but it must be with incense, and in such a place; they were to be thankful, (another moral duty,) but it must be testified by the offering up of many sacrifices upon the altar, etc.; they were to confess their sins, (a moral, duty also,) but it must be over the head of the scapegoat, etc. Thus they were under the law, but we are not; and as it is usual for the apostle thus to speak of the law in other places of the Scripture, so surely he speaks of it here; for hence it is that, in the beginning of this dispute, (cap. iii. 19,) he speaks of the moral law which was given because of transgressions; and yet, in the close of it, (Gal. iv. 3,) he seems to speak only of the ceremonial law, which he calls the elements of the world, under which the children were then in bondage, as under tutors and governors; which implies thus much, that the children of the Old Testament were indeed under the moral law, but yet withal as thus accompanied with ceremonial rudiments and elements fit to teach children in their minority; but now in this elder age of the church, although we are under the moral law in other respects, yet we are not under it as thus accompanied.

2. In respect of the manner and measure of dispensation of the moral law, which although it had the revelation of the gospel conjoined with it, (for Moses writ of Christ, John v. 46, and Abraham had the gospel preached to him, Gal. ii. 8, and the unbelieving Jews had the gospel preached, Heb. iv. 2,) yet the law was revealed and pressed more clearly and strongly, with more rigor and terror, and the gospel was revealed more obscurely and darkly in respect of the manner of external dispensation of them in those times; there were three things in that manner of dispensation, from which (at least *ex parte Dei revelantis*) we are now freed.

1. Then there was much law urged, externally, clearly, and little gospel so clearly revealed; indeed gospel and Christ Jesus was the end of the moral law, and the substance of all the shadows of the ceremonial law; but the external face of these things was scarce any thing else but doing and law, by reason of which there is a vail spread over the hearts of the Jews in reading the Old Testament unto this day, as is evident, (2 Cor. iii. 13:) so

that the inside or end of the moral law being gospel, and the outside and means appointed to this end being law, hence the gospel was then less clearly, and the law was more clearly, revealed in those times; to say that Jesus Christ and his benefits, or eternal life, were then dispensed under a covenant of works, or *sub conditione perfectæ obedientiæ*, (as some eminent worthies affirm,) is such an error which wise and able men might easily fall into by seeing how much law was revealed and urged in those times; for though the law, simply considered in itself, contained the matter of the covenant of works, yet considered relatively in respect of the people of God, and as they were under Abraham's covenant of grace, so it was given to them as a rule of perfect righteousness, by both which they might the better see their own weakness and unrighteousness, and fly to Christ; and therefore the apostle (Gal. iii. 17) calls the promise which was made to Abraham the covenant, and gives not this title to the law, but calls it the law which (he saith) could not disannul the covenant, confirmed in Christ; and although it be propounded to them in way of covenant, (Ex. xix. 5,) yet this is to be understood (as some think) of evangelical keeping covenant, not of legal; or if of legal, yet then it is not propounded simply as a covenant of works, to convey Christ to them, but *ex hypothesi*, or upon supposition, that if they did think to be God's people, and have him to be their God, by doing, (as Junius observes the carnal Jews did think and hope so to have him, and as that young man thought, Matt. xix. 17, as Chamier observes,) that then they must keep all these commandments perfectly, and to be accursed if they did not continue therein. I dare not therefore say that Christ and eternal life were dispensed in a covenant of works, under which covenant the Jews were shut in Old Testament times; but rather this, that the law was more strongly pressed as a yoke upon their shoulders, and that this law which contains the covenant of works was more plentifully revealed and insisted on, and the gospel more sparingly and darkly; but now in gospel times the daystar is risen, (though in few men's hearts,) yet in the doctrine and clear revelation of it therein, and therefore the gospel is called the "mystery hidden from ages and generations past, but now is made manifest to his saints," (Col. i. 26,) which can not be meant as if they had no knowledge of it, for Abraham saw Christ's day, and there is a cloud of witnesses in the Old Testament who died in faith, (Heb. xi.,) but not such clear knowledge of it as now; they were therefore then under the law as servants, (because so much working and doing was urged and chiefly revealed,) but indeed were sons and heirs; but we

now are not so under it, but are as sons having the Lord Jesus and our Father's face in him clearly revealed, and faith in him chiefly and most abundantly urged in his blessed gospel; and thus the apostle tells us in this text, (Gal. iv. 1, with iv. 5,) that the heirs of the promise under the Old Testament were as servants, but by Christ's coming we are now as sons; look also, as they are said to be under the law, not as if they had no gospel revealed, or no use of the gospel, but only because the gospel was more darkly revealed, and the law more plentifully urged, so we are said not to be under the law, not as if there was no law, or no use of the law belonging to us, but because now the gospel is more clearly revealed, and the law not externally so proposed and imposed as it was upon them.

2. The law was a schoolmaster, tutor, and governor, to lead them unto Christ to come; for so the apostle tells us in this place, (Gal. iii. 23,) that "before faith came, we were shut up under the law, unto the faith which should afterward be revealed." Thus the ceremonial law pointed to Christ to come, the moral law discovered man's sin and misery, and need of Christ who was to come; nay, all the promises were made with reference to Jesus Christ to come; but now "the fullness of time being come," that the Son of God is come, now "we are no longer under the law" after this manner; neither ceremonial nor moral law is of any use to us to lead us unto Christ to come, for Christ is already come; and hence it is, that believers now are said to be rather under the gospel than under the law, and believers under the Old Testament to be rather under the law than under the gospel; because, although these had the efficacy of Christ's redemption, yet they were not actually redeemed, because the Redeemer was not yet come into the flesh, and in this respect they were under the rigor of the law, and hence it was fit that they should be handled as servants, and the law and curse thereof principally revealed; but now Christ being come, and having actually redeemed us, having been (not only virtually, but actually) made righteousness and a curse for us, now therefore is the time that we should see Christ Jesus with open face, and hear principally concerning faith and the Father's love in him; now Christ is revealed chiefly (being come) the end of the law, then the law was revealed chiefly (Christ being not yet come) as the means to this end: look therefore, as the promise before Christ, of which the apostle speaks, (Gal. iii. 17–22,) was fulfilled in Christ being come, (as divines speak,) rather than abolished, and yet abolished as it was a promise of grace to come, so the moral law is rather fulfilled than abolished in Christ being come; and yet as it did

lead unto Christ to come, it is abolished to us now under the gospel.

3. The law being principally revealed, and yet so revealed as to lead unto Christ Jesus to come, hence ariseth a third thing of the law, from which we are now delivered, viz., they were therefore under more terror and fear of the law than we are (on God's part revealing the gospel more clearly) in these times; and therefore saith the apostle, (Gal. iv. 4–6,) "that when the fullness of time came, God sent his Son to redeem us from under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons, and thereby the spirit of sons, crying, Abba, Father." Could not they who were sons under the law call God Father? Yes, verily, doubtless thou art our Father, say they, (Is. lxiii. 17;) but they having less light, they had more fear and less of the spirit of adoption, I say still, (*ex parte Dei revelantis*,) than we have in these days. We are not therefore so under the law, i. e., the fear and terror of the law, as they were. The sum of all this is, that although we are not so under the law, 1, so accompanied, and, 2, so dispensed, as they were under the Old Testament, yet this hinders not but that we are under the directive power of the law as well as they.

Thesis 109. The apostle speaks of a law written and engraven on stones, and therefore of the moral law, which is now abolished by Christ in the gospel. (2 Cor. iii. 6, 7, 11, 13.) Is the moral law therefore abolished as a rule of life now? No, verily; but the meaning of this place is as the former, (Gal. iii. 25,) for the apostle, speaking of the moral law by a synecdoche, comprehends the ceremonial law also, both which the false teachers in those times urged as necessary to salvation and justification at least together with Christ, against whom the apostle here disputes; the moral law therefore is abolished, first, as thus accompanied with a yoke of ceremonies; secondly, as it was formerly dispensed, the glorious and greater light of the gospel now obscuring the lesser light under the law, and therefore the apostle (ver. 10) doth not say, that there was no glory shining in the law, but it had no comparative glory in this respect, by reason of the glory which excelleth; and lastly, the apostle may speak of the moral law, considered as a covenant of life which the false teachers urged, in which respect he calls it the ministry of death, and the letter which killeth, and the ministers (who were called *Nazarei* and *Minei*, as Bullinger thinks) the ministers of the letter, which although it was virtually abolished to the believing Jews before gospel times, (the virtue of Christ's death extending to all times,) yet it was not then abolished actually until Christ came in the

flesh, and actually undertook to fulfill this covenant for us to the utmost farthing of doing and suffering which is exacted; and now it is abolished both virtually and actually, that now we may with open face behold the glory of the Lord as the end of the law for righteousness to every one that doth believe.

Thesis 110. The gospel under which believers now are requires no doing, (say some,) for doing is proper to the law; the law promiseth life, and requires conditions; but the gospel (say they) promiseth to work the condition, but requires none, and therefore a believer is now wholly free from all law. But the gospel and law are taken two ways: 1. Largely, the law for the whole doctrine contained in the Old Testament, and the gospel for the whole doctrine of Christ and the apostles in the New Testament; 2. Strictly, the law *pro lege operum*, (as Chamier distinguisheth,) and the gospel *pro lege fidei*, i. e., for the law of faith. The law of works, strictly taken, is that law which reveals the favor of God and eternal life upon condition of doing or of perfect obedience; the law of faith, strictly taken, is that doctrine which reveals remission of sins, reconciliation with God by Christ's righteousness only apprehended by faith. Now, the gospel in this latter sense excludes all works, and requires no doing in point of justification and remission of sins before God, but only believing; but take the gospel largely for the whole doctrine of God's love and free grace, and so the gospel requires doing; for as it is an act of God's free grace to justify a man without calling for any works thereunto, so it is an act of the same free grace to require works of a person justified, and that such poor sinners should stand before the Son of God on his throne, to minister unto him, and serve him in righteousness and holiness all the days of our lives, (Tit. ii. 14;) and for any to think that the gospel requires no conditions is a sudden dream against hundreds of scriptures, which contain conditional, yet evangelical promises, and against the judgment of the most judicious of our divines, who, in dispute against Popish writers, can not but acknowledge them only thus, viz., conditions and promises annexed to obedience are one thing, (saith learned Pemble,) and conditions annexed to perfect obedience are another; the first are in the gospel, the other not. Works are necessary to salvation, (saith Chamier,) *necessitate præsentiæ*, not *efficientiæ;* and hence he makes two sorts of conditions, some *antecedentes*, which work or merit salvation, and these are abandoned in the gospel; others (he saith) are *consequentes*, which follow the state of a man justified, and these are required of one already justified in the gospel. There are indeed no conditions required of us in the gospel, but

those only which the Lord himself shall or hath wrought in us, and which by requiring of us he doth work: will it therefore follow, that no condition is required in us, but because every condition is promised? No, verily, for requiring the condition is the means to work it, (as might be plentifully demonstrated,) and means and ends should not be separated. Faith itself is no antecedent condition to our justification or salvation, take antecedent, in the usual sense of some divines, for affecting or meriting condition, which Junius calls *essentialis conditio;* but take antecedent for a means or instrument of justification, and receiving Christ's righteousness, in this sense it is the only antecedent condition which the gospel requires therein, because it doth only *antecedere*, or go before our justification, (at least in order of nature,) not to merit it, but to receive it, not to make it, but to make it our own, not as the matter of our righteousness, or any part of it, but as the only means of apprehending Christ's righteousness, which is the only cause why God the Father justifieth; and therefore, as Christ's righteousness must go before, as the matter and moving cause of our justification, or that for which we are justified, so faith must go before this righteousness as an instrument or applying cause of it, by which we are justified, that is, by means of which we apply that righteousness which makes us just. It is true God justifies the ungodly; but how? not immediately without faith, but mediately by faith, as is most evident from that abused text, Rom. iv. 5. When works and faith are opposed by the apostle in point of justification, affirming that we are justified by faith, not by works, he doth hereby plainly affirm, and give that to faith which he denies to works; look therefore, as he denies works to be antecedent conditions of our justification, he affirms the contrary of faith, which goes before our justification, as hath been explained; and therefore, as do and live hath been accounted good law, or the covenant of works, so believe and live hath been in former times accounted good gospel, or the covenant of grace, until now of late this wild age hath found out new gospels that Paul and the apostles did never dream of.

Thesis 111. A servant and a son may be set to do the same work, and have the same rule given them to act by; but the motives to this their work, and the stripes and punishments for neglect of their work, may be various and divers; a son may be bound to it, because he is a son and beloved; a servant may be bound to do the same work, because he is hired and shall have wages; if a son neglect his work, his punishment is only the chastisement of a father for his good; if a servant be faulty, he is turned quite out of doors. So, although believers

in Christ, and those that are out of Christ, have divers and various motives to the obedience of the law of God, yet these do not vary the rule; the law of God is the rule to them both, although they that be out of Christ have nothing but fear and hope of wages to urge them, and those that are in Christ should have nothing but the love of a Father, and the heartblood mercy of a tender Saviour and Redeemer to compel them: the one may be bound to do, that so they may live, the other may be bound to do, because they do live; the one may be bound to do, or else they shall be justly plagued; the other may be bound to do the same, or else they shall be mercifully corrected. It is therefore a mere feebleness to think (as some do) that the law or rule is changed because the motives to the obedience of it, and punishment for the breach of it, are now (unto a believer) changed and altered; for the commandment urged from Christ's love may bind strongly, yea, most strongly, to do the same thing which the same commandment, propounded and received in way of hire, may bind also unto.

Thesis 112. Some think that there is no sin but unbelief, (which is a sin against the gospel only,) and therefore, there being no sin against any law, (Christ having by his death abolished all them,) the law cannot be a rule to them. An adulterous and an evil generation made drunk with a cup of the wine of the wrath of God, and strong delusion, do thus argue. Are drunkenness, whoredom, lying, cheating, witchcraft, oppression, theft, buggery, no sins, and consequently not to be repented of, nor watched against, but only unbelief? Is there no day of judgment, wherein the Lord will judge men, not only for unbelief, but the secrets of all hearts, and whatever hath been done in the body, whether good or evil, according to Paul's gospel? (Rom. ii. 16. 2 Cor. v. 10.) How comes the wrath of God to be revealed from heaven, not only against unbelief, but against all unrighteousness and ungodliness of man? (Rom. i. 18.) If there was no sin but unbelief, how can all flesh, Jews and Gentiles, become guilty before God, that so they may believe in the gospel, (as it is Rom. iii. 21–24,) if they are all guiltless until unbelief comes in? There is no sin indeed which shall condemn a man in case he shall believe; but will it follow from hence that there is no sin in a man but only unbelief? A sick man shall not die in case he receive the physic which will recover him; but doth it follow from hence that there is no sickness in him, or no such sickness which is able to kill him, but only his willful refusing of the physic? Surely his refusing of the physic is not the cause of his sickness which was before, not the natural, (for that

his sickness is,) but only the moral cause of his death. Sin is before unbelief comes; a sick sinner before a healing Saviour can be rejected; sin kills the soul, as it were, naturally, unbelief morally; no sin shall kill or condemn us if we believe; but doth it follow from hence that there is no sin before or after faith, because there is no condemning sin unless we fall by unbelief? No such matter; and yet such is the madness of some prophets in these times, who, to abandon not only the directive use of the law, but also all preparing and humbling work of the law, and to make men's sinning the first foundation and ground of their believing, do therefore either abolish all the being of any sin beside unbelief, or the condemned estate of a man for sin, yea, for any sin, until he refuse Christ by unbelief; for publishing which pernicious doctrines it had been well for them if they had never been born.

Thesis 113. One would wonder how any Christian should fall into this pit of perdition, to deny the directive use of the law to one in Christ, if either they read Ps. cxix. with any favor, or the epistles of John and James with any faith; in which the law is highly commended, and obedience thereto urged as the happiness and chief evidence of the happiness of man; but that certainly the root of this accursed doctrine is either a loose heart which is grown blind and bold, and secretly glad of a liberty, not so much from the law of sin as from the law of God, or if the heart be sincere in the main, yet it slights the Holy Scriptures at present, and makes little conscience of judging in the matters of God according unto them; for if it did it could hardly fall into this dirty ditch, out of which the good Lord deliver, and out of which I am persuaded he will deliver in time all those that are his own: for I much question the salvation of that man who lives and dies with this opinion; and as every error is fruitful, so this is in special; for from this darkening the directive use of the moral law arise (amidst many others) these ensuing evils, which are almost, if not altogether, deadly to the souls of men; they are principally these three.

Thesis 114. The first is a shameful neglect (in some affecting foolishly the name of New Testament ministers) of a wise and powerful preaching of the law, to make way, by the humbling work of it, for the glorious gospel, and the affectionate entertainment thereof; for through the righteous judgment of God, when men once begin to abandon this use of the law as a rule, they abolish much more readily this use of the law to prepare men thereby for the receiving of Christ. I know there are some who acknowledge this use of the law to be our rule, but not to

prepare; but how long they may be orthodox in the one, who are heterodox in the other, the Lord only knows, for I find that the chief arguments against the one do strike strongly against the other also. It is an easy thing to cast blocks before the blind, and to cast mists before the face of the clearest truth, and to make many specious shows of New Testament ministry, free grace and covenant, against this supposed legal way and preparing work; but assuredly they that have found and felt the fruit and comfort of this humbling way (for which I doubt not but that thousands and thousands are blessing God in heaven that ever they heard of it) do certainly and assuredly know that these men (at least, doctrines in this point) are not of God — the word in these men's mouths being flat contrary to the merciful and the forever to be adored work of God in their hearts. When the Spirit comes, his first work, (if Christ may be believed,) even when he comes as a Comforter, is, to convince the world of sin, (John xvi. 9, 10,) which we know is chiefly by the law, (Rom. iii. 20;) and shall the ministers (not of the letter, but of the spirit) refuse to begin here, especially in these times of wantonness, contention, confusion, famine, sword, and blood, wherein every thing almost cries aloud for sackcloth, and therefore not for tiffany and silken sermons? As if this corrupt and putrefying age stood only in need of sugar to preserve and keep them sweet from smelling. As if sublime notions about Christ and free grace, covenant of grace, love of the Father, the kingdom within, and Christian excellences and privileges, were the only things this age stood in need of, and not in any need of searchings with candles, terrors, shakings, sense of sin, or forewarnings of wrath to come. As if this old world did need no Noah to foretell them of floods of fire and wrath to come. Or, as if the men of Sodom and princes of Gomorrah should do well to mock at Lot for bidding him to hasten out of the city, because God would destroy it. As if the spirit of Paul in these times should not know the terror of the Lord, and therefore persuade men, (2 Cor. v. 10, 11,) but only the love and free grace of the Lord Jesus, and therefore to exhort men, nay, rather, therefore, to relate to men stories and notions about free grace, general redemption, the mystery of the Father's love, and the Christ in you and in the spirit (not the person of Christ, or Christ in the flesh) the hope of glory. What will the Lord Jesus one day say to these sleepy watchmen, that never tell the secure world of their enemies at the door? I find divers colors and pretences for this course of daubing.

1. Some say this savors of an Old Testament spirit, which was wont to wound, and then to heal; to humble, and then to

raise; to preach law, and then gospel; but now we are to be ministers of the New Testament, and let no law be heard of. I confess, those that preach the law as the means of our justification, and as the matter of our righteousness, without Christ, or together with Christ, as the false teachers did, (2 Cor. iii. 6,) may well be called (as Paul calls them) ministers of the letter, not of the spirit, of the Old Testament, not of the New; but to preach Christ plainly and with open face the end of the law, and to preach the law as the means to prepare for, and advance, Christ in our hearts, can never be proved to be the Old Testament ministry, or to put a vail upon men's hearts that they can not see the end of the law, (as the Old Testament vail did, 2 Cor. iii. 14,) but it is to take away the vail of all conceit of man's own strength and righteousness, by seeing his curse, that so he may fly to the end thereof, the Lord Jesus, and embrace him for righteousness. For the apostle doth not call them ministers of the letter and of the Old Testament because they did preach the law to the humble and lead unto Christ, but because they preached the law for righteousness without Christ, whom he calls the spirit, (ver. 17,) and therefore calls them the ministers of the letter, and their ministry of death and condemnation: there is something in the law which is of perpetual use, and something which is but for a time — the *vis coactiva legis*, (as some call it,) i. e., the force of the law to condemn and curse, to hold a man under the curse, and to hold a man under the power of sin, which the apostle calls the strength of the law, (1 Cor. xv. 56,) is but for a time, and is but accidental to the law, and may be separated from it, and is separated indeed from it as soon as ever the soul is in Christ, (Rom. viii. 1;) he is then free from the obligation of it to perform personal and perfect obedience to it, that so he may be just; also from the malediction and curse of it, if he be not thus just. But that which is of perpetual use in it, is not only the directive power of it, but this preparing and humbling virtue of it; for if all men by nature, Jews and Gentiles, are apt to be puffed up with their own righteousness, and to bless themselves in their own righteousness, and so to feel no such need of Christ, then this humbling work of the law to slay men of all their fond conceits and foolish confidence in their own righteousness, and to make men feel the horrible nature of sin, by revealing the curse and malediction due to it, is of moral and perpetual use. And hence it is, that though the gospel, strictly taken, (as is intimated Thesis 110,) hath no terror properly in it, because thus it reveals nothing but reconciliation through Christ's righteousness applied by faith,

yet the gospel largely taken, for that doctrine which reveals the glad tidings of Christ already come, so there is terror in it, because in this respect the gospel makes use of the law, and confirms what is moral and perpetual therein.

The sin and terror which the gospel (largely taken) makes use of out of the law are but subservient to the gospel strictly taken, or for that which is principally or more properly gospel, for thereby the righteousness and free grace and love of the Lord Jesus, and preciousness and greatness of both, are the more clearly illustrated. The law of itself wounds and kills, and rather drives from Christ than unto Christ; but in the hand of the gospel, or as Christ handles it, so it drives the soul unto Christ, and (as hath been shown) is the means to that end; and it is a most false and nauseous doctrine to affirm that love only draws the soul to Christ, unless it be understood with this caution and notion, viz., love as revealed to a sinner, and condemned for sin; which sin and condemnation as the law makes known, so the gospel makes use of to draw unto Christ. If, indeed, the gospel did *vulnerare ut vulneraret*, i. e., wound that it may wound and terrify only, (which the law doth,) then it (saith Chamier) was all one with law, (which Bellarmin pleads for;) but when it wounds that it may heal, this is not contrary, but agreeable, to the office of a good physician, whose chief work is to heal, and may well suit with the healing ministry of the Lord Jesus; and hence we see, that although Christ was sent to preach the gospel, yet he came to confirm the law in the ministry of the gospel, and therefore shows the spiritual sins against the law more clearly, and the heavy plagues for the breach of it more fully, than the scribes and Pharisees. He that is angry with his brother is a murderer, and he that calls him fool is in danger of hell fire. (Matt. v. 22.)

Peter was no minister of the Old Testament because he first convinced and pricked the Jews to the heart for their murder of Christ Jesus. Paul was no such minister neither, (whenas he would evince our justification by Christ's righteousness only,) in that he begins and spends so much time in proving Gentiles and Jews to be under sin and wrath, notwithstanding all the excuses of the one and privileges of the other, as appears in his three first chapters to the Romans; but herein they were gospel preachers. Nor can it with any color of reason be thought that the prophets in the Old Testament were herein ministers of the letter, viz., when they did first wound, and then heal; first humble by the law, and then revive by the gospel. M. Saltmarsh hath been so blinded with this notion of the Old Testament ministry,

that to make this use of the law in preaching the gospel, or to hold forth the promises of grace to them that are qualified with the grace of the promise, (as the Old Testament prophets did,) is to give (as he thinks) the wine of the gospel burning hot, as the covetous gentleman did to his guests; and another (whom I spare to name) professeth that the Old Testament (because it urgeth the law to humble) containeth little good news, but much bad news; but now, when Christ saith, "Go, preach the gospel," thereby he would have them (he saith) ministers of the New Testament to preach glad tidings, (nothing but gospel,) but no bad tidings, (not a jot of the law,) until men positively reject the glad tidings of the gospel. If these men speak true, then neither Peter in his preaching, nor Paul in his writings, nor Christ himself in his ministry, were ministers of the New Testament, but did overheat their wine, and preach much bad tidings to the people of God. Verily, if this stuff be not repented of, the Lord hath a time to visit for these inventions.

2. Some object, (Gal. iii. 24, 25,) that the children of the Old Testament were under the law, as their pedagogue to lead them to Christ; but now (the apostle saith) we are no longer under this schoolmaster, who are sons of God in the New Testament. Be it so, that the sons of God under the New Testament are past the terroring of this schoolmaster, is it not therefore the work of the New Testament ministry to preach the law unto servants and slaves to sin and Satan in New Testament times? No, (saith the same author,) for this is to preach bad news; this is no good news to say, Thou art condemned for these things; for the gospel saith thus, Thou poor drunkard, thou proud woman, here is a gracious God that hath loved thee, and sent Christ to die for thee, and ministers to make it known to thee, and here is everlasting salvation by him only, because thou art a sinner; thou art now free from damnation: fear not that, Christ hath loved thee, therefore obey him; if not, thou shalt not be damned, that is done away already, etc. I would know whether a proud woman, or a poor drunkard, a villain, who never yet believed, are in a state of condemnation, ay or no? I have read indeed that "there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ," (Rom. viii. 1,) but never of any such freedom to them that are out of Christ, unless it was only in destination and merit; and I have read that we are by nature children of wrath, while dead in sin; (Eph. ii. 1–3;) but never of this, viz., that we are in favor while we be in our sin, much less that we are to believe this because we are such. If, therefore, such persons be in a state of wrath, and death, and condemnation, is not this like the old

false prophets, crying peace, peace, and salvation, where there is no peace? "There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God." (Is. xlviii. ult.; lvii. ult.) This is truth before they reject the gospel, is it not? This the law saith (say some) true, but is not this confirmed by the ministry of the gospel also? (John iii. ult.) He that believes not, the wrath of God abides upon him, *μενει ὐπ' αὐτὸν*· it was upon him before he did believe; and when he believes not, it abides where it did. Must the ministers of the New Testament, therefore, preach lies and falshoods, and tell proud women, and poor drunkards, and villains, before they refuse the gospel by unbelief, that the Lord Jesus loves them, and that they need not fear condemnation, when the Scripture hath shut up all men under it, that the promise by faith might be given to those that believe, and them only? What is this gospel ministry but to tell men they are whole, and not sick to death, but healed before they come to the Physician, the Lord Jesus? Surely that is gospel ministry which advanceth Christ not only in word but in power in the hearts of poor sinners; but doth this ministry advance the physician's custom and honor, which where it comes must first tell all the crew of wretched drunkards, proud persons, and villains, that they are already well and whole, loved and pardoned, blessed and saved, before ever they come to the Lord Jesus? Suppose therefore (as some may say) that servants and slaves to sin may have the law preached to them, yet the sons and children of God have no use of it in that respect now; it is true, I grant, not as the servants have under the New Testament, nor yet as the sons of God had under the Old; for the children of God under the Old Testament had need of this schoolmaster to lead them to Christ to come, and *ad Christum typicum*, i. e., to Christ typed out in sacrifices and oblations, high priest and altar, and so it led them to Christ afar off, and as it were a great way about; but it doth not follow that there is no use of the law therefore to be a schoolmaster still to lead unto Christ immediately and already come; those that are servants to sin under the New Testament have need of the law to show them the condemnation and curse under which they lie by nature and are now actually under; but the sons of God (for whom Christ is made a curse) are not thus under it, and therefore have not this use of it, but only to show that curse and condemnation which they do of themselves deserve; and therefore the holy apostle, when he was in Christ, and did live unto God, he shows us how he did live unto God, viz., by dying to the law, and how he did die to the law, and that was by the law, i. e., as it did show him his condemnation; he did live to God in his

justification ; as it did show him his sin, and wants, and weakness, it made him die unto it, and expect no life from it, and so live unto God in his sanctification ; for so the words are, " I through the law am dead to the law, that I may live unto God," (Gal. ii. 19 ;) the issue therefore is this, that if the doctrine be taken strictly *pro lege fidei*, (as Chamier calls it,) or that doctrine which shows the way of man's righteousness and justification only, there indeed all the works of the law, all terrors and threatnings, are to be excluded, and nothing else but peace, pardon, grace, favor, eternal reconciliation to be believed and received ; and therefore it is no New Testament ministry to urge the law, or to thunder out any terror here, for in this sense it is true (which is commonly received) that in the law there are terrors, but in the gospel none ; but if the gospel be taken largely for all that doctrine which brings glad tidings of Christ already come, and shows the love of God in the largest extent of it, and the illustrations and confirmations of it from the law, then such servants of Jesus Christ who hold forth the law to make way for grace, and to illustrate Christ's love, must either be accounted New Testament ministers, or else (as hath been shown) Christ Jesus and his apostles were none.

Thesis 115. The second is a professed neglect, and casting off the work of repentance and mourning for sin, nay, of asking pardon of sin ; for, if the law be no rule to show man his duty, why should any man then trouble himself with sorrow for any sin ? For if it be no rule to him, how should any thing be sin to him ? and if so, why then should any ask pardon of it, or mourn under it ? Why should not a man rather harden his heart like an adamant, and make his forehead brass and iron, even unto the death, against the feeling of any sin ? But what doctrine is more cross to the spirit of grace in gospel times than this ? which is a spirit of mourning ; (Zach. xii. 10, 11 ;) what doctrine more cross to the command of Christ from heaven than this ? who writes from heaven to the church of Ephesus, to remember from whence she is fallen, and repent ; (Rev. ii. 5 ;) what doctrine more cross to the example of holy men than this ? who after they were converted then repented and lamented most of all ; (Jer. xxxi. 18, 19 ; 2 Cor. vii. 9–11 ;) what doctrine more cross to the salvation of souls, the mercy of God, and forgiveness of sin ? for so the promise runs, " If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins." (1 John i. 9.) What doctrine so cross to the spirit of the love of Christ shed abroad in the heart, that when a man's sins are greatest, (which is after conversion, because now against more love and more nearness to Jesus

Christ,) that now a believer's sorrow should be least monkish and macerating? Sorrow indeed is loathsome, but godly sorrow is sweet and glorious; doubtless those men's blindness is exceeding great who know not how to reconcile joy and sorrow in the same subject, who can not with one eye behold their free justification, and therein daily rejoice, and the weakness and imperfection of their justification with another eye, and for that mourn.

Thesis 116. The third thing is, a denying sanctification the honor of a faithful and true witness, or clear evidence of our justification; for if a believer be not bound to look unto the law as his rule, why should he then have any eye to his sanctification? which is nothing else but our habitual conformity to the law, as inherent corruption is nothing else but habitual disagreement with it; although sanctification be no part of our righteousness before God, and in this sense is no evidence of our justification, yet there is scarce any clearer truth in all the Scripture than this, viz., that it is evidence that a man is in a justified estate; and yet this leaven, which denies the law to be a Christian's rule of life, hath soured some men's spirits against this way of evidencing. It is a doubtful evidence, (saith Doctor Crisp,) an argument, not an evidence; it is a carnal and an inferior evidence, the last and the least, not the first evidence; it is an evidence, if justification be first evident, (say Den and Saltmarsh,) some men may be led to these opinions from other principles than a plain denial of the directive use of the law; but this I fear lies uppermost: however, let these two things be examined: —

1. Whether sanctification be a doubtful evidence.

2. Whether it be a carnal, inferior, and may not be a first evidence.

Thesis 117. If to be under the power and dominion of sin and original corruption be a sure and certain evidence of actual condemnation, so that he that saith he knows Christ and hath fellowship with him, and yet walks in darkness, and keeps not his commandments, is a liar, (1 John i. 6; ii. 4,) why may not sanctification then (whereby we are set free from the power of sin) be a sure and certain evidence of our actual justification? For hereby "we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments," (1 John ii. 3;) whereby it is manifest that the apostle is not of their minds who think the negative to be true, viz., that they that keep not Christ's commandments are in a state of perdition; but they will not make the affirmative true, viz., that they that keep his commandments may thereby know that they are in a state of salvation: if Jesus Christ be sent "to

bless his people in turning them from their iniquities," (Acts iii. ult.,) then they that know they are turned from their iniquities by him may know certainly that they are blessed in him; and if they be not thus turned, they may know certainly that they are yet accursed. If godliness hath the promises of this life and that which is to come, (1 Tim. iv. 8,) and if the free grace and actual love of God be revealed clearly to us only by some promise, how then is sanctification (so near akin to godliness) excluded from being any evidence? Is there no inherent grace in a believer that no inherent sanctification can be a true evidence? Verily, thus some do think; but what is this but an open, graceless profession that every believer is under the power of inherent sin, if he hath not the being of any inherent grace? or if there be any inherent grace, yet it is (say some) so mixed with corruption, and is such a spotted and blurred evidence, that no man can discern it.

I confess such an answer would well become a blind Papist who never knew where grace grew, (for so they dispute against *certitudo salutis certitudine fidei*, when the conclusion of faith ariseth from such a proposition as is the word of God, and the assumption the testimony of God's Spirit to a man's own experience of the work of God in his heart,) but it ill becomes a minister of the gospel of Christ to plead for such Popish ignorance in a Christian as can see no farther than his own buttons, and that can not discern by the Spirit of God the great and wonderful change from darkness to light, from death to life, from Satan to God, the visible work of God, and graces of the Spirit of God. The things (which the apostle calls love) "are freely given to them of God." (1 Cor. ii. 12.) Peter's was imperfect, blotted, and mixed, and yet he could say, "Lord, thou knowest I love thee." (John xxi. 17.) The poor doubting, mourning man in the gospel had some faith, and was able to see it, and say, certainly, "Lord, I believe; help my unbelief." Could Paul discern (without extraordinary revelation, because he speaks as an ordinary Christian) an inner man, and a law in his mind, delighting in the law of God, yet mixed with a law in his members, leading him captive into the law of sin, and can not we? And yet the doctor doth cast such stains upon sincerity, universal obedience, love to the brethren, etc., and heaps up the same cavils against the truth of them in the souls of the saints, as the devil himself usually doth by sinful suspicions and suggestions, when God lets him loose for a season to buffet his people, that so they may never know (if it were possible) what great things the Lord hath done for their souls; and whoever reads his book shall find

that he makes a believer such a creature as can not tell certainly whether he be a sincere-hearted man or an arrant hypocrite; whether he be under the power of sin and Satan or not; whether one man can be discerned from another to be a saint or a devil; or whether he hath any charity and love to them that are saints from them that are not; and so goes about to befool and nonplus and puzzle the people of God, as the story related of the German woman, desirous to rid the house of her husband, who first making him drunk, and casting him into a sleep, did so shave him and dress him, and cut and clip him, that when he awakened he knew not what to think of himself, or to say who he was; for by looking upon and in himself he thought he was the woman's husband, and yet by his new cut and habit he almost believed that he was a friar, as his wife affirmed. Sanctification is an evidence always in itself of a justified estate, although it be not always evident unto us; and therefore, what though a Christian sees his sanctification and graces to-day, and can not see them, but is doubtful about them, suppose to-morrow, shall he therefore reject it as a doubtful evidence, which is ever clear enough in itself, though not always to our discerning? For I would know what evidence can there be of a justified estate, but partly through dimness and weakness of faith, (which is but imperfect, and therefore mixed with some doubtings all a man's life, some time or other,) and partly through the wise and adored providences of God to exercise our faith, but that some time or other it can not be discerned? Is the immediate testimony of God's Spirit (which some would make the only evidence) always evident, and the shinings, sheddings, and actings of it never suspended, but that by some means or other they will be at a loss? Why then should sanctification be excluded as a doubtful evidence, because sometimes it is, and at other times not, discerned? I know there are some who, perceiving the conceived uncertainty of all such evidences, have therefore found out a strange catholicon for these sick times, a sure way of evidencing and settling all men's consciences in a way of peace and unshaken assurance of the love of Christ; and therefore they make (which I name with horror) the sight of corruption and sinful perdition, through the promise of the gospel, the certain and settled evidence of life and salvation, which opinion, the least I can say of it is, that which Calvin said in the like case, to be *exundantis in mundum furoris Dei flagellum.* Woe to the dark mountains of Wales, and the fat valleys, towns, and cities in England, and sea coasts and islands in America, if ever this delusion take place! And yet this flame begins to catch, and this infection to spread; and

therefore I find M. Saltmarsh and W. C. to speak out, and openly to own that which the Familists in former times have either been ashamed or afraid to acknowledge, and that is this, viz., that the promises of the gospel do belong to a sinner, *qua* sinner, or as a sinner, and that the law speaks good news to a righteous man, *quatenus* a righteous man, but the gospel quite contrary; it is to a man *quatenus* a sinner, not as a regenerate man, or as a humble man, or as a saint, or as a believer, but as a sinner; and hence they infer, that a Christian will never have any settled peace, but be off and on, as a bone out of joint, in and out, a reed tossed with the wind, never knit to Christ, if they lay hold on Christ and God's love under any other consideration than as to sinners; and therefore, though they see no good in themselves, though they be not humbled, broken-hearted sinners, (as one preacher tells them,) nor believing sinners, (as another preacher tells them,) yet, if they see themselves sinners, they must know a sinner is the proper object of the gospel, and therefore this is ground enough to believe; so that if the devil tell a man that he is no saint, if the soul can say, I am a sinner; if the devil say, Thou art a hypocrite; Ay, but a hypocrite is but a sinner still; though I be not a broken-hearted, this will be (they say) a refuge of peace to retreat unto in all temptations; and when men have learnt this lesson, their souls will not be in and out any more, but have constant peace; for though they have no interest in Christ as saints, yet they have real interest in the promises of Christ as sinners; hence also, they say, that no minister is to threaten or declare the curse and wrath of God against drunkards and sinners, as such, until first Christ be offered in the gospel, and they refuse him, and that, if any do this, they are ministers of the Old Testament, not of the New. *Sic desinit in piscem mulier formosa.* Let us therefore see what chaff and what corn, what truth and what falsehood, there is in this new divinity.

It is true, 1. That the gospel reveals the free grace and love of God, the death of Christ, and salvation by him for poor sinners, and that all those that are or shall be saved are to acknowledge and aggravate God's love toward them, in casting his eye upon them when they were sinners, notwithstanding all their sins; this the Scripture every where holds forth. (Rom. v. 6, 7. 1 Tim. i. 15.) 2. It is true, also, that the gospel makes an offer of Christ, and salvation and remission of sins to all sinners, where it comes, yea, to all sinners, as sinners, and as miserable, yea, though they have sinned long by unbelief, as is evident. (Hos. xiv. 1. Rev. iii. 17. Jer. iii. 22. Is. lv. 1.) All are invited to come unto these waters freely, without money or price. These

things no man doubts of that knows the gospel; but the question is not, whether remission of sins and reconciliation in the gospel belong to sinners, but whether they belong to sinners immediately as sinners; not whether they are merited by Christ's death, and offered out of his rich grace immediately to sinners, but whether they are actually and immediately their own, so as they may challenge them thus as their own, from this as from a full and sufficient evidence, viz., because they are sinners, and because they see themselves sinners. For we grant that Jesus Christ came into the world actually to save sinners, yet mediately by faith, and then they may see salvation; that he justifieth also the ungodly. But how? immediately? No, but mediately by faith, (Rom. iii. 5.) and that where sin abounds, grace abounds. To whom? to all sinners? No; but mediately to all those only who by faith receive this grace. (Rom. v. 17;) so that the gospel reveals no actual love and reconciliation immediately to a sinner, as a sinner, but mediately to a sinner, as a believing and broken-hearted sinner; and the Scripture is so clear in this point, that whoever doubts of it must *cæcutire cum sole*, and we may say to them, as Paul to the Galatians, "O, foolish men, who hath bewitched you that you should not see this truth?" For though Christ came to save sinners, yet he professeth that he came not to call the righteous, but the sick sinners, (Matt. ix. 13;) though God justifieth the ungodly, yet it is such an ungodly man as believeth in him, whose faith is imputed unto righteousness, (Rom. iii. 5;) though grace abounds where sin abounds, yet it is not to all sinners, (for then all should be saved,) but to such as receive abundance of grace by faith, (Rom. v. 17;) although God holds forth Christ to be a propitiation for sinners, yet it is expressly said to be mediately through faith in his blood, (Rom. iii. 24, 25;) although the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise might be given, yet it is not said to be immediately given to sinners, as sinners, but mediately to all that believe; and in one word, though it be true that Christ died for sinners and enemies, that they might have remission of sins, (then procured and merited for them,) yet we never actually have nor receive this remission (and consequently can not see it) as our own, until we do believe; for unto this truth (saith Peter) do all the prophets witness, that "whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins," (Acts x. 43;) and hence it is, that as all the prophets preached the actual favor of God only to sinners as believers, so the apostles never preached it in New Testament times otherwise; and hence Peter (Acts ii. 38) doth not tell the sorrowful Jews that they were sinners, and that God loved them, and that Christ

had died for them, and that their sins were pardoned, because they were sinners; but he first exhorts them to repent, that so they might receive remission of sins; nor doth Paul tell any man that salvation belonged to him, because he is a sinner, but if thou believe with all thy heart, thou shalt be saved. (Rom. x. 5–7.) If the love of God be revealed to a sinner, as a sinner, this must be either, 1. By the witness of the law; but this is impossible, for if the curse of God be herein revealed only to a sinner, as a sinner, then the love of God can not; but the law curseth every sinner. (Gal. iii. 10.) Or, 2. By the light and witness of the gospel; but this cannot be, for it reveals life and salvation only to a believer, and confirms the sentence of the law against such a sinner as believes not. (John iii. 17, 36.) "He that believes not is condemned already," not only for unbelief, (as some say,) for this doth but aggravate condemnation, but also for sin, by which man is first condemned before he believes, if the apostle may be believed, (Rom. iii. 19;) and if a man be not condemned for sin before he believe, then he is not a sinner before he believe; for look, as Christ hath taken away any man's condemnation in his death, just so hath he taken away his sin. 3. Or else by the witness and testimony of God's Spirit; but this is flat contrary to what the apostle speaks, (Gal. iii. 26, with iv. 6,) "Ye are all the sons of God by faith in Christ Jesus;" and because ye are sons, (not sinners,) "he hath sent the Spirit of his Son, crying, Abba, Father," (Gal. iv. 4–6;) and, verily, if the love of God belong to sinners, as sinners, then all sinners shall certainly be saved, (for *a quatenus ad omne valet consequentia;*) so that by this principle, as sin hath abounded actually to condemn all, so grace hath abounded actually to save all, which is most pernicious; nor do I know what should make men embrace this principle, unless that they either secretly think that the strait gate and narrow way to life is now wide and broad, that all men shall in gospel times enter in thereat, which is prodigious, or else they must imagine some Arminian universal redemption and reconciliation, and so put all men in a salvable and reconciled estate (such as it is) before faith, and then the evidence and ground of their assurance must be built on this false and crazy foundation, viz., Jesus Christ had died to reconcile (and so hath reconciled) all sinners.

But I am a sinner, —

And therefore I am reconciled. If this be the bottom of this gospel ministry and preaching free grace, (as doubtless it is in some,) then I would say these things only: —

1. That this doctrine, under a color of free grace, doth as much

vilify and take off the price of free grace in Christ's death as any I know; for what can vilify this grace of Christ more, than for Christ so to shed his blood as that Peter and Abraham in heaven shall have no more cause to thank Jesus Christ for his love therein than Judas and Cain in hell? it being equally shed for one as much as for the other.

2. That this is a false bottom for faith to rest upon and gather evidence from; for, 1. If Christ hath died for all, he will then certainly save all; for so Paul reasons, (Rom. viii. 32, and vi. 10;) he hath given his Son to death for us; how shall he not but with him give us all other things? and therefore he will give faith, and give repentance, and give perseverance, and give eternal life also, which is most false. If he did not pray for all, then he hath not died for all, (John xvii. 9;) which Scripture never yet received scarce the show of a rational answer, though some have endeavored it with all willingness.

3. That whereas by this doctrine they would clear up the way to a full and settled evidence and Christian assurance, they do hereby utterly subvert the principal foundation of all settledness and assurance of faith, which is this, viz., that if Jesus Christ be given to death for me, then he will certainly give all other things to me. If we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more shall we be saved by his life. If Christ hath died and risen for us, who then shall condemn? who shall then separate us from God's love? (Rom. viii. 32; vi. 9, 10.) But if they shall hold no such principles, I would then know how any man can have evidence of this, viz., that God loves him, and that Christ hath died for him while he is a sinner, and as he is a sinner? Or how any minister of the New Testament can say to any man (under the power of his sins and the devil) that he is not condemned for his sins, but that God loves him, and that Christ hath died for him, without preaching falsehoods, and lies, and dreams of their own heart? For, 1. God hath not loved nor elected all sinners, nor hath Christ died for all sinners. 2. If every man be in a state of condemnation before he believe the gospel, then no man can be said to be in a state of reconciliation, and that God hath loved him until he refuse the gospel, but every man is in a state of condemnation before he believe, because our Saviour expressly tells us, that by faith we pass from death to life, (John v. 24.) and he that hath not the Son hath not life, (1 John v. 12;) and therefore, if those be ministers of the New Testament who first preach to all the drunkards and whoremongers and villains in a parish that God loves them, and that they are reconciled by Christ's death, and that they may

know it because they are sinners, then let the heavens hear, and the earth know, that all such ministers are false prophets, and cry Peace, peace, where God proclaims wrath, and that they acquit them whom God condemns; and if they be ministers of the Old Testament spirit, who first show men their condemned estate, and then present God as wroth against them while they be in their sin, that so they may prize and fly to favor and free grace, then such are ministers of the Old Testament, and not of the New, because they preach the truth; and if preaching the truth be an Old Testament ministry, no wise man then, I hope, will desire the new wine, for the old is better. While the lion sleeps, and God is silent, and conscience slumbers, all the beasts and wild sinners of the world (and many preachers too) may think that there is no terror in God, no curse or wrath upon themselves, in the midst of the rage, increase, and power of all their sins; but when this lion roars, and God awakens, and conscience looks above head, they shall then see how miserably they have been deceived; they may slight sin, abolish condemnation, talk of and wonder at free grace now, and believe easily, because they are sinners; but certainly they shall be otherwise minded then. Some men may have good ends in preaching God's free grace after this manner in the gospel, and make the gospel a revelation of God's actual love to sinners, as sinners, and make a Christian's evidence of it nothing else but the sight of his sin, and of his being under the power of it; but little do they think what Satan, the father of this false doctrine, aims at, which are these four things chiefly: —

1. That sanctification. faith, etc., might be no evidence at all to a Christian of a good estate, for this, they say, is a doubtful evidence, and an unsettling way of assurance; because they will hereby be as bones out of joint, in and out; humbled to-day, and then comforted; but hard hearted to-morrow, and then at a loss; whereas to see one's self a sinner, that is a constant evidence, for we are always sinners, and the gospel proclaims peace to sinners, as sinners.

2. That so men may keep their lusts and sins, and yet keep their peace too; for if peace be the portion of a man under the power of sin and Satan, look then, as he may have it, why may he not keep it upon the same terms? And therefore W. C. saith, that if conscience object, thou art a hypocrite, (perhaps truly;) yet a hypocrite is but a sinner, and God's love belongs to sinners, as sinners. And if this be thus, what doth this doctrine aim at but to reconcile God and Belial, Christ and Mammon; not only to open the door to all manner of wickedness, but to comfort men therein?

3. That so he may bring men in time purposely to sin the more freely, that so they may have the clearer evidence of the love of God; for if God's love be revealed to sinners, as sinners, then, the more sinful, the more clear evidence he hath of God's love; and therefore one once entangled with these delusions was induced to commit a gross wickedness, that more full assurance might be attained.

4. That so the true preaching and ministry of the gospel of God's free grace might be abolished, (at least despised,) which is this, viz., thou poor, condemned sinner, here is Christ Jesus, and with him eternal remission of sins and reconciliation, if thou believe and receive this grace offered humbly and thankfully, for this is gospel. (Matt. xxviii. 19. Mark xvi. 16. Rom. x. 5–8; iii. 24, 25. Acts viii. 37.) And hence M. W. C. hath these words, "That if the gospel hold forth Christ and salvation upon believing, (as many, saith he, preach,) it were then little better tidings than the law." Ah, wretched and unworthy speech, that when Jesus Christ himself would show the great love of God unto the world, (John iii. 16,) he makes it out by two expressions of it. 1. That the Father sent his only Son. 2. That whosoever did believe in him, (or if they did believe in him,) they should have eternal life. The Lord shows wonderful love, that whoever believe may have Christ and eternal life by believing; but this doctrine breathing out God's dearest love, by this man's account is little better than law, which breathes out nothing but wrath. But why doth he speak thus? Because (saith he) it is as easy to keep the ten commandments as to believe of one's self. Very true, as to believe of one's self. But what is this against the preaching and holding forth Christ and salvation upon condition of believing? For is not this preaching of the gospel the instrument and means of working that faith in us which the Lord requires of us in the gospel? And must not Jesus Christ use the means for the end? Were not those three thousand brought into Christ by faith, by Peter's promise of remission of sins upon their repentance? Were not many filled with the Holy Ghost when they heard this gospel thus preached upon condition of believing? (Acts x. 43.) Doth not the apostle say, that the gospel is the power of God to salvation, because therein is Christ's righteousnesss revealed (not to sinners, as sinners) but from faith to faith? The condition of works is impossible to be wrought in us by the Spirit, but the condition of faith, (though it be impossible for us to work it in our hearts,) yet it is possible, easy, and usual for God to work it by requiring of it, (Jer. iii. 22,) which is no prejudice to God's free grace,

because faith is purposely required and wrought, because it chiefly honors and advanceth free grace. (Rom. iv. 16.) The promise is of faith, that it might be by grace. If Mr. W. C. will not preach Christ upon believing, how will he or any man else preach it? Will they tell all men that God loves them, and that Christ hath died for them, and that he that gives grace and salvation will work faith in them? Truly, thus W. C. seems to affirm; but if they shall preach so to all sinners, as sinners, and tell them absolutely God will work faith in them also, I suppose that the church walls, and plentiful and abundant experience, would testify against this falsehood; and the Scripture testifies sufficiently that every man shall not have faith to whom the gospel is preached. Now, I do beseech the God and Father of lights to pity his straying servants, who are led into those deep and dangerous delusions through feeble mistake of the true difference between Old and New Testament ministries, and that he would pity his people for whose sins God hath let loose these blinding and hardening doctrines, by means of which they are tempted to receive that as the gospel of truth which is but a mere lie, and to take that as an evidence of salvation that is, in truth, the evidence of perdition and condemnation, as hath been shown.

Thesis 118. The second thing remains to be cleared, whether sanctification may not be a first evidence, and therefore more than a carnal inferior and last evidence, as M. Saltmarsh calls it; for if it be (not a doubtful) but a clear and certain evidence in itself, (as hath been proved,) why may it not be a first evidence? Why may not the Spirit of God, who works it in a person justified, first reveal it as an evidence that he is justified? What mortal man can limit the Spirit of God to what evidence he shall first bring into the conscience of a justified estate? For let sanctification be taken in the largest sense for any work of saving grace wrought in the elect, (whether in vocation to faith, or in sanctification, which, strictly taken, follows our justification by faith,) and take evidence not for evidence of the object, (for Christ Jesus in his free grace must be seen first as the ground on which faith rests,) but for evidence of testimony to the subject, and then I thus argue, that this first evidence of special actual love in beholding God's free grace to a sinner is either, —

1. Without being of faith and other graces; —

Or, 2. Without the seeing of them only, the eye looking up to Christ and free grace.

But this first evidence is not without the being of faith and holiness, for then it should be to a man actually under the power

of sin, and his filthy lusts, and the devil; which hath been already proved in the former Thesis to be a mere delusion; there being no such word of the gospel which reveals God's free love and actual reconciliation to a sinner, as a sinner. and as under the power of his sins, but the gospel rather reveals the quite contrary; and to affirm the witness of the Spirit clears this up, is to pretend a testimony of the Spirit contrary to the testimony of the word; and yet I strongly fear, and do fully believe, that this is the first evidence which men plead for, viz., to see God's love toward them, while they neither see grace nor any change of heart in them; or have grace, but are still under the dominion of their sin.

And on the other side, if any affirm that this evidence is not without the being of grace, but only without the seeing of it, so that a Christian's first evidence is the feeling of God's free grace out of himself, without seeing any faith or grace in himself, and seeing nothing else but sin in himself, this I confess is nearer the truth, but it is an error which leads a man to a precipice, and near unto the pit; for if this be so, then these things will unavoidably follow: —

1. That a Christian must see the love of God toward him in Christ, and yet must not see himself to be the person to whom this love only belongs; for (according to this very opinion itself) it belongs only to a believer, and one that hath the being of grace, and not to a sinner, as a sinner.

2. Then a Christian must not see the love of Christ and free grace of God by that proposition or testimony of the Spirit which reveals it, and that is this, *Tu fidelis*, (Thou believer,) called and sanctified, art freely beloved: and thus a man must not see his estate good by the light of the Spirit; nay, thus a Christian must receive the testimony of the Spirit, which assures him that he is loved without understanding the meaning of the Spirit; which is, (not thou sinner, as such,) but thou, believer, art beloved; not thou that hast no grace, but thou that hast the being of it, art beloved.

3. Then the first evidence is built upon a mere weakness, nay, upon an untruth and falsehood; for it is a mere weakness not to see that which we should see, viz., the being of faith and grace in the heart, in which respect the promise is sealed; and if any man, by not seeing it, shall think and say there is no grace, no faith, no sanctification, and now he sees God's love to such a one, and he thinks himself to be such a one, when he sees God's free grace, and hath this first evidence, it is a falsehood and an untruth, for it is supposed to be there in the being of it all this while. Suppose, therefore, that some Christians, at their

first return and conversion to God, or afterward, have grace and faith, but see it not in their assurance of God's love, (the eminency of the object and good of it swallowing up their thoughts and hearts from attending themselves,) yet the question is *quo jure;* they do not see, nay, should not see and take notice of the being of them in themselves. Is not this a mere weakness and falsehood which is now made the mystery of this first evidence, and indeed somewhat like Cusanus's *summa sapientia*, which he makes to be this, viz., *attingere illud quod est inattingibile inattingibiliter*, that a Christian must see and touch God's deep love, and yet neither see, nor touch, nor feel any change in himself, or any being of grace, when in truth it is there, in which respect also God's free grace and love is revealed?

4. If this be the first evidence, then no minister, no, nor any apostle of Christ Jesus, can give any first evidence of God's love by the ordinary dispensation of the gospel; for although a minister may say, Thou art a sinner, therefore the Lord Jesus may save thee, yet he can not say upon that ground that therefore the Lord Jesus will save him, for then every sinner should be saved. No minister can say to any unbeliever, Christ hath redeemed thee, therefore believe; or say absolutely, Thy sins are pardoned; for then he should preach contrary to the word, which expressly tells us, that he that believes not is already condemned. No minister can say God will work faith in all you that are sinners, as hath been shown; but they can say, Thou, believer, art pardoned; thou art sanctified, art reconciled, etc. It is therefore an evil speech of one lately in print, who calls that a bastard assurance, arising from a lying spirit, which first proceeds from the sight of any grace, and thence concludes they are justified and shall be saved. For I would thus argue, that this work of grace (suppose love to the saints, hunger and thirst after righteousness, universal respect to all God's commandments, etc.) is either common to hypocrites, and unsound, or else it is peculiar to the elect and sincere. If the first, then it can not be either first or second evidence; it can be no evidence at all, either without or with seeing, first, God's free love to sinners, as sinners; if the second, then either God's promise (made to such as are hungry and humble, and have a work peculiar to God's elect in them) must be false, (which is blasphemous to imagine,) or else, whensoever it is seen, whether first or last, it must needs be a most blessed, and sweet, and sure evidence; for when we say that such a work of grace may be a first evidence, we do not mean as if the work, simply considered in itself, could give in any evidence, but only as the free promise of grace is made to such

as have such a work of grace; this promise, we say, to such persons, whensoever they see this work, gives in full and clear evidence of their blessed estate. And if the word of grace to a sinner, as a sinner, may give in a first evidence, (as some imagine,) then much more may it give in evidence where there is not only the word of grace, but also the Spirit of grace, yea, the work of grace, to assure the conscience; and for any to affirm that faith and sanctification are good evidences, if justification be first evident, is but a quirk of frothy wit; for it may be as safely affirmed, on the contrary, that justification is a good evidence, if faith and sanctification be first evident, for it is not these simply, but the promise which is our evidence, which is never to a sinner, as such. I shall therefore conclude these things with showing the true grounds of effectual evidence of the love of Christ.

Thesis 119. The free grace of God in Christ (not works) is the only sure foundation of justifying faith, or upon which faith is built. (Rom. iii. 24, 25. 1 Pet. ii. 4–6. Matt. xvi. 18.) This free grace therefore must first be revealed by the Spirit of God in the ministry of the gospel in order unto faith, (Rom. x. 14, 15; Eph. i. 13,) which general revelation of free grace some make to be the first evidence on which faith rests, and thus far it is true; but now this free grace is revealed two ways: —

1. In the free offer of it to be our own by receiving it. (Acts x. 43. Gal. ii. 16.)

2. In the free promise of it, revealing it as our own already, having actually and effectually received it. (John i. 12. Rom. v. 1, 2. 1 John v. 12.)

The free offer of grace (containing God's call, commandment, and beseechings to believe and be reconciled) gives us right to this possession of Christ, or to come and take, and so possess, Christ Jesus by faith. (Jer. iii. 22. 1 Cor. i. 9. Rom. i. 5, 6.) The free promise of grace (containing revealed immutable purposes and actual assurances of present and future grace) gives us right to the fruition of Christ, or to enjoy Christ as a free gift when it is offered; the command and desire of the donor to receive it to be our own, gives right and power to possess it; and when it is received, his promise to us, assuring us that it is and shall continue our own, gives us right and privilege to enjoy it and make use of it. For by two immutable things (the promise confirmed by oath) we have strong consolation who have fled for refuge to the hope before us. (Heb. vi. 17–19.) The free offer is the first ground of our faith, why we receive Christ to be our own; but the free promise is the first ground of the assurance of faith, why we are assured and persuaded that he is our own

already; for the gospel contains three things: 1. The revelation of Christ. 2. The offer of Christ. 3. The promise of Christ to all those that receive this offer. Hence faith (which runs parallel with the gospel, the proper object of it) first sees Christ; secondly, receives Christ; thirdly, is assured of the love of Christ, having received him.

The free offer of grace being made to the soul, because it is poor and sinful, cursed and miserable, and that therefore it would receive Christ, hence it is that in this respect the soul is not bound first to see some good in itself and so to receive him, but rather is bound (at first breathings of God upon it) rather to see no good, i. e., nothing but sin and perdition, death and darkness, enmity and weakness, and therefore to receive him. (Luke xiv. 21. Rev. iii. 17, 18. Gal. iii. 21. Rom. xi. 32. Hos. xiii. 3.) But the promise of free grace being actually given to the soul, (and not declared only as it is in the free offer, because it hath received Christ already, by which he is actually its own,) hence it is, that in this respect the soul is bound to see some good or saving work of grace in itself first, and so embrace and receive the promise and Christ Jesus in it. So that although, in receiving Christ to be our own, we are to see no good in ourselves wherefore we should receive him or believe in him, yet, in receiving him as our own already, we must first see some good, (the work of free grace in us,) or else we have no just ground thus to receive him. No man can challenge any promise belonging to him without having a part in Christ, the foundation of them; no man can have Christ but by receiving of him, or believing in him. (John i. 12.) Hence, therefore, they that say that the first evidence of God's love and free grace or actual favor is to a sinner, as a sinner, had need consider what they say; for is it to a sinner as possessed with Christ and receiving of him, or as dispossessed of Christ, not having of him, but rather refusing and rejecting of him? If they say the first, they then speak the truth; but then they raze down their own pernicious principle, that Christ and God's love belongs to them, as sinners. If they affirm the latter, then they do injuriously destroy God's free grace and the glory of Christ, who think to possess promises without possessing Christ, or to have promises of grace without having Christ the foundation of them all. For, though the common love of God (as the bare offer of grace is) may be manifested without having Christ, yet special, actual love can not be actually our own, without having and first receiving of him; and if the Spirit of God convince the world of sin (and consequently of condemnation) while they do not believe, (John xvi. 9.) I wonder

how it can then convince them of pardon of sin and reconciliation before they do believe? unless we will imagine it to be a lying spirit, which is blasphemous. These things not considered of, have and do occasion much error at this day in the point of evidencing, and hath been an inlet of deep delusion, and open gaps have been made hereby to the loose ways and depths of Familism and gross Arminianism, and therefore, being well considered of, are sufficient to clear up the ways of those faithful servants of the Lord, (who dare not sow pillows, nor cry peace to the wicked, much less to sinners, as sinners,) both from the slanderous imputation of legal ministrations after an Old Testament manner, as also of making works the ground of faith, or the causes of assurance of faith; the free offer being the ground of the one, and the free promise the cause and ground of the other. Briefly, therefore, —

1. The free offer of grace is the first evidence to a poor lost sinner that he may be beloved.

2. The receiving of this offer by faith (relatively considered in respect of Christ's spotless righteousness) is the first evidence showing why he is beloved, or what hath moved God actually to love him.

3. The work of sanctification (which is the fruit of our receiving this offer) is the first evidence showing that he is beloved.

If, therefore, a condemned sinner be asked whether God may love him, and why he thinks so, he may answer, Because Jesus Christ is held forth and offered to such a one. If he be further asked, why or what he thinks should move God to love him, he may answer, Because I have received Christ's righteousness offered, for which righteousness' sake only I know I am beloved, now I have received it. If he be asked, lastly, how he knows certainly that he is beloved, he may answer safely and confidently, Because I am sanctified; I am poor in spirit, therefore mine is the kingdom of heaven; I do mourn, and therefore I shall be comforted; I do hunger and thirst, and therefore I shall be satisfied, etc. We need, in time of distress and temptation, all these evidences; and therefore it is greatest wisdom to pray for that Spirit which may clear them all up unto us, rather than to contend which should be the first.

And thus we see that the whole moral law is our rule of life, and consequently the law of the Sabbath, which is a branch of this rule. We now proceed to show the third branch of things generally and primarily moral.

Thesis 120. Thirdly, not only a day, nor only a rest day, but the rest day, or Sabbath day, (which is expressed and expressly

interpreted in the commandment to be the seventh day, or a seventh day of God's determining, and therefore called *the Sabbath of the Lord our God*,) is here also enjoined and commanded, as generally moral. For if a day be moral, what day must it be? If it be said, that any day which human wisdom shall determine, whether one day in a hundred or a thousand, or one day in many years; if this only be generally moral, then the rule of morality may be broken, because the rule of equality may be thus broken by human determination; for it may be very unequal and unjust to give God one day in a hundred or a thousand for his worship, and to assume so many beside to ourselves for our own use. There is, therefore, something else more particularly, yet primarily, moral in this command, and that is *the Sabbath day*, or such a day wherein there appears an equal division and a fit proportion between time for rest and time for work, a time for God and a time for man, and that is a seventh day which God determines. A fit proportion of time for God is moral, because equal; man can not determine nor set out this proportion; God therefore only can and must. A day therefore that he shall determine is moral, and if he declares his determination to a seventh, a seventh day is therefore moral. Gomarus confesseth that, by the analogy of this commandment, not one day in a thousand, or when man pleaseth, but that one day in seven is moral, at least equal, fit, and congruous to observe the same; and if the analogy he speaks of ariseth *virtute mandati divini*, or by virtue of God's commandment, the cause is in effect yielded; but if this analogy be made *virtute libertatis humanæ*, so that human liberty may do well to give God one in seven, (because the Jews did so, and why should Christians be more scant?) then I see not but human liberty may assume power to itself to impose monthly and annual holy days as well, because the Jews had their new moons and yearly festivals; and by analogy thereof, why may not Christians who have more grace poured out upon them, and more love shown unto them under the gospel, hold some meet proportion with them therein also, as well as in Sabbaths? But it can never be proved that God hath left any human wisdom at liberty to make holy days, by the rule of Jewish proportions. Beside, if human wisdom see it meet and congruous to give God at least one day in seven, this wisdom and reason is either regulated by some law, and then it is by virtue of the law of God that he should have one day in seven, or it is not regulated by a law, and then we are left to a loose end again, for man to appoint what day he sees meet in a shorter or a longer time, his own reason being his only law; and this neither Gomarus nor the words of the command-

ment will allow, which sets and fixeth the day, which we see is one day in seven, which not man, but God, shall determine, and therefore called *the Sabbath of the Lord our God.*

Thesis 121. The hardest knot herein to unloose lies in this, to know whether a seventh day in general which God shall determine, or that particular seventh day from the creation, be here only commanded: the first seems (in Mr. Primrose's apprehension) to writhe and rack the words of the commandment; the second (if granted) abolisheth our Christian Sabbaths.

Thesis 122. For clearing up of this difficulty, therefore, and leaving the dispute of the change of the Sabbath to its proper place, it may be made good, that not that seventh day from the creation, so much as a seventh day which God shall determine, (and therefore called the seventh day,) is primarily moral, and therefore enjoined in this commandment; for which end let these things be considered and laid together.

1. Because the express words of the commandment do not run thus, viz., "Remember to keep holy that seventh day," but more generally, "the Sabbath day;" it is in the beginning, and so it is in the end of this commandment, where it is not said, that God blessed that seventh day, but the Sabbath day; by which expression the wisdom of God, as it points to that particular seventh day, that it should be sanctified, so it also opens a door of liberty for change, if God shall see meet, because the substance of the commandment doth not only contain that seventh day, but the Sabbath day, which may be upon another seventh, as well as upon that which God appointed first; and that the substance of the command is contained in those first words, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," may appear from the repetition of the same commandment, (Deut. v. 12,) where these words, "As the Lord thy God commanded thee," are immediately inserted before the rest of the words of the commandment be set down, to show thus much, that therein is contained the substance of the fourth command; the words following being added only to press to the duty, and to point out the particular day, which at that time God would have them to observe.

2. Because in the explication of those words (the Sabbath) it is not called "that seventh," but "the seventh," for so the words run: "Six days shalt thou labor, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," the meaning of which is this much, to wit, that man taking six days to himself for labor, that he leave the seventh to be the Lord's. Now, unless any can show that no other day but that seventh could be the seventh for rest, nor no other six days but those six going before that seventh could

be the six days for labor, they can never prove that this fourth commandment hath only a respect to that particular seventh, and it is no small boldness necessarily to limit where God hath left free; for we know that, if God will, man may take other six days for labor, and leave another seventh for God, than those six days and that seventh day only.

3. The change of the Sabbath undeniably proves thus much, (if it can be proved,) that the morality of this command did not lie in that particular day only; for if that only was moral, how could it be changed? and if it did not lie only in that seventh, wherein then did it more generally lie? Was it in a day more largely, or in a seventh day more narrowly? Now, let any indifferent conscience be herein judge, who they be that come nearest to the truth, whether they that fly so far from the name seventh, which is expressly mentioned in the commandment, or they that come as near it as may be; whether they that plead for a seventh of God's appointing, or they that plead for a day (but God knows when) of human institution. And it is worth considering why any should be offended at the placing of the morality of the command in a seventh, more than at their own placing of it in a day; for in urging the letter of the commandment to that particular seventh, to abolish thereby the morality of a seventh day, they do withal therein utterly abandon the morality of a day; for if that seventh only be enjoined in the letter of the commandment, and they will thence infer that a seventh therefore can not be required, how can they, upon this ground, draw out the morality of a day?

4. Because (we know) that *ratio legis est anima legis*, i. e., the reason of a law is the soul and life of the law. Now, let it be considered why God should appoint the seventh, rather than the ninth, or tenth, or twentieth day, for spiritual rest; and the reason will appear not to be God's absolute will merely, but because divine wisdom having just measures and balances in its hand, in proportioning time between God and man, it saw a seventh part of time (rather than a tenth or twentieth) to be most equal for himself to take, and for man to give: and thus much the words of the commandment imply, viz., that it is most equal if man hath six, that God should have the seventh: now, if this be the reason of the law, this must needs be the soul and substance of the morality of the law, viz., that a seventh day be given to God, man having six, and therefore it consists not in that seventh day only; for the primary reason why God appointed this or that seventh was not because it was that seventh, but because a seventh was now equal in the eye of God for God to take to

himself, man having the full and fittest proportion of six days together for himself; and because a seventh was the fittest proportion of time for God, hence this or that individual and particular seventh in the second place fall out to be moral, because they contain the most equal and fittest proportion of a seventh day in them; there was also another reason why that seventh was sanctified, viz., God's rest in it; but this reason is not primary, as hath been said, and of which now we speak.

5. Because, if no other commandment be in the decalogue but it is comprehensive, and looking many ways at once, why should we then pinion and gird up this only to the narrow compass of that seventh day only?

6. Because our adversaries in this point are forced sometimes to acknowledge this morality of a seventh with us: we have heard the judgment of Gomarus herein, (Thesis 44,) and M. Primrose, who speaks with most weight and spirit in this controversy, professeth plainly, that if God give us six days for our own affairs, there is then good reason to consecrate a seventh to his service, and that in this reason there is manifest justice and equity, which abideth forever, to dedicate to God precisely a seventh day after we have bestowed six days upon ourselves. It can not be denied (saith he) but that it is most just. Now, if it be by his confession, 1, just, 2, most just, 3, manifestly just, 4, perpetually just, to give God precisely one day in seven, the cause is then yielded: the only evasion he makes is this, viz., that though it be most just to give God one day in seven, yet it is not more just than to give God one in six, or five, or four, there being no natural justice in the number of seven more than in the number of six or four: but the answer is easy, that if man may give unto God superstitiously too many, or profanely too few, and if the appointment of God hath declared itself for a seventh, and that the giving of this seventh be most just and equal, then let it be considered whether it be not most satisfactory to a scrupling conscience to allow God a seventh day which he hath appointed, which is confessed to be most just and perpetually equal, and consequently moral; and if there be a moral and perpetual equity to give God one day in seven, then it is no matter whether there be any more natural equity therein than in one in five or six. The disputers of this world may please themselves with such speculations and shifts, but the wisdom of God, which hath already appointed one day in seven rather than in six or ten, should be adored herein, by humble minds, in cutting out this proportion of time, with far greater equity than man can now readily see.

7. Because deep corruption is the ground of this opinion, the plucking up of God's bounds and landmarks of a seventh is to put the stakes into the church's hands, to set them where she pleaseth; or if she set them at a seventh, where God would have them, yet that this may be submitted to, not because God pleaseth, but because the church so pleaseth; not because of God's will and determination, but because of the church's will and determination, that so, it being once granted that the church hath liberty to determine of such a day, she may not be denied liberty of making any other holidays, or holy things in the worship and service of God; and that this is the main scope and root of this opinion, is palpably evident from most of the writings of our English adversaries in this controversy.

Thesis 123. A seventh day, therefore, is primarily moral; yet (as was formerly said, Thesis 48) there is something else in this commandment which is secondarily moral, viz., this or that particular seventh day. I will not say that it is accidentally moral, (as some do,) but rather secondarily, and consequently moral. For it is not moral firstly, because it is this particular seventh, but because it has a seventh part of time, divinely proportioned and appointed for rest, falling into it, and of which it participates. To give alms to the needy is a moral duty, and primarily moral; but to give this or that quantity may be moral also; but it is secondarily moral, because it flows *ex consequenti*, only from the first; for if we are to give alms according to our ability and others' necessity, then this or that particular quantity thus suiting their necessity must be given, which is also a moral duty; so it is in this point of the Sabbath.

Thesis 124. Hence it follows that this commandment enjoins two things: 1. More generally, a seventh. 2. More particularly, this or that seventh, and in special that seventh from the creation, this or that seventh are to be kept holy because of a seventh part of time appointed falling into them. A seventh day also is to be kept holy by virtue of the commandment; yet not in general, but with special eye and respect to that particular seventh, wherein this general is involved and preserved. That seventh from the creation is commanded, because of a seventh failing into it; and a seventh also is commanded, yet with a special eye to that seventh wherein it is involved. And therefore it is a vain objection to affirm, that if a seventh be commanded, that then no particular seventh is; or if any particular seventh be so, that then a seventh is not; for the commandment, we see, hath respect to both; for what is there more frequent in Scripture than for general duties to be wrapped up and

set forth in some particular things, instances, and examples, and consequently both commanded together? And after narrow search into this commandment, we shall find both the general and particular seventh, not only inferring one the other, but both of them in a manner expressly mentioned.

Thesis 125. When those that plead for the morality of the fourth command, in respect of a seventh day, would prove it to be moral, because it is part of the decalogue and set in the heart of it, with a special note of remembrance affixed to it, etc., Mr. Ironside and others do usually dash all such reasonings out of countenance, with this answer, viz., that by this argument, That particular seventh from the creation is moral, which we see is changed; for (say they) that also is set in the heart of the decalogue, with a special note of remembrance also. But the reply from what hath been said is easy, viz., that that also is indeed moral, only it is secondarily moral, not primarily; and therefore (as we have shown) was mutable and changeable, the primary morality in a seventh immutably remaining; the moral duty of observing a seventh day is not changed, but only the day. If Mr. Primrose could prove that there is nothing else commanded in this fourth command, but only that particular seventh from the creation, he had then enough to show that (this day being justly changed) the commandment is not moral or perpetual; but out of this particular seventh which is now changed, himself acknowledgeth that out of it may be gathered the morality of a day; and why not of the seventh day also, as well as of a day? He saith that it is a bold assertion to say that this genus of a seventh is herein commanded. But why is it not as bold to affirm the same of a day? For out of that particular seventh whence he would raise the genus of a day, we may as easily, and far more rationally, collect the genus of a seventh day.

Thesis 126. Nor will it follow that because a seventh is moral, that therefore any one of the seven days in a week may be made a Christian Sabbath. For, 1. We do not say that it is any seventh, but a seventh determined and appointed of God for holy rest, which is herein commanded. 2. The Lord hath in wisdom appointed such a seventh as that man may have six whole days together to labor in; and hence it follows that divine determination, without crossing that wisdom, could not possibly fall upon any other days in the cycle of seven, but either upon the last of seven, which was the Jewish, or the first of seven, which now is (as shall be shown) the Christian Sabbath. 3. As God hath appointed one day in seven for man's rest, so in his wisdom he so orders it as that it shall be also a day of God's rest, and that

is not to be found in any day of the week but either in the last of seven, wherein the Father rested, or in the first of seven, wherein the Son rested from his work also.

Thesis 127. It is true that the Sabbath day and that seventh day from the creation are indifferently taken, sometimes the one for the other, the one being the exegesis, or the explication of the other, as Gen. ii. 2, 3, Exod. xvi. 29, and elsewhere; but that it should be only so understood in this commandment, *Credat Judeus Apella, non ego*, as he said in another case. I see no convicting argument to clip the wings of the Scripture so short, and to make the Sabbath day and that seventh day of equal dimensions; although it can not be denied but that in some sense the Sabbath day is exegetical of the seventh day, because the commandment hath a special eye to that seventh from the creation, which is secondarily moral, yet not excluding that which is more generally contained in that particular, and consequently commanded, viz., a seventh day, or the Sabbath day.

Thesis 128. Mr. Primrose would prove the exegesis, that by the Sabbath day is meant that seventh day only from the creation, because God actually blessed and sanctified that Sabbath day, because God can not actually bless a seventh, being an unlimited, indefinite, and uncertain, indetermined time. The time (saith he) only wherein he rested, he only actually blessed, which was not in a seventh day indetermined, but in that determined seventh day. But all this may be readily acknowledged, and yet the truth remain firm; for that particular seventh being secondarily moral, hence, as it was expressly commanded, so it was actually and particularly blessed; but as in this seventh a general of a seventh is included, so a seventh is also generally blessed and sanctified. Otherwise how will Mr. Primrose maintain the morality of a day of worship out of this commandment? For the same objection may be made against a day which himself acknowledgeth, as against a seventh day which we maintain; for it may be said, that that day is here only moral, wherein God actually rested, but he did not rest in a day indefinitely, and therefore a day is not moral; let him unloose this knot, and his answer in defense of the morality of a day will help him to see the morality of a seventh also. That particular day, indeed, wherein God actually and particularly rested, he particularly blessed; but there was a seventh day also more general, which he generally blessed also. He generally blessed the Sabbath day, he particularly blessed that Sabbath day, and in blessing of that he did virtually and by analogy bless our particular Christian Sabbath also, which

was to come. As Moses, in his actual blessing of the tribe of Levi, (Deut. xxxiii. 7, 10.) he did virtually and by analogy bless all the ministers of the gospel not then in being. And look, as when God commanded them to keep holy the Sabbath in ceremonial duties, he did therein virtually command us to keep it holy in evangelical duties; so when he commanded them to observe that day, because it was actually appointed, and sanctified, and blessed of God, he commanded us virtually and analogically therein to observe our seventh day also, if ever he should actually appoint and bless this other.

Thesis 129. The distribution of equity and justice consists not always in *puncto indivisibili*, i. e., in an indivisible point and a set measure; so as that if more or less be done or given in way of justice, that then the rule of justice is thereby broken; ex. gr., it is just to give alms and pay tribute; yet not so just as that if men give more or less, that then they break a rule of justice; so it is in this point of the Sabbath; a seventh part of time is moral, because it is just and equal for all men to give unto God, who have six for one given them to serve their own turn, and do their own work in; yet it is not so just but that if God had required the tribute of a third or fourth part of our time, but it might have been just also to have given him one day in three, or two, or four; for in this case positive determination doth not so much make as declare only that which is moral. And therefore, if Mr. Primrose thinks that a seventh part of time is not moral, because it is as equal and just to dedicate more time to God, and that a third or fourth day is as equal as a seventh, it is doubtless an ungrounded assertion; for so he affirms, that although it be most just to give God one day in seven, yet no more just than to dedicate to him one day in three or six. And suppose it be so, yet this doth not prove that a seventh day is not moral, because it is as equal to give six as seven, no more than that it is no moral duty to give an alms, because it may be as equal to give twenty pence as thirty pence to a man in want. If, furthermore, he think that it is as equal and just to give God more days for his service, as one in seven, out of human wisdom, and by human consecration, not divine dedication, then it may be doubted whether one day in two, or three, or six, is as equal as one day in seven; for as human wisdom, if left to itself, may readily give too few, so it may superstitiously give too many, (as hath been said.) But if four, or three, or six be alike equal in themselves to give to God, as one in seven, then if he thinks it a moral duty to observe any such day in case it should be imposed and consecrated by human determination, I hope he will

not be offended at us if we think it a moral duty also to observe a seventh day, which we are certain divine wisdom hath judged most equal, and which is imposed on us by divine determination: we may be uncertain whether the one is as equal, as we are certain that a seventh day is.

Thesis 130. Actions of worship can no more be imagined to be done without some time, than a body be without some place; and therefore in the three first commandments, where God's worship is enjoined, some time together with it is necessarily commanded; if, therefore, any time for worship be required in the fourth command, (which none can deny,) it must not be such a time as is connatural, and which is necessarily tied to the action; but it must be some solemn and special time, which depends upon some special determination, not which nature, but which counsel, determines. Determination, therefore, by counsel of that time which is required in this command, doth not abolish the morality of it, but rather declares and establisheth it. God, therefore, who is Lord of time, may justly challenge the determination of this time into his own hand, and not infringe the morality of this command, considering also that he is more able and fit than men or angels to see, and so cut out the most equal proportion of time between man and himself. God therefore hath sequestered a seventh part of time to be sanctified, rather than a fifth, a fourth, or a ninth, not simply because it was this seventh, or a seventh, but because, in his wise determination thereof, he knew it to be the most just and equal division of time between man and himself; and therefore I know no incongruity to affirm, that if God had seen one day in three, or four, or nine, to be as equal a proportion of time as one day in seven, that he would then have left it free to man to take and consecrate either the one or the other, (the Spirit of God not usually restraining where there is a liberty;) and on the other side, if he had seen a third, or fifth, or ninth, or twentieth part of time more equal than a seventh, he would have fixed the bounds of labor and rest out of a seventh; but having now fixed them to a seventh, a seventh day is therefore moral, rather than a fourth, or sixth, or ninth day, because it is the most equal and fittest proportion of time (all things considered) between God and man; the appointment therefore of a seventh, rather than a sixth or fourth, is not an act of God's mere will only, (as our adversaries affirm, and therefore they think it not moral,) but it was and is an act of his wisdom also, according to a moral rule of justice, viz., to give unto God that which is most fit, most just, and most equal; and therefore, although there is no natural justice (as Mr. Primrose calls it) in

a seventh, simply and abstractly considered, rather than in a sixth or tenth, yet if the most equal proportion of time for God be lotted out in a seventh, there is then something natural and moral in it rather than in any other partition of time, viz., to give God that proportion of time which is most just and most equal; and in this respect a seventh part of time is commanded, because it is good, (according to the description of a moral law,) and not only good because it is commanded.

Thesis 131. It is true that in private duties of worship, as to read the Scriptures, meditate, pray, etc., the time for these and the like duties is left to the will and determination of man, according to general rules of conveniency and seasonableness set down in the word; man's will (in this sense) is the measure of such times of worship; but there is not the like reason here, in determining time for a Sabbath, as if that should be left to man's liberty also, because those private duties are to be done in that time which is necessarily annexed to the duties themselves, which time is therefore there commanded, where and when the duty is commanded; but the time for a Sabbath is not such a time as naturally will and must attend the action, but it is such a time as counsel (not nature) sees most meet, and especially that counsel which is most able to make the most equal proportions of time, which we know is not in the liberty or ability of men or angels, but of God himself; for do but once imagine a time required out of the limits of what naturally attends the action, and it will be found necessarily to be a time determined by counsel: and therefore our adversaries should not think it as free for man to change the Sabbath seasons from the seventh to the fifth, or fourth, or tenth day, etc., as to alter and pick our times for private duties.

Thesis 132. There is a double reason of proposing God's example in the fourth command, as is evident from the commandment itself: the first was to persuade, the second was to direct. 1. To persuade man so to labor six days together, as to give the seventh, or a seventh appointed for holy rest, unto God; for so the example speaks — God labored six days, and rested the seventh; therefore do ye the like. 2. To direct the people of God to that particular seventh, which, for that time when the law was given, God would have them then to observe, and that was that seventh which did succeed the six days' labor: and therefore for any to make God's example of rest on that seventh day an argument that God commanded the observation of that seventh day only, is a groundless assertion; for there was something more generally aimed at by setting forth this example, viz., to persuade men

hereby to labor six days, and give God the seventh, which he should appoint, as well as to direct to that particular day, which for that time (it is granted) it also pointed unto; and therefore let the words in the commandment be observed, and we shall find man's duty, 1, more generally set down, viz., to labor six days, and dedicate the seventh unto God; and then follows God's persuasion hereunto from his own example, who when he had a world to make, and work to do, he did labor six days together, and rested the seventh: and thus a man is bound to do still: but it doth not follow that he must rest that particular seventh only, on which God then rested; or that that seventh (though we grant it was pointed unto) was only aimed at in this example: the binding power of all examples whatsoever (and therefore of this) being *ad speciem actus*, (as they call it,) to that kind of act, and not to the *individuum actionis* only, or to every particular accidental circumstance therein; if, indeed, man was to labor six days in memorial only of the six days of creation, and to rest a seventh day in memorial only of God's rest and cessation from creation, it might then carry a fair face, as if this example pointed at the observation of that particular seventh only; but look, as our six days' labor is appointed for other and higher ends than to remember the six days' work of God, it being a moral duty to attend our callings therein, so the seventh day of rest is appointed for higher and larger ends (as Didoclavius observes) than only to remember that notable rest of God from all his works, it being a moral duty to rest the seventh day in all holiness.

Thesis 133. It was but accidental, and not of the essence of the Sabbath day, that that particular seventh from the creation should be the Sabbath; for the seventh day Sabbath being to be man's rest day, it was therefore suitable to God's wisdom to give man an example of rest from himself, to encourage him thereunto, (for we know how strongly examples persuade:) now, rest being a cessation from labor, it therefore supposes labor to go before; hence God could not appoint the first day of the creation to be the Sabbath, because he did then but begin his labor; nor could he take any the other days, because in them he had not finished his work, nor rested from his labor; therefore God's rest fell out upon the last of seven succeeding six of labor before; so that if there could have been any other day as fit then for exemplary rest as this, and as afterward it fell out in the finishing of the work of redemption, it might have been as well upon such a day as this; but it was not then so: and hence the rest day fell, as it were, accidentally upon this: and hence it is that God's

example of rest on that particular day doth not necessarily bind us to observe the same seventh day; moral examples not always binding in their accidentals, (as the case is here,) although it be true that in their essentials they always do.

Thesis 134. There is no strength in that reason, that because one day in seven is to be consecrated unto God, that therefore one year in seven is to be so also, as of old it was among the Jews; for beside what hath been said formerly, viz., that one year in seven was merely ceremonial, one day in seven is not so, (saith Wallæus,) but moral; God gave no example (whose example is only in moral things) of resting one year in seven, but he did of resting one day in seven. I say, beside all this, it is observable what Junius notes herein. The Lord (saith he) challengeth one day in seven *jure creationis*, by right of creation; and hence requires it of all men created: but he challenged one year in seven *jure peculiaris possessionis*, i. e., by right of peculiar possession, the land of Canaan being the Lord's land in a peculiar manner, even a type of heaven, which every other country is not; and therefore there is no reason that all men should give God one seventh year, as they are to give him one seventh day. By the observation of one day in seven, (saith he,) men profess themselves to be the Lord's, and to belong unto him, who created and made them; and this profession all men are bound unto; but by observation of one year in seven, they professed thereby that their country was the Lord's, and themselves the Lord's tenants therein, which all countries (not being types of heaven) can not nor ought to do; and therefore there is not the like reason urged to the observation of a seventh year as of a seventh day.

Thesis 135. Look therefore as it is in the second commandment, although the particular instituted worship is changed under the gospel from what it was under the law, yet the general duty required therein of observing God's own instituted worship is moral and unchangeable. So it is in the fourth commandment, where though the particular day be changed, yet the duty remains moral and unchangeable in observing a seventh day; there is therefore no reason to imagine that the general duty contained in this precept is not moral, because the observance of the particular day is mutable; and yet this is the fairest color, but the strongest refuge of lies, which their cause hath who hold a seventh day to be merely ceremonial.

Thesis 136. If it be a moral duty to observe one day in seven, then the observation of such a day no more infringeth Christian liberty than obedience to any other moral law, one

part of our Christian liberty consisting in our conformity to it, as our bondage consists in being left to sin against it; and therefore that argument against the morality of one day in seven is very feeble, as if Christian liberty was hereby infringed.

Thesis 137. It was meet that God should have special service from man, and therefore meet for himself to appoint a special time for it; which time, though it be a circumstance, yet it is such a circumstance as hath a special influence into any business, not only human, but also divine; and therefore if it be naturally, it may be also ethically and morally good, contributing much also to what is morally good; and therefore the determination of such a time for length, frequency, and holiness, may be justly taken in among the moral laws. He that shall doubt of such a powerful influence of special time for the furthering of what is specially good, may look upon the art, skill, trade, learning, nay, grace itself perhaps, which he hath got by the help of the improvement of time; a profane and religious heart are seen and accounted of according to their improvements of time, more or less, in holy things. Time is not therefore such a circumstance as is good only because commanded, (as the place of the temple was,) but it is commanded because it is good, because time, nay, much time, reiterated in a weekly seventh part of time, doth much advance and set forward that which is good.

Thesis 138. That law which is a homogeneal part of the moral law is moral; but the fourth commandment is such a part of the moral law, and therefore it is moral. I do not say, that that law which is set and placed among the moral laws in order of writing, (as our adversaries too frequently mistake us in,) that it is therefore moral; for then it might be said, as well, that the Sabbath is ceremonial, because it is placed in order of writing among things ceremonial, (Lev. xxiii.;) but if it be one link of the chain, and an essential part of the moral law, then it is undoubtedly moral; but so it is, for its part of the decalogue, nine parts whereof all our adversaries we now contend with confess to be moral; and to make this fourth ceremonial, which God hath set in the heart of the decalogue, and commanded us to remember to keep it above any other law, seems very unlike to truth to a serene and sober mind, not disturbed with such mud, which usually lies at the bottom of the heart, and turns light into darkness; and why one ceremonial precept should be shuffled in among the rest which are of another tribe, lineage, and language, hath been by many attempted, but never soundly cleared unto this day. Surely if this commandment be not moral, then there are but nine commandments left to us of the moral law, which is expressly contrary to God's account. (Deut. iv.)

To affirm that all the commands of the decalogue are moral, yet every one in his proportion and degree, and that this of the Sabbath is thus moral, viz., in respect of the purpose and intent of the Lawgiver, viz., that some time be set apart, but not moral in respect of the letter in which it is expressed: it is in some sense formerly explained; true, but in his sense who endeavors to prove the Sabbath ceremonial, while he saith it is moral, is both dark and false; for if it be said to be moral only in respect of some time to be set apart, and this time an *individuum vagum*, an indeterminate time, beyond the verges of a seventh part of time, then there is no more morality granted to the fourth commandment than to the commandment of building the temple and observing the new moons; because in God's command to build the temple, the general purpose and intention of the Lawgiver was, that some place be appointed for his public worship, and in commanding to observe new moons, that some time be set apart for his worship, and so there was no more necessity of putting remember to keep the Sabbath holy, than to remember to keep holy the new moons. And look, as the commandment to observe new moons can not in reason be accounted a moral commandment, because there is some general morality in it, viz., for to observe some time of worship, so neither should this of the Sabbath be upon the like ground of some general morality mixed in it; and therefore for Mr. Ironside to say that the law of the Sabbath is set among the rest of the moral precepts, because it is mixedly ceremonial, having in it something which is moral, which other ceremonial commands (he saith) have not, is palpably untrue; for there is no ceremonial law of observing Jewish moons and festivals, but there was something generally moral in them, viz., that (in respect of the purpose and intention of the Lawgiver) some time be set apart for God, just as he makes this of keeping the Sabbath.

Thesis 139. To imagine that there are but nine moral precepts indeed, and that they are called ten in respect of the greater part according to which things are usually denominated, is an invention of Mr. Primrose, which contains a pernicious and poisonful seed of making way for the razing out of the decalogue more laws than one; for the same answer will serve the turn for cashiering three or four more, the greater part (suppose six) remaining moral, according to which the denomination ariseth. For although it be true, that some time the denomination is according to the greater part, viz., when there is a necessity of mixing divers things together, as in a heap of corn with much chaff, or a butt of wine where there be many lees, yet there was

no necessity of such a mixture and jumbling together of morals and ceremonials here. Mr. Primrose tells us that he doth not read in Scripture that all the commandments are without exception called moral, and therefore why may there not (saith he) be one ceremonial among them? But by this reason he may as well exclude all the other nine from being moral also; for I read not in Scripture that any one of them is styled by that name, *moral;* and although it be true which he saith, that covenants among men consist sometimes together of divers articles, as also that God's covenant (taken in some sense) sometimes did so, yet the covenant of God made with all men (as we shall prove the decalogue is) ought not to be so mingled, neither could it be so without apparent contradiction, viz., that here should be a covenant which bindeth all men in all things to observe it, and yet some part of it, being ceremonial, should not bind all men in all things it commands; nor is there indeed any need of putting in one ceremonial law, considering how easily they are and may be reduced to sundry precepts of the moral law as appendices thereof, without such shuffling as is contended for here.

Thesis 140. If this law be not moral, why is it crowned with the same honor that the rest of the moral precepts are? If its dignity be not equal with the rest, why hath it been exalted so high in equal glory with them? Were the other nine spoken immediately by the voice of God on Mount Sinai, with great terror and majesty, before all the people? Were they written upon tables of stone with God's own finger twice? Were they put into the ark as most holy and sacred? So was this of the Sabbath also: why hath it the same honor, if it be not of the same nature with the rest?

Thesis 141. Our adversaries turn every stone to make answer to this known argument, and they tell us that it is disputable and very questionable, whether this law was spoken immediately by God, and not rather by angels; but let it be how it will be, yet this law of the Sabbath was spoken and written, and laid up as all the rest were, and therefore had the same honor as all the rest had, which we doubt not to be moral; and yet I think it easy to demonstrate that this law was immediately spoken by God, and the reasons against it are long since answered by Junius, on Heb. ii. 2, 3; but it is useless here to enter into this controversy.

Thesis 142. Nor do I say that because the law was spoken by God immediately, that therefore it is moral; for he spake with Abraham, Job, Moses in the mount, immediately about other matters than moral laws; but because he thus spake, and in such

a manner, openly, and to all the people, young and old, Jews and proselyte Gentiles, then present, with such great glory, and terror, and majesty, surely it stands not (saith holy Brightman) with the majesty of the universal Lord, who is God not only of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles, speaking thus openly, (not privately,) and gloriously, and most immediately, to prescribe laws to one people only, which were small in number, but wherewith all nations alike should be governed. Mr. Ironside indeed thinks that the Lord had gone on to have delivered all the other ceremonials in the like manner of speech from the mount, but that the fear and cry of the people (that he would speak no more to them) stopped him; but the contrary is most evident, viz., that, before the people cried out, the Lord made a stop of himself, and therefore is said to add no more. (Deut. v. 22.) It was a glory of the gospel above all other messages, in that it was immediately spoken by Christ, (Heb. i. 2; ii. 3;) and so God's immediate publication of the moral law puts a glory and honor upon it above any other laws; and therefore, while Mr. Ironside goes about to put the same honor upon ceremonial laws, he doth not a little obscure and cast dishonor upon those that are moral, by making this honor to be common with ceremonial, and not proper only to moral laws.

Thesis 143. Nor do I say that the writing of the law on stone argues it to be moral, (for some laws not moral were mediately writ on stone by Joshua, (Josh. viii. 32,) but because it was writ immediately by the finger of God on such tables of stone, and that not once, but twice; not on paper or parchment, but on stone, which argues their continuance; and not on stone in open fields, but on such stone as was laid up in the ark, a place of most safety, being most sacred, and a type of Christ, who kept this law, and upon whose heart it was writ, (Ps. xl. 6, 7,) to satisfy justice, and to make just and righteous before God all that shall be saved, of all whom the righteousness of this law, according to justice, was to be exacted. What do these things argue but at least thus much, that if any law was to be perpetuated, this surely ought so to be? Mr. Primrose tells us that the writing upon stone did not signify continuance of the law, but the hardness of their stony hearts, which the law writ upon them, was not able to overcome; and it is true that the stony tables did signify stony hearts, but it is false that the writing on stone did not signify continuance also, according to Scripture phrase; for all the children of God have stony hearts by nature. Now, God hath promised to write his law upon such hearts as are by nature stony, and his writing of them there implies the continu-

ance of them there; so that both these might stand together, and the similitude is fully thus, viz., the whole law of God was writ on tables of stone, to continue there: so the whole law of God is writ on stony hearts by nature, to continue thereon.

Thesis 144. Only moral laws, and all moral laws, are thus summarily and generally honored by God, the ten commandments being Christian pandects and common heads of all moral duties toward God and men; under which generals, all the particular moral duties in the commentaries of the prophets and apostles are virtually comprehended and contained; and therefore Mr. Primrose's argument is weak, who thinks that this honor put upon the decalogue doth not argue it to be moral, because then many other particular moral laws set down in Scripture, not in tables of stone, but in parchments of the prophets and apostles, should not be moral: for we do not say that all moral laws particularly were thus specially honored, but that all and only moral laws summarily were thus honored; in which summaries all the particulars are contained, and, in that respect, equally honored. It may affect one's heart with great mourning to see the many inventions of men's hearts to blot out this remembrance of the Sabbath day: they first cast it out of paradise, and shut it out of the world until Moses' time; when in Moses' time it is published as a law, and crowned with the same honor as all other moral laws, yet then they make it to be but a ceremonial law, continuing only until the coming of Christ; after which time it ceaseth to be any law at all, unless the church's constitution shall please to make it so, which is worst of all.

Thesis 145. Every thing, indeed, which was published by God's immediate voice in promulgating of the law is not moral and common to all; but some things so spoken may be peculiar and proper to the Jews, because some things thus spoken were promises or motives only, annexed to the law, to persuade to the obedience thereof; but they were not laws; for the question is, whether all laws spoken and writ thus immediately were not moral; but the argument which some produce against this is, from the promise annexed to the fifth command, concerning long life, and from the motive of redemption out of the house of bondage, in the preface to the commandments, both which (they say) were spoken immediately, but yet were both of them proper unto the Jews. But suppose the promise annexed to the fifth commandment be proper to the Jews, and ceremonial, as Mr. Primrose pleads, (which yet many strong reasons from Eph. vi. 2 may induce one to deny,) what is this to the question? which is not concerning promises, but commandments and laws.

Suppose also that the motive in the preface of the commandments, literally understood, is proper to the Jews; yet this is also evident, that such reasons and motives as are proper to some, and perhaps ceremonial, may be annexed to moral laws, which are common to all: nor will it follow that laws are therefore not common, because the motives thereto are proper. We that dwell in America may be persuaded to love and fear God (which are moral duties) in regard of our redemption and deliverances from out of those vast sea storms we once had, and the tumults in Europe which now are, which motives are proper to ourselves. Promises and motives annexed to the commandments come in as means to a higher end, viz., obedience to the laws themselves; and hence the laws themselves may be moral, and these not so, though immediately spoken, because they be not chiefly nor lastly intended herein. I know Wallæus makes the preface to the commandments a part of the first commandment, and therefore he would hence infer that some part (at least) of a commandment is proper to the Jews; but if these words contain a motive pressing to the obedience of the whole, how is it possible that they should be a part of the law, or of any one law? For what force of a law can there be in that which only declares unto us who it is that redeemed them out of Egypt's bondage? For it can not be true (which the same author affirms) that in these words is set forth only who that God is whom we are to have to be our God in the first commandment; but they are of larger extent, showing us who that God is whom we are to worship, according to the first commandment, and that with his own worship, according to the second, and that reverently, according to the third, and whose day we are to sanctify, according to the fourth, and whose will we are to do in all duties of love toward man, according to the several duties of the second table: and therefore this declaration of God is no more a part of the first than of any other commandment, and every other commandment may challenge it as a part of themselves, as well as the first.

Thesis 146. It is a truth as immovable as the pillars of heaven, that God hath given to all men universally a rule of life to conduct them to their end. Now, if the whole decalogue be not it, what shall? The gospel is the rule of our faith, but not of our spiritual life, which flows from faith. (Gal. ii. 20. John v. 24.) The law therefore is the rule of our life; now, if nine of these be a complete rule without a tenth, exclude that one, and then who sees not an open gap made for all the rest to go out at also? For where will any man stop, if once this principle be laid, viz., that the whole law is not the rule of life? May not Papists blot out the second also, as some of Cassander's followers have done,

all but two, and as the Antinomians at this day do all? And have they not a good ground laid for it, who may hence safely say that the decalogue is not a rule of life for all? Mr. Primrose, that he might keep himself from a broken head here, sends us for salve to the light of nature, and the testimony of the gospel, both which (saith he) maintain and confirm the morality of all the other commandments except this one of the Sabbath. But as it shall appear that the law of the Sabbath hath confirmation from both, (if this direction was sufficient and good,) so it may be in the mean time considered why the Gentiles, who were universal idolaters, and therefore blotted out the light of nature (as Mr. Primrose confesseth) against the second commandment, might not as well blot out much of that light of nature about the Sabbath also; and then how shall the light of nature be any sufficient discovery unto us of that which is moral, and of that which is not?

Thesis 147. There is a law made mention of, James ii. 10, whose parts are so inseparably linked together, that whosoever breaks any one is guilty of the breach of all, and consequently whosoever is called to the obedience of one is called to the obedience of all, and consequently all the particular laws which it contains are homogeneal parts of the same *totum*, or whole law. If it be demanded, What is this law? the answer is writ with the beams of the sun, that it is the whole moral law contained in the decalogue. For, 1. The apostle speaks of such a law, which not only the Jews, but all the Gentiles, are bound to observe, and for the breach of any one of which, not only the Jews, but the Gentiles also, were guilty of the breach of all; and therefore it can not be meant of the ceremonial law, which did neither bind Gentiles nor Jews, at that time wherein the apostle writ. 2. He speaks of such a law as is called a royal law, and a law of liberty, (ver. 8, 12,) which can not be meant of the ceremonial law in whole or in part, which is called a law of bondage, not worthy the royal and kingly spirit of a Christian to stoop to. (Gal. iv. 9.) 3. It is that law by the works of which all men are bound to manifest their faith, and by which faith is made perfect, (ver. 22,) which can not be the ceremonial nor evangelical, for that is the law of faith, and therefore it is meant of the law moral. 4. It is that law of which, "Thou shalt not kill," nor "commit adultery," are parts. (ver. 11.) Now, these laws are part of the decalogue only, and whereof it may be said He that said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," said also, "Remember to keep the Sabbath holy;" and therefore the whole decalogue, and not some parts of it only, is the moral law; from whence it is manifest that the apostle doth not speak (as Mr. Primrose would interpret him) of offend-

ing against the word at large, and of which the ceremonial laws were a part, but of offending against that part of the word, to wit, the moral law, of which he that offends against any one is guilty of the breach of all; hence, also, his other answer falls to the dust, viz., that the fourth command is no part of the law, and therefore the not observing of it is no sin under the New Testament, because it was given only to the Jews, and not to us; for if it be a part of the decalogue, of which the apostle only speaks, then it is a mere begging of the question, to affirm that it is no part of the law to Christians. But we see the apostle here speaks of the law and the royal law, and the royal law of liberty; his meaning therefore must be of some special law, which he calls κατ' ἐξοχήν, the law. Now, if he thus speaks of some special law, what can it be but the whole decalogue, and not a part of it only? as when he speaks of the gospel κατ' ἐξοχήν, he means not some part, but the whole gospel also; and if every part of the decalogue is not moral, how should any man know from any law or rule of God what was moral, and what not? and consequently what is sinful, and what not? If it be said, by the light of nature, we have proved that this is a blind and corrupt judge, as it exists in corrupt man; if it be said by the light of the gospel, this was then to set up a light unto Christians to discern it by, but none to the Jews while they wanted the gospel as dispensed to us now; many moral laws also are not mentioned in the gospel, it being but accidental to it to set forth the commandments of the law.

Thesis 148. If Christ came to fulfill, and not to destroy, the law, (Matt. v. 17,) then the commandment of the Sabbath is not abolished by Christ's coming; if not one jot, prick, or tittle of the law shall perish, much less shall a whole law perish or be destroyed by the coming of Christ.

Thesis 149. It is true, indeed, that by law and prophets is sometimes meant their whole doctrine, both ceremonial, moral, and prophetical, which Christ fulfilled personally, but not so in this place of Matthew; but by law is meant the moral law, and by prophets those prophetical illustrations and interpretations thereof, in which the prophets do abound. For, 1. The Lord Christ speaks of that law only, which whosoever should teach men to break and cast off, he should be least in the kingdom of heaven, (Matt. v. 19;) but the apostles did teach men to cast off the ceremonial law, and yet were never a whit less in the kingdom of heaven. 2. He speaks of that law by conformity to which all his true disciples should exceed the righteousness of scribes and Pharisees; but that was not by being externally

ceremonious or moral, but by internal conformity to the spiritualness of God's law, which the Pharisees then regarded not. 3. Christ speaks of the least commandments, and of these least commandments, *μία τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχιστων*. Now, what should those least commandments be but those which he afterwards interprets of rash anger, adulterous eyes, unchaste thoughts, love to enemies, etc., which are called least, in opposition to the pharisaical doctors' conceits in those times, who urged the gross duties commanded, and condemned men only for gross sins forbidden; as if therein consisted our complete conformity to the law of God. And, therefore, by the least of those commandments is meant no other than those which he afterwards sets down in his spiritual interpretation of the law, (ver. 21,) never a one of which commandments are ceremonial, but moral laws; and although Mr. Primrose thinks that there is no connection between the seventeenth and the other expositor's verses of the law which follow, yet whosoever ponders the analysis impartially shall find it otherwise, even from the seventeenth verse to the end; the conclusion of which is, to be perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect, who is never made a pattern of perfection to us in ceremonial, but only in moral matters. It is true, indeed, (which some object,) that there is mention made of altar and sacrifice, (ver. 23,) which were ceremonials; but there is no law about them, but only a moral law of love is thereby pressed with allusion to the ceremonial practice in those times; he speaks also about divorce, but this is but accidentally brought to show the morality of the law of adultery; the law of retaliation wants not good witnesses to testify to the morality of it, but I rather think it is brought in to set forth a moral law against private revenge. Our Saviour, indeed, doth not speak particularly about the law of the Sabbath, as he doth of killing, and adultery, etc.; but if therefore it be not moral, because not spoken of here, then neither the first, second, nor fifth command are moral, because they are not expressly opened in this chapter; for the scope of our Saviour was to speak against the pharisaical interpretations of the law, in curtailing of it, in making gross murder to be forbidden, but not anger; adultery to be forbidden, but not lust; which evil they were not so much guilty of in point of the Sabbath; but they rather made the phylacteries of it too broad by overmuch strictness, which our Saviour therefore elsewhere condemns, but not a word tending to abolish this law of the Sabbath.

Thesis 150. If, therefore, the commandment is to be accounted moral which the gospel reënforceth, and commends unto

us, (according to Mr. Primrose's principles,) then the fourth commandment may well come into the account of such as are moral; but the places mentioned and cleared out of the New Testament evince thus much: the Lord Jesus coming not to destroy the law of the Sabbath, but to establish it; and of the breach of which one law he that is guilty is guilty of the breach of all.

Thesis 151. If the observation of the Sabbath had been first imposed upon man since the fall, and in special upon the people of the Jews at Mount Sinai, there might be then some color and reason to clothe the Sabbath with rags and the worn-out garments of ceremonialness; but if it was imposed upon man in innocency, not only before all types and ceremonies, but also before all sin, and upon Adam as a common person, as a commandment not proper to that estate, nor as to a particular person, and proper to himself, then the morality of it is most evident; our adversaries, therefore, lay about them here, that they might drive the Sabbath out of paradise, and make it a thing altogether unknown to the state of innocency; which if they can not make good, their whole frame against the morality of the Sabbath falls flat to the ground; and therefore it is of no small consequence to clear up this truth, viz., that Adam in innocency, and in him all his posterity, were commanded to sanctify a weekly Sabbath.

Thesis 152. One would think that the words of the text (Gen. ii. 2, 3) were so plain to prove a Sabbath in that innocent estate that there could be no evasion made from the evidence of them; for it is expressly said, that the day the Lord rested, the same day the Lord blessed and sanctified; but we know he rested the seventh day immediately after the creation, and therefore he immediately blessed and sanctified the same day also; for the words run copulatively, he rested the seventh day, "and he blessed and sanctified that day;" but it is strange to see not only what odd evasions men make from this clear truth, but also what curious cabalisms and fond interpretations men make of the Hebrew text, the answer to which learned Rivet hath long since made, which therefore I mention not.

Thesis 153. The words are not thus copulative in order of story, but in order of time; I say not in order of story and discourse, for so things far distant in time may be coupled together by this copulative particle *and*, as Mr. Primrose truly shows, (Ex. xvi. 32, 33; 1 Sam. xvii. 54;) but they are coupled and knit together in respect of time; for it is the like phrase which Moses immediately after useth, (Gen. v. 1, 2,) where it is said, "God created man in his image, and blessed them, and called

their names," etc., which were together in time; so it is here; the time God rested, that time God blessed; for the scope of the words (Gen. ii. 1–3) is to show what the Lord did that seventh day, after the finishing of the whole creation in six days, and that is, he blessed and sanctified it. For, look, as the scope of Moses in making mention of the six days orderly was to show what God did every particular day, so what else should be the scope in making mention of the seventh day, unless it was to show what God did then on that day? and that is, he then rested, and blessed and sanctified it, even then in that state of innocency.

Thesis 154. God is said (Gen. ii. 1–3) to bless the Sabbath as he blessed other creatures; but he blessed the creatures at that time they were made, (Gen. i. 12, 28,) and therefore he blessed the Sabbath at that time he rested. Shall God's work be presently blessed, and shall his rest be then without any? Was God's rest a cause of sanctifying the day many hundred years after, (as our adversaries say,) and was there not as much cause then when the memory of the creation was most fresh, which was the fittest time to remember God's work in? Mr. Primrose tells us that the creatures were blessed with a present benediction, because they did constantly need it; but there was no necessity (he saith) that man should solemnize the seventh as soon as it is made; but as we shall show that man did then need a special day of blessing, so it is a sufficient ground of believing that then God blessed the day when there was a full, and just, and sufficient cause of blessing, which is God's resting; it being also such a cause as was not peculiar to the Jews many hundred years after, but common to all mankind.

Thesis 155. The rest of God (which none question to be in innocency immediately after the creation) was either a natural rest, (as I may call it,) that is, a bare cessation from labor, or a holy rest, i. e., a rest set apart *in exemplum*, or for example, and for holy uses; but it was not a natural rest merely, for then it had been enough to have said, that at the end of the sixth day God rested; but we see God speaks of a day, the seventh day. God hath rested with a natural rest or cessation from creation ever since the end of the first sixth day of the world until now; why then is it said that God rested the seventh day? or why is it not rather said that he began his rest on that day, but that it is limited to a day? Certainly this argues that he speaks not of natural rest merely, or that which, *ex natura rei*, follows the finishing of his work; for it is then an unfit and improper speech to limit God's rest within the circle of a day; and therefore

he speaks of a holy rest then appointed for holy uses as an example for holy rest, which may well be limited within the compass of a day; and hence it undeniably follows, that if God rested in innocency with such a rest, then the seventh day was then sanctified, it being the day of holy rest.

Thesis 156. It can not be shown that ever God made himself an example of any act, but that in the present example there was and is a present rule, binding immediately to follow that example; if therefore, from the foundation of the world, God made himself an example in six days' labor and in a seventh day's rest, why should not this example then and at that time of innocency be binding, there being no example which God sets before us but it supposeth a rule binding us immediately thereunto? The great and most high God could have made the world in a moment or in a hundred years; why did he make it then in six days, and rested the seventh day, but that it might be an example to man? It is evident that, ever since the world began, man's life was to be spent in labor and action which God could have appointed to contemplation only; nor will any say that his life should be spent only in labor, and never have any special day of rest, (unless the Antinomians, who herein sin against the light of nature;) if therefore God was exemplary in his six days' labor, why should any think but that he was thus also in his seventh day's rest? pointing out unto man most visibly (as it were) thereby on what day he should rest. A meet time for labor was a moral duty since man was framed upon earth; God therefore gives man an example of it in making the world in six days. A meet time for holy rest, the end of all holy and honest labor, was much more moral, (the end being better than the means;) why then was not the example of this also seen in God's rest? Mr. Ironside, indeed, is at a stand here, and confesseth his ignorance in conceiving how God's working six days should be exemplary to man in innocency, it being not preceptive, but permissive only to man in his apostasy. But let a plain analysis be made of the motives used to press obedience to the fourth command, and we shall find (according to the consent of all the orthodox not prejudiced in this controversy) that God's example of working six days in creating the world is held forth as a motive to press God's people to do all their work within six days also; and the very reason of our labor and rest now is the example of God's labor and rest then, as may also appear, Ex. xxxi. 17. And to say that those words in the commandment (viz., six days thou shalt labor) are no way preceptive, but merely promissive, is both cross to the express letter of the text, and contrary to moral equity, to allow

any part of the six days for sinful idleness or neglect of our weekly work, so far forth as the rest upon the Sabbath be hindered hereby.

Thesis 157. The word *sanctified* is variously taken in Scripture, and various things are variously and differently sanctified; yet in this place, when God is said to sanctify the Sabbath, (Gen. ii. 2, 3,) it must be one of these two ways: either, 1. By infusion of holiness and sanctification into it, as holy men are said to be sanctified; or, 2. By separation of it from common use, and dedication of it to holy use, as the temple and altar are said to be sanctified.

Thesis 158. God did not sanctify the Sabbath by infusion of any habitual holiness into it, for the circumstance of a seventh day is not capable thereof, whereof only rational creatures, men and angels, are.

Thesis 159. It must therefore be said to be sanctified in respect of its separation from common use, and dedication to holy use, as the temple and tabernacle were, which yet had no inherent holiness in them.

Thesis 160. Now, if the Sabbath was thus sanctified by dedication, it must be either for the use of God or of man; i. e., either that God might keep this holy day, or that man might observe it as a holy day to God; but what dishonor is it to God to put him upon the observation of a holy day? and therefore it was dedicated and consecrated for man's sake and use, that so he might observe it as holy unto God.

Thesis 161. This day therefore is said to be sanctified of God that man might sanctify it and dedicate it unto God; and hence follows, that look, as man could never have lawfully dedicated it unto God, without a precedent institution from God, so the institution of God implies a known command given by God unto man thereunto.

Thesis 162. It is therefore evident, that when God is said to sanctify the Sabbath, (Gen. ii. 2, 3,) that man is commanded hereby to sanctify it, and dedicate it to the holy use of God. *Sanctificare est sanctificari mandare*, saith Junius; and therefore, if Mr. Primrose and others desire to know where God commandeth the observation of the Sabbath in Gen. ii. 2, they may see it here necessarily implied in the word *sanctify*. And therefore, if God did sanctify the Sabbath immediately after the creation, he commanded man to sanctify it then; for so the word *sanctified* is expressly expounded by the Holy Ghost himself. (Deut. v. 15.) We need not therefore seek for wood among trees, and inquire where, and when, and upon what ground the patri-

archs before Moses observed a Sabbath, whenas it was famously dedicated and sanctified, i. e., commanded to be sanctified, from the first foundation of the world.

Thesis 163. Our adversaries, therefore, dazzled with the clearness of the light shining forth from the text, (Gen. ii. 2,) to wit, that the Sabbath was commanded to be sanctified before the fall, do fly to their shifts, and seek for refuge from several answers; sometimes they say it is sanctified by way of destination, sometimes they tell us of anticipation, sometimes they think the book of Genesis was writ after Exodus, and many such inventions; which because they can not possibly stand one with another, are therefore more fit to vex and perplex the mind than to satisfy conscience; and indeed do argue much uncertainty to be in the minds of those that make these and the like answers, as not knowing certainly what to say, nor where to stand: yet let us examine them.

Thesis 164. To imagine that the book of Genesis was writ after Exodus, and yet to affirm that the Sabbath in Genesis is said to be sanctified and blessed, only in way of destination, i. e., because God destinated and ordained that it should be sanctified many years after, seems to be an ill-favored and misshapen answer, and no way fit to serve their turn who invent it; for if it was writ after Exodus, what need was there to say that it was destinated and ordained to be sanctified for time to come? whenas upon this supposition the Sabbath was already sanctified for time past, as appears in the story of Ex. xix. 20. And therefore Mr. Primrose translates the words thus: that God rested, and hath blessed and hath sanctified the seventh day, as if Moses writ of it as a thing past already; but what truth is there then to speak of a destination for time to come? I know Junius so renders the Hebrew words, as also the word *rested;* but we know how many ways some of the Hebrew tenses look, nor is it any matter now to trouble ourselves about them. This only may be considered, that it is a mere uncertain shift to affirm that Genesis was writ after Exodus. Mr. Ironside tells us he could give strong reasons for it, but he produceth none; and as for his authorities from human testimonies, we know it is not fit to weigh out truth by human suffrages; and yet herein they do not cast the scale for Genesis to be writ after Exodus; for although Beda, Abulensis, and divers late Jesuits do affirm it, yet Eusebius, Catharinus, Alcuinus, à Lapide, and sundry others, both Popish and Protestant writers, are better judgmented herein; and their reasons for Genesis to be the first born, as it is first set down, seem to be most strong. The casting of this cause

therefore depends not upon such uncertainties; and yet, if this disorder were granted, it will do their cause no good, as, if need were, might be made manifest.

Thesis 165. Mr. Ironside confesseth, that God's resting and sanctifying the Sabbath are coetaneous, and acknowledgeth the connection of them together at the same time, by the copulative *and;* and that as God actually rested, so he actually sanctified the day. But this sanctification which he means is nothing else but destination, or God's purpose and intention to sanctify it afterward; so that, in effect, this evasion amounts to thus much, viz., that God did actually purpose to sanctify it about twenty-five hundred years after the giving of the law, but yet did not actually sanctify it; and if this be the meaning, it is all one as if he had said in plain terms, viz., that when God is said to sanctify the Sabbath, he did not indeed sanctify it, only he purposed so to do; and although Mr. Primrose and himself tells us that the word *sanctify* signifies, in the original, some time to *prepare* and *ordain*, so it may be said that the word signifies sometimes to *publish* and *proclaim*. If they say that this latter can not be the meaning, because we read not in Scripture of any such proclamation that this should be the Sabbath, the like may be said (upon the reasons mentioned) concerning their destination of it thereunto. Again: if to sanctify the day be only to purpose and ordain to sanctify it, then the Sabbath was no more sanctified since the creation than *ab æterno*, and before the world began, for then God did purpose that it should be sanctified; but this sanctification here spoken of seems to follow God's resting, which was in time, and therefore it must be understood of another sanctification than that which seems to be before all time. Again: as God did not bless the Sabbath in way of destination, so neither did he sanctify it in way of destination; but he did not bless it in way of destination, for let them produce but one Scripture where the word *blessed* is taken in this sense, for a purpose only to bless. Indeed, they think they have found out this purpose to sanctify in the word *sanctified*, (Is. xiii. 3;) but where will they find the like for the word *blessed* also? For as the day was blessed, so it was sanctified; and yet I think that the Medes and Persians, in Is. xiii. 3, are not called God's sanctified ones, because they were destinated to be sanctified for that work, but because they were so prepared for it, as that they were actually separated by God's word for the accomplishment of such work. But our adversaries will not say that God did thus sanctify the Sabbath in paradise by his word; and yet suppose they are called his sanctified ones in way of destination, yet there is not the like

reason to interpret it here; for in Is. xiii. 3, God himself is brought in immediately speaking, before whose eternal eyes all things to come are as present, and hence he might call them his sanctified ones; but in this place of Gen. ii. 2, Moses (not God immediately) speaks of this sanctifying in way of historical narration only. This destination, which is stood so much upon, is but a mere imagination.

Thesis 166. It can not be denied but that it is a usual thing in Scripture to set down things in way of prolepsis and anticipation, as they call it, i. e., to set down things aforehand in the history which many years happened and came after in order of time; but there is no such prolepsis or anticipation here, (as our adversaries dream,) so that when God is said to sanctify the Sabbath in Genesis, the meaning should be, that this he did twenty-five hundred years after the creation, for this assertion wants all proof, and hath no other prop to bear it up, than some instances of anticipations in other places of Scripture. The Jesuits, from some unwary expressions of some of the fathers, first started this answer, whom Gomarus followed, and after him sundry others prelatically minded; but Rivet, Ames, and others have scattered this mist long since, and therefore I shall leave but this one consideration against it, viz., that throughout all the Scripture we shall not find one prolepsis, but that the history is evident and apparently false, unless we do acknowledge a prolepsis and anticipation to be in the story; so that necessity of establishing the truth of the history only can establish the truth of a prolepsis in the history. I forbear to give a taste thereof by any particular instances, but leave it to trial; but in this place alleged of, (Gen. ii. 2,) can any say that the story is apparently false unless we imagine a prolepsis? and the Sabbath to be first sanctified in Mount Sinai, (Ex. xx.;) for might not God sanctify it in paradise as soon as God's rest, the cause and foundation of sanctifying of it, was existing? Will any say, with Gomarus, that the Sabbath was first sanctified (Ex. xvi.) because God blessed them so much the day before with manna, whenas in the commandment itself (Ex. xx.) the reason of it is plainly set down to be God's resting on the seventh day, and sanctifying of it long before?

Thesis 167. There is not the least color of Scripture to make this blessing and sanctifying of the day to be nothing else but God's magnifying and liking of it in his own mind, rejoicing and as it were glorying in it, when he had rested from his works; and yet Mr. Primrose casts this block in the way for the blind to stumble at, supposing that there should be no such anticipation as

he pleads for; for surely, if God blessed and sanctified the day, it was a real and an effectual sanctification and blessing; but this magnifying and glorying in it, in God's mind, is no real thing in the blessed God, he having no such affections in him, but what is said to be in him that way is ever by some special effects, the simple and pure essence of God admitting no affections, *per modum affectus, sed effectus*, as is truly and commonly maintained.

Thesis 168. If God sanctified and commanded Adam to sanctify the Sabbath, it was either that he himself should observe it personally, or successively in his posterity also. Now, there is no reason to think that this is a command peculiarly binding Adam himself only, there being the same cause for his posterity to observe a Sabbath as himself had, which was God's example of labor and rest; and if this was given to his posterity also, then it was a moral duty, and not a point of mere order proper to Adam to attend unto; yet Mr. Primrose, for fear lest he should shoot short, in one of his answers, wherein he tells us that it did derogate much from the excellency of Adam's condition to have any one day for God appointed unto him, yet here, notwithstanding, he tells us, that if God had appointed such a day, it was no moral thing, nor yet a ceremony directing to Christ, but only as a point of order which God was pleased then to subject him unto; and that a man may as well conclude that it was a moral thing to serve God in Eden because it was a place which God had appointed Adam to serve him in, as the seventh day to be moral because it was the time thereof: but this assertion is but a mere *φαινόμενον;* for the text tells us expressly, that God did both bless and sanctify the seventh day in a special manner, as a thing of common concernment, but is never said to bless and sanctify the place of Eden. All men in Adam were made in the image of God, and was there but one thing in innocency wherein God made himself eminently exemplary in labor and rest? and shall we think that that one thing was rather a point of order proper to Adam, than a part of God's image common to all? The appointment of that royal seat of Eden was an act of heavenly bounty, and therefore might well be proper to him in that estate; but the appointment of the time for God's special honor was an act of justice, made and built upon a rule of common equity, as may appear out of the second edition of this law in the fourth commandment, and therefore might well be morally binding unto all, and not a point of mere order only for Adam to observe.

Thesis 169. If Adam had stood, all mankind might, and perhaps should, have observed that particular seventh day forever on earth. But look, as Adam observed it not merely because

it was that seventh, (as hath been shown,) which was but secondarily, and as it were accidentally moral, but because it was the seventh day appointed of God, which is firstly and primarily moral, so, although we now do not observe that seventh day which Adam did, yet the substance of the morality of this command given unto him is observed still by us, in observing the seventh day which God hath appointed, to which the equity of this command binds generally all mankind; hence therefore it is of little force which some object, that if the commandment to man in innocency be moral, that then we are bound to observe the same seventh day which Adam in innocency did. This is oft laid in our dish: but the answer is easy from what hath been said.

Thesis 170. If because we read not any express mention that the patriarchs before Moses' time did sanctify a Sabbath, that therefore the Sabbath was not sanctified at that time, we may as well argue that it was not observed all the time of the Judges, nor of the books of Samuel, because no express mention is made in those books of any such thing; for if it be said that there is no doubt but that they observed it, because it was published on Mount Sinai, the like we may say concerning the patriarchal times, who had such a famous manifestion of God's mind herein, from the known story, commandment, and example of God in the first creation. (Gen. ii. 2.) It is not said expressly that Abram kept the Sabbath, but he is commended for keeping God's commandments, (Gen. xxvi. 5;) and is not the Sabbath one of those commandments, the breach of which is accounted the breaking of all? (Ex. xvi. 27, 28;) and may we lawfully and charitably think that Abram neglected other moral duties, because they are not expressly mentioned? Again: it may be as well doubted of, whether the patriarchs observed any day at all, (which our adversaries confess to be moral,) because it neither is expressly mentioned. Again: it may be said with as good reason, that the sacrifices which they offered were without warrant from God, because the commandment for them is not expressly mentioned; but we know that Abel by faith offered, and faith must arise from a precedent word; so that, as the approved practice of holy men doth necessarily imply a command, so the command given (as hath been shown) to Adam doth as necessarily infer a practice. Again: if no duties to God were performed by the patriarchs, but such as are expressly mentioned and held forth in their examples, we should then behold a strange face of a church for many hundred years together, and necessarily condemn the generation of the just for living in gross neglects and impieties, there being many singular and

special duties which doubtless were done that were not meet particularly to be mentioned in that short epitome of above two thousand years together, in the book of Genesis; and therefore for Mr. Ironside and Primrose to conclude that the keeping of the Sabbath had certainly been mentioned if it had been observed, is very unsound. Mr. Primrose thinks that, if the Sabbath had been observed, it had been then mentioned, because lesser things than the Sabbath are made mention of, there being also frequent occasion to speak of the Sabbath, and that Moses and the prophets would have pressed the observation of it from the patriarchs' example if they had so practiced. But what is this kind of arguing but to teach the Holy Ghost what, and when, and how to speak? For there be many lesser matters expressed in many other historical parts of the Scripture, and good occasion as man may fancy to speak of the Sabbath, and yet we see it is passed by in silence. But it is no wonder, if he who questions whether there were any days of fasting and prayer for two thousand years together, because they are not expressly mentioned, if that he doubts also whether there were any Sabbath all that time, upon the same ground. But can any question that considers the sorrows of those times, which all ages have put men to seek God in such duties, but that they had such days of fasting, as well as their betters in evangelical times, when the Bridegroom was gone?

Thesis 171. It is not improbable but that the sacrifices of Cain and Abel (Gen. iv. 3) were upon the Sabbath day, the usual stated time then for such services; for that which our translation renders, "in process of time," the Hebrew calls it מקץ ימים, i. e., "the end of days;" and why may not this be the end of the days of the week, (a known division of time, and most famous from the beginning of the world, as Rivet demonstrates out of the best antiquaries,) rather than at the end of the months of the year? But it is not good to wrestle with probabilities, of which many are given, which do rather darken than clear up this cause. This only may be added, that suppose the patriarchs observed no Sabbath from man's fall to Moses' time, yet it will not follow that man in innocency was a stranger to it, because man in his apostasy forgot, or did not regard to keep it.

Thesis 172. If, therefore, it was a duty which Adam and his posterity were bound to keep by a law given them in innocency, then it undeniably follows that the observance of a Sabbath doth not depend upon great numbers of people to sanctify it; for at first creation the number was but two, and yet they both were bound to observe it then; nor yet is it to be cast aside through any

man's freedom from worldly encumbrances, whereby he hath liberty to serve God more frequently every day; for thus it was also in the state of innocency, and yet the Sabbath to be observed then. It is therefore unsound, which Mr. Primrose affirms herein, viz., That the consecration of a certain day for God's service is not necessary, but then only, when many troop together and make up the body of a great assembly; and that therefore it may be doubted whether the patriarchs, having but small families and little cumber, observed any Sabbath, but rather served God alike every day with great ease and assiduity; and therefore there was no need nor cause of a Sabbath till they became a numerous people at Mount Sinai. But beside what hath been said, how will it appear that the posterity of Seth, called the sons of God, (Gen. vi. 1, 2,) were not a numerous people? or that Abraham's family was so small, out of which he could gather three hundred fighting men to pursue five mighty princes in battle? But suppose they were few; yet have not small companies, and particular persons, as much need of the blessing of a Sabbath, and special communion with God therein, as great numbers and troops of people? Is not the observation of the Sabbath built upon better and surer grounds mentioned in the Scripture than bigness of number, and freedom from cumbers, not mentioned at all?

Thesis 173. If Adam's fall was before the Sabbath, (as Mr. Broad and some others, otherwise orthodox in this point of the Sabbath, conceive, by too much inconsiderate wresting of Ps. xlix. 12, John viii. 44,) yet it will not hence follow that he had no such command in innocency to observe the Sabbath before his fall. For whether man had fallen or no, yet the thing itself speaks that God was determined to work six days in making the world, and to rest and so to sanctify the seventh, that he might therein be exemplary to man; and consequently God would have given this law, and it should have been a rule to him whether he fell or no; and indeed the seventh day's rest depends no more upon man's fall than the six days' work of creation, which we see were all finished before the fall; the seventh day's holiness being more suitable to that state than the six days' labor, to which we see he was appointed, if God's example had any force to direct and lead him thereunto. Again: if the law of labor was writ upon his heart before he was actually called forth to labor, viz., to dress and keep the garden, (Gen. ii. 15.) why might not also the law of holy rest be revealed unto him by God, and so answerably writ upon his heart before he fell, or came actually to rest upon the Sabbath? Little of Adam's

universal obedience to the law of works was as yet actual while he remained innocent; and yet all his obedience in time to come was writ upon his heart the first moment of his creation in the image of God, as it were aforehand; and why might not this law of the Sabbath be writ so aforehand? And therefore Mr. Broad need not trouble himself or others in inquiring whether God sanctified the Sabbath before or after the first seventh day wherein God rested; and if before it, how Adam could know of the Sabbath before God's complete rest upon the first seventh day, the cause of it. For God was as well able to make Adam privy to his counsel aforehand concerning that day, before God's rest on it, which was a motive to the observance of it, as he was to acquaint his people with his purpose for a holy passover before the occasion of it fell out. Mr. Broad indeed tells us, that it is most probable that God did not bless and sanctify the first Sabbath or seventh day of rest, because it is not said that God blessed the Sabbath because he would, but because he had rested in it; but by his leave it is most proper to say, that God at the end of the six days' work had then rested from all his works; and thence God is said to sanctify and rest the seventh day; his cessation from work, which is the natural rest, being the cause of resting the seventh day with a holy rest, (as we have shown;) and therefore there is no reason to stay till the seventh day was past, and then to sanctify it against the next seventh day; the first seventh day, upon the ground mentioned, being first sanctified, and which Adam might be well enough acquainted with aforehand, as hath been shown.

Thesis 174. If the Scriptures may be judge of the time of man's fall, (which yet is not momentous to cast the balance either way in this controversy,) it will be found that neither angels nor men did fall the sixth day before the Sabbath; for then God looked upon all his works, and they were very good, (Gen. i. 31,) and therefore could not as yet be bad and evil by any sin or fall; and now, because it is more than probable that if Adam had completely sanctified and stood one Sabbath, he had stood immutably, as I think might be demonstrated, he therefore not standing a whole seventh day, for then he could not have fallen, and yet not being fallen the sixth day, he therefore fell upon the Sabbath day, that as the breach of every other command was wrapped up in that first sin, so this of the Sabbath. The objections against this from John viii. 44, that Satan was a murderer from the beginning, and from Ps. xlix. 12, that man in honor did not לִין, or abide one night in that estate, with some other conjectural reasons taken from some of the schoolmen's obs and

sols, are easily answered by a serious and sober mind; and therefore I leave them.

Thesis 175. Adam's soul, say some, did not need a Sabbath, because every day was a Sabbath to him; nor did his body need it, because it was impassible, say some, nor subject to weariness in its work, say others truly. To what purpose, then, should any Sabbath be appointed unto him in that estate? But we must know, that the Hebrew word for *Sabbath* signifies *holy rest*, and therefore, as Rivet well shows, it is called מבת, not מנוחה, *Menuchah*, which signifies common rest from weariness; hence it follows, that the Sabbath being originally sanctified for holy rest, not for common rest, or rest from natural weariness in labor, Adam might therefore stand in need of a Sabbath, though his body was not subject to any weariness in or after his labor. Hence, also, although he was to live holily every day, yet this hinders not but that his soul might then have need of the holy rest of a Sabbath. For, 1. Adam was to serve God in a particular calling then, as is manifest from Gen. ii. 15; for he was then to keep and dress the garden, and to act with and under God in the government of many inferior creatures. (Gen. i. 26.) And thus, his time being filled in serving God with all holiness in his calling, he might need a Sabbath; nor was it lawful for him to turn days of work in his calling into days of rest, and so to keep a Sabbath every day, no, not in that innocent and happy estate; for if it was contrary to Adam's holy estate to work six days, how could it be agreeable or suitable to the holiness of God to work six days? If God did labor six days, and rested a seventh without any need of a rest in respect of any weariness in his work, why might not, nay, why should not, man imitate and be like to his God in labor and rest, although he was not subject to any weariness in his holy work? 2. Though every day was to be spent in holiness mediately, both in seeing God in the creatures, and meeting with God in his labor and calling, yet it was not unsuitable, nay, it was very needful in that estate to have one day in the week for more immediate and special converse with God, and for God more immediately and specially to converse with him. Nor indeed was it suitable to God's wisdom to confine man's holiness, either then or now, either to holy labor only, or to holy rest only; for then he should not have been so like unto God, who was exemplarily holy unto man in both. Special time for action wherein he closed with God more mediately throughout the six days' labor, might well stand with special time for contemplation of God upon the Sabbath, wherein he was to enjoy God more immediately. Adam did not need a Sabbath upon the

same ground of weakness that we do, viz., because we can not be earnest enough (as Mr. Primrose objects) in holy services to God upon the week days; but we see it did not suit God's wisdom nor man's holy estate then to be intent and earnest only in the enjoyment of his rest, to which his intention on his calling and labor then could not be any hinderance when the Sabbath came; being free from such clogs of sin then, as we are now pressed down withal; and therefore it is an unworthy expression, but oft used by the same author and others, viz., that it did derogate from the excellency of Adam's condition to observe a seventh day's Sabbath, and that the determination of a time then did argue Adam's inability, or want of inclination and affection, to serve God ordinarily, and that the observance of a Sabbath is a mark of a servile condition, as of other holy days under the law; and that if Adam was able to serve God continually, that it was then needless to limit him to a particular day; and that if a day were needful, God would have left the choice thereof to his own freedom, considering the wisdom and godliness wherewith God had endowed him. These and such like expressions are but hay and stubble, which the light of the truth delivered may easily consume.

Thesis 176. It is true, the saints and angels in heaven have no set Sabbath; but doth it therefore follow that the state of innocency on earth should have been in all things like (and particularly in this) to the state of glory in heaven? No such matter; for should there have been no marriage, no dressing of the garden, no day nor night, etc., in paradise, because there is no marriage, nor dressing of gardens, nor weeks, nor reckonings of day and night, in heaven? If God hath work for Adam to do, not only upon the Sabbath, but upon the week days also, why might he not be said to glorify God without stint or ceasing, as the angels do in heaven? unless Mr. Primrose will say, that Adam's marriage and dressing the garden was a stinting and ceasing from glorifying God, which either he must affirm, or else his argument falls flat upon all four, who thinks that Adam could not have any set day for a Sabbath, because then he should not be like the saints and angels in heaven, who glorify God continually without stint or ceasing.

Thesis 177. They that think that the Sabbath was not given to Adam, because it was given as a peculiar prerogative and privilege to the Jews, and they that think that it was the Jews' prerogative and privilege because of such scriptures as affirm that God gave unto them his Sabbath, (Ex. xvi. 29; Neh. ix. 14; Ezek. xx. 12,) and such like, they may as well imagine

that neither the whole decalogue nor any part of it did belong to Adam, because the very same thing is affirmed of it, viz., that he gave his laws to Jacob, his statutes and judgments to Israel. (Ps. cxlvii. 19.) To them also, it is said, were committed the oracles of God. (Rom. iii. 2.) The Sabbath therefore is not said to be given to them as a peculiar propriety to the Jews, no more than other parts of the decalogue, but as a special mercy, yea, as a sweeter mercy in some respect than the giving of any other laws, it being the sweetest mercy upon earth to rest in the bosom of God, (which the law of the Sabbath calls to,) and to know that it is our heavenly Father's mind that we should do so upon every Sabbath day in a special manner, without the knowledge of which law we have less light of nature to hold the candle to us to the observance of it, than from any other laws to direct us to the obedience of them.

Thesis 178. It is affirmed (but unwarily) by some, that the tree of life in paradise was a type of Christ; and thence some would infer, that it was not unsuitable to Adam's estate and condition in innocency to be taught by types, and that the Sabbath might therefore be ceremonial, supposing that it was observed by Adam in his innocent estate; but although the tree of life, and sundry other things in paradise, are made similitudes, to set forth Christ Jesus in his church, by the Holy Ghost, (Rev. xxii.,) yet it is a gross mistake, and most absurd, to make every metaphor, or similitude and allusion, to be a type; for the husbandman sowing of the seed is a similitude of preaching of the word, (Matt. xiii.,) and yet it is no type of it; an affectionate lover and husband is, in sundry scriptures, a similitude and resemblance of Christ's affection and love to his church and spouse; the head and members of man's body are similitudes of Christ the head, and the church his members: but will any affirm that these are also types of Christ? And just thus was paradise and the tree of life in it. They were similitudes to which the Holy Ghost alludes in making mention of Christ and his church, but they were no types of them; there was *typus fictus* in them, or *arbitrarius*, (which is all one with a similitude,) but there was no *typus destinatus* therein, being never purposely ordained to shadow out Christ; for the covenant of works, by which Adam was to live, is directly contrary to the covenant of grace by faith in Christ, (Rom. xi. 6,) by which we are to live. Christ is revealed only in the covenant of grace, and therefore could not be so revealed in the covenant of works directly contrary thereunto. Adam therefore was not capable of any types then to reveal Christ to him; of whom the first covenant can not speak, and of whom

Adam stood in no need; no, not so much as to confirm him in that estate; for (with leave) I think that, look, as Adam breaking the first covenant by sin, he is become immutably evil and miserable in himself, according to the rule of justice in that covenant, so suppose him to have kept that covenant, all his posterity had been immutably happy and holy, (not merely by grace,) but by the same equity and justice of that first covenant; and hence it follows, that he stood in no need of Christ, or any revelation of him by types; no, not to confirm him in that covenant. I know, in some sense, whatever God communicates to his creature in way of justice may be said to be conveyed in a way of grace, if grace be taken largely for that which is conveyed out of God's free will and good pleasure, as all things in the world are, even to the acceptance of that wherein there is most merit, and that is Christ's death and satisfaction for sin: but this is but to play with words; for it is clear enough by the apostle's verdict, that grace strictly taken is opposite to works, (Rom. xi. 6;) the law of works which only reveals doing and life, to the law of faith which only reveals Christ and life; under which covenant of grace Adam was not, and therefore had no types then to shadow out Christ. To say that paradise and the tree of life were types by way of anticipation, (as some lately affirm,) is as much as to say that they were not types then; and therefore neither these nor the Sabbath were ceremonial then, and that is sufficient for what we aim at; only it is observable, that this unsound expression leads into more palpable errors; for as they make the tree of life typical by anticipation, so they make the marriage of Adam and Eve, and consequently the marriage of all mankind, typical; and then why should not all marriages cease, when Christ, the Antitype, is come? Nay, they make the rivers, and precious stones, and gold in paradise, thus typical of Christ and his church, (Rev. xxi.;) and then why may they not make the angels in heaven typical, because men on earth who pour out the vials are resembled to them? And why may not men riding upon white horses be typical, because Christ is so resembled? (Rev. xix. 11.) Pererius, who collects out of Hugo de Vict. a type of the whole new creation, in all the works of six days' first creation, may please himself (as other Popish proctors do) with such like shady speculations and phantasms, and so bring in the seventh day for company to be typical also; but a good and healthful stomach should be exceeding fearful of a little feeding on such windy meat; nor do I think that Hugo's new creation is any more antitypical to the first six days' creation than Damascene's types in the fourth commandment, who makes thou, thy son, thy daughter,

thy servant, the stranger, to be types of our sinful affections of spirit, and the ox and the ass figures of the flesh and sensual part, both which he saith must rest upon the Sabbath day.

Thesis 179. If therefore the Sabbath was given to Adam in innocency before all types, nay, before the least promise of Christ, whom such types must shadow forth, then it can not be in its first and native institution typical and ceremonial, but moral; and therefore in its first and original institution, of which we speak, it did not typify either our rest in Christ from sin in this life, or our rest with God in heaven in another life, or any other imagined rest which man's wit can easily invent and invest the Sabbath with. But look, as our Saviour, in reforming the abuses in marriage, calls us to the first institution, so to know what is perpetual in the Sabbath, it is most safe to have recourse hither, which, when it was first observed, we see was no way typical, but moral; and if man no way clogged with sin and earth had then need of a Sabbath, have not we much more?

Thesis 180. As, before the fall, the Sabbath was originally and essentially moral, so after the fall it became accidentally typical; i. e., it had a type affixed to it, though of its own nature it neither was nor is any type at all. God affixed a further end unto it after the fall, to be of further use to type out somewhat to God's people, while in the substance of it it remaineth moral; and hence it is that a seventh day remains moral, and to be observed, but not that seventh day which was formerly kept; nor have we that end of resting which was under the law, but this end only, that we might more immediately and specially converse with God, which was the main end of the Sabbath's rest before man's fall; for if the Sabbath had been essentially typical, then it should be abolished wholly, and no more remembrance of it than of new moons and jubilees; but because it was for substance moral, being extant before the fall, and yet had a type affixed to it after the fall, hence a seventh day is still preserved, but that seventh day is now abolished; and hence new moons and other Jewish festivals, as they are wholly ceremonial in their birth, so they are wholly abolished (without any change of them into other days, as this of the Sabbath is) in their very being.

Thesis 181. There are sundry scriptures alleged to prove the Sabbath to be typical and ceremonial, out of the Old and New Testament, as Is. lxvi. 23; Gal. iv. 10; Rom. xiv. 4, 5; Col. ii. 16; but if we suppose that these places be meant of the weekly Sabbath, (which some deny,) and rigidly urge them, we may quickly press blood instead of milk out of them, and wholly abolish (as Wallæus well observes) the observation of any Chris-

tian Sabbath; but this one consideration of a type affixed to it to make it so far forth ceremonial, and therefore alterable, which for substance is moral, may be as a right thread to lead us into a way of truth in this great controversy, and to untie many knots which I see not how possibly they can be otherwise unloosed, and therefore we may safely say that that seventh day is abolished, because it hath a type affixed to it; but that a seventh day's Sabbath is still continued wherein there is no type at all.

Thesis 182. If any say, Why was now the ceremony affixed, washed off, and removed after Christ's coming, and so that seventh day still continued, as we see public prayer is still used, but the type of incense removed, and the first born still retain that which is moral, the type affixed to them being now abolished? the reason of this is, because there is a necessity of the being of both, both prayer and first born; for public prayer must be, and first born must be, and they can not be changed into any other; but there was no necessity of the continuance of that first seventh day to be the Sabbath; nay, there was some cause to change it, and another day might be our Sabbath as well as that first. Look, therefore, as the Lord could have kept the temple at Jerusalem merely as a place of worship, which at this day in the general is necessary, and have washed and wiped off the typical use of it in respect of Christ, yet the wisdom of the Lord abolished the very being of the temple, because that place might be as well changed into another, and lest through the typicalness of it man's corrupt heart should abuse it, so I may say, concerning the Sabbath, it did not suit with the wisdom of God to wipe off the ceremony affixed to that seventh day, when it might well be changed, and so keep that day, considering how apt men's ceremonious and superstitious hearts are to abuse such times or places, unless the very types be abolished with the things themselves.

Thesis 183. It is true the Sabbath is called a sign between God and us, (Ex. xxxi. 13; Ezek. xx. 20;) but it doth not follow that therefore it is originally significative and typical, for it may be only accidentally so, by reason of a type and sign affixed; yet, upon narrow search of this place so much stood upon, no type at all can hence be proved, because a sign is mentioned; for it is not necessary to think that it is a typical and sacramental sign, as circumcision and the passover were; for it might be only an indicant sign and declarative, (as Num. xvi. 38, and xvii. 10,) and as the fruits of God's regenerating Spirit are signs of our translation from death to life, (1 John iii. 14,) which signs still continue; and if it be such a sign, it is rather a strong argument

for the continuance of the Sabbath, than for any abolition or change thereof.

Thesis 184. The Sabbath being no visible sign of invisible grace, it can not therefore be any sacramental sign, or typical; it is therefore an indicant and declarative sign of our communion with God, and God with us, of our interest in him, and of his in us; and therefore in those places (Ex. xxxi. 13, and Ezek. xx. 20) where it is called a sign, it is not made a sign simply and nakedly considered in itself, (as all sacramental and typical signs be,) but it is so called in respect of our keeping of it, or as it is observed and kept; and therefore it runs in way of promise. (Ezek. xx. 20.) If ye hallow my Sabbaths, they shall then be a sign between me and you, and you shall know (hereby) that I am the Lord your God; and although the Sabbath itself be called a sign, (Ex. xxxi.,) yet it is explained (ver. 13) to be such a sign as to know hereby that the Lord our God sanctifies us, and in Ezek. xx. 20, that we may know hereby that he is the Lord our God; for we know he is the Lord our God if he sanctifies us, and that we are his people if we sanctify, or be sanctified of him; and in this respect it becomes not only a sign, but a mutual sign between God and us, and in no other respect, (as Wallæus would stretch it;) and hence it is, that whoever makes a conscience of sanctifying the Sabbath aright, shall not long want assurance of God's love, by this blessed sign.

Thesis 185. What type should be affixed to the Sabbath, and of what it is thus typical and significative, is not a little difficult to find out, and, being found out, to prove it so to be. In handling the change of the Sabbath, I shall positively set down what I apprehend; only at the present it may not be amiss to cast in a few negatives of what it is not; for men's wits in imagining types and allegories are very sinfully luxuriant, unless God check them in such kind of divinity.

Thesis 186. The type lies not in the day of worship, for the greatest adversaries of the Sabbath place a morality therein; nor doth it lie in a seventh day; for though seven be made a number of perfection, yet what sober mind ever made a type of seven, more than of six or ten? Some have made the week a short summary, and epitome, and resemblance of that old prophecy of the world's continuance for six thousand years, (a thousand years being with God but as one day,) and the seventh thousand the great day of rest and peace to the weary world; but this is a doubtful assertion at best; or, if true, yet it is not therefore properly a type; or if it be, yet not such a type as was to cease at the coming of Christ, (as our adversaries would have the

Sabbath.) but when the antitype is come of that seven thousand years. If, therefore, it lies any where, it is in it as in a rest day, or day of rest.

Thesis 187. Some make the rest of the Sabbath a type of Christ's rest in the grave; and if it could be proved, I durst not oppose it; but it is but *gratis dictum*, affirmed by some godly learned, who herein symbolize with Popish postillers, who please themselves much in this and such like allegorical significations of the Sabbath's rest. For if Christ did neither enter into the state of rest till his resurrection, nor into the place of rest until his ascension, how then could the rest of the Sabbath type out his rest in the grave, which was part of his most heavy labor of humiliation, (Acts ii. 24,) and no part of his rest, unless it was in respect of cessation therein from actions of natural life? But the rest of one day is very unfit to resemble and type out the rest of three days in the grave; and why may not Christ's rest from labor in his sleep be as well the antitype as Christ's rest from the actions of this life in his grave?

Thesis 188. Why may not our labor in the six days be made a type of our laboring in sin, as well as the Sabbath a type of our sanctification and rest from sin, as some would have it? Why may not our libertines make abstinence from adultery, forbidden in the seventh command, a type of our spiritual chastity, (as the Gnostics did of old,) as well as the rest from labor on the Sabbath a type of our rest from sin? And by this liberty, how easy is it for frothy allegorizing wits, which my heart abhors, to typify (as it were) and allegorize all the commandments out of the world!

Thesis 189. The rest on the Sabbath may be considered either in respect of God's example in himself, or his command to man out of himself. Now, the rest of the Sabbath, as it is exemplary in God, can not be a type of any thing, because God never made himself an example of any ceremonial thing. God's own immediate acts can not, without much injury to God, be made types and ceremonies; if, therefore, there be any thing of the rest of the Sabbath typical, it is so in respect of man's rest on it, commanded unto him of God; but whether and what it doth typify, we shall speak to in its proper place.

Thesis 190. There wants not sufficient proof that the Gentiles generally practiced and approved a seventh day's Sabbath, and that it was highly honored among them as very sacred. This truth both Tertullian, Eusebius, Josephus, and Philo have formerly affirmed. Aretus, also, especially learned Rivet, have lately vindicated and made good against all the exceptions of

Gomarus and others, insomuch as that the last refuge both of Gomarus and Primrose is this, viz., that all those heathens who writ about the Sabbath, and in honor of it, received not their light from nature, but from the writings of the Jewish commonwealth, all those heathenish testimonies about the Sabbath being published and writ long after the delivering of the law upon Mount Sinai. And therefore they think this no argument to prove that this law was practiced ever since the world began, or that it was known by the light of nature, by which it might be evinced to be moral; but by this answer we shall scarce know any thing to be according to the light of nature by the writings of the heathens, for all their writings are since Moses' time, if they be of any credit. But suppose they did not know it by the working power of the light of nature, yet if they approved of, and honored this day when it was made known by other means, so that they knew it by the approving light of nature, as the authors alleged make good, it is then sufficient to prove the seventh day moral, even by the light of nature; and although Seneca and some others scoffed at the Jewish Sabbaths, as if they lost the seventh part of their time thereby, yet we know that men's lusts will give them leave to scoff at that which yet their consciences chastise them for; beside, I think those scoffs were not so much at the seventh day as at their strict and ceremonious observance thereof, as also of their seventh years, wherein it is no wonder if that the light of nature should not so clearly see.

Thesis 191. The light of nature in the Gentiles, especially in matters of the first table, was very imperfect, dim, and corrupt. Hence it is that we can not expect to find any perfect light of nature in matters of the Sabbath. Some glimmerings and dark practices herein are sufficient to prove that this law is natural, although the exact proportion of time for rest should not, or could not, by any reasoning of corrupt nature, be perfectly found out. Their observation of holidays and festivals did argue some imperfect light of nature left concerning the Sabbath, which once nature had more perfectly, as old walls and rubbish do argue old and great buildings in former times. But suppose they could not find out exactly the seventh part of time, and so dedicate it to God for his Sabbath; yet the want of such light argues only the want of perfection of the light of nature, which we should not expect to find in the present light of nature in matters of the first table, and in this of the Sabbath; and therefore it is no argument to prove the Sabbath not to be of the law of nature, because the perfect knowledge of the exact time thereof is not left in corrupt nature now.

Thesis 192. Suppose the Gentiles did neither know, nor were ever reproved particularly by any of the prophets for breaking the Sabbath; yet this doth not argue that they were not bound to sanctify a Sabbath, and that it was no sin for them to neglect the Sabbath; for it was a privilege of the Jews to have God's oracles revealed to them, and especially this of the Sabbath, (Neh. ix. 14; Rom. iii. 2;) so it was a curse upon the Gentiles to live without Christ, and so also without Sabbaths. (Eph. ii. 12.) The times of which ignorance God is said to wink at, (Acts xvii. 30,) not by excusing them for the breach of Sabbath, or other sins, but by not reproving them for it, as neither he did for many other moral transgressions, which notwithstanding were sins. The patriarchs were not condemned expressly till Moses' time (by Mr. Primrose's account) for their polygamy, that we read of, and yet it was a sin all that time against the very first institution of marriage; and why might not the breach of the Sabbath be a sin much more longer among the Gentiles, and yet none of the prophets reprove them particularly for the same? And therefcre Mr. Primrose hath no cause to mark this argument with chalk, and with all attention, as he calls it, viz., that the breach of the Sabbath among the Gentiles was no sin, because it was not any where particularly reproved by the prophets of God; for we see, by what hath been said, upon what weak crutches it stands.

Thesis 193. The Gentiles shall not be condemned only for what they did actually know, and did not practice, but also for what they did not actually know, yet might and should have known. The Gentiles did know that some days were to be kept holy to God, (saith Mr. Primrose,) and they should have known the fittest proportion and most suitable frequency of such days, which the same author acknowledgeth to be moral; therefore they should have known the seventh day's Sabbath, and possibly might have known it if they had not held truth in unrighteousness, but made improvement hereof; for in this sense *habenti dabitur*, to him that hath shall be given, to wit, more of the same kind of light, whether natural, moral, or evangelical; if common light in all these, more common light; if special light in them, they shall then have more special and saving light.

Thesis 194. As it is no argument that that law is according to the light of nature, which the Gentiles generally practiced, (for then polytheism, and sacrificing of beasts, yea, will worship, should be according to the light of nature, because these sins were generally practiced,) so it is no argument that that law is not according to the light of nature which they generally neglected; and

therefore suppose the Gentiles never observed a Sabbath, yet this is no argument that it is therefore no moral law. I know Mr. Primrose thinks that the sacrifices were by an instinct of nature, because it dictates that all sins whereof mortal men are guilty are to be expiated by sacrifices and offerings to God offended; which assertion hath some truth in it, if those words, "by sacrifices and offerings," be left out; for what light of nature could make men think that an infinite Deity offended could be pacified by such carnal observances as the sacrifices of brute beasts and their blood, which never offended? This custom the Gentiles might retain as a relic of former instruction and institution, by their first fathers after the flood; which, being matters merely ceremonious, might be retained more firmly than other moral duties of great consequence. However, we see that the practice of the Gentiles is no fit guide to direct that which is according to the law and light of nature.

Thesis 195. If more narrow inquiry be made, what the law of nature is, these distinctions must be observed: —

1. The law of nature is either of pure or corrupt nature.

The law of pure nature was the law of God writ on Adam's heart in innocency, which was nothing else but that holy bent and inclination of the heart within to act according to the holy law of God revealed, or covenant made with him without; and thus Aquinas places the law of nature in this inclination.

The law of corrupt nature is that dim light left in the mind, and moral inclination left in the will, in respect of some things contained in the law of God, which the apostle calls *conscience*, (Rom. ii. 15;) which natural conscience is nothing but the remnants and general principles of the law of pure nature, left in all men since the fall, which may be increased by more knowledge of the law of God, or more diminished and defaced by the wickedness of man. (Tit. i. 15.)

2. The law of corrupt nature is taken either more largely or strictly.

As it is taken more largely, so it comprehends all that which is agreeable and suitable to natural reason, and that from a natural innate equity in the thing, when it is made known, either by divine instruction or human wisdom, although it be not immediately known by the light of nature; and thus many judicial laws are natural and moral, (though positive,) and of binding nature, unto this day.

As it is taken strictly, so it comprehends no more but what nature immediately knows, or may know, without external instruction, as parents to be honored, man's life to be preserved.

3. The law of nature, strictly taken, are either principles of nature, or conclusions from such principles.

The principles of the law of nature are in some respects many, yet may be reduced to this one head, viz.: That good is to be followed, evil to be avoided.

Conclusions are deductions from those principles, like several streams from the same spring, which, though less evident than the principles, yet may be readily found out by discourse and sad search.

4. Conclusions arising from these principles are more immediate, or mediate.

Immediate are made (by Aquinas) to be two: 1. Love God with all thy heart. 2. Love thy neighbor as thyself.

Mediate are such as arise from the former principles, by means of those two more immediate conclusions: and of this kind are some, (as he thinks,) yea, all the laws of the decalogue, if right reason may be judge. Now to apply these.

Thesis 196. If the question be whether the Sabbath be known by the light of pure nature, the answer is, yea; for Adam's mind knew of it, and his heart was inclined and bent to the keeping of it, although it be true, that now this light in corrupt nature (as in many other moral duties) is almost wholly extinct and worn out, as hath been formerly shown. And, to speak plainly, this great and first impression left on man's heart in pure nature is the first rule according to which we are now to judge of what is the law of nature; and it serves to dash to pieces and grind to powder and dust, most effectually and strongly, the dreams and devices of such as would make the Sabbath not moral, because not natural, or not easily known by the present light of corrupt nature, whenas corrupt nature is no perfect copy, but a blotted discovery of some part of the light of nature, which was fully imprinted at large in pure nature: and therefore it is no wonder if our adversaries so much oppose the commandment of the Sabbath in the state of innocency: such therefore as are otherwise orthodox in this point, and yet make this description of the law of nature (viz., which was written on man's heart in his first creation) to be both uncertain and impertinent, do unwarily pull down one of the strongest bulwarks, and the first that ever God made to defend the morality of the Sabbath: there is indeed no express scripture which makes this description of the law of nature, (as they object,) and so it is of many other things which are virtually and for substance contained in the Scripture, although there be no formal description set down of the same; and the like I say of this description here.

Thesis 197. If we speak of the law of nature, strictly taken, for that which is immediately and readily known by the common light of nature in all men, then it may be safely affirmed, that although the Sabbath should not be in this sense natural, yet it will not follow that it is not therefore moral; for the moral law, once writ on man's heart in pure nature, is almost blotted out; only some *rudera* and old rubbish is left of it in a perverse mind and a corrupt heart. (Eph. iv. 18.) We see the wisest of the heathens making those things to be moral virtues (Junius instanceth in the law of private revenge, and we know they magnified will worship) which the Scripture condemns as moral vices and sins: God would have commonwealths preserved, in all places of the world, from the inundation and deluge of man's wickedness, and therefore he hath generally printed the notions of the second table upon men's hearts, to set bounds (as by sea banks) unto the overflowings thereof, and hence it is that they are generally known: but he would not have churches every where, and therefore there is but little known concerning matters of the first table, and consequently about this law of the Sabbath, which notwithstanding may be moral, although it be not so immediately made known.

Thesis 198. If we speak of the law of corrupt nature, largely taken, for that law which, when it is made known by divine determination and declaration, is both suitable and congruous to natural reason and equity, we may then say that the law of the Sabbath is according to the light of nature, even of corrupt nature itself: for do but suppose that God is to be worshipped, and then these three things appear to be most equal. 1. That he is not only to have a time, but a special time, and a fit proportion of time, for worship. 2. That it is most meet that he should make this proportion. 3. The Lord having given man six days, and taken a seventh to himself, man's reason can not but confess that it is most just to dedicate that time to God: and for my own part, I think that in this respect the law of the Sabbath was as fairly writ on man's heart in innocency as many other moral laws, which none question the morality of at this day; but disputes about this are herein perhaps useless.

Thesis 199. The sacrament of the Lord's supper may be administered (meet circumstances concurring) every Lord's day; nay, upon the week days often, as they did in the primitive persecutions; and hence our Saviour limits no time for it, in the first institution thereof, as he did for the passover of old, but only thus: "As oft as you do it, do it in remembrance of me."

Hence it will follow, that now under the gospel there is no set Sabbath (as M. Primrose would) because our Saviour, at the first institution of the Lord's supper, limits no particular day for the celebration thereof, as once he did for the passover; for though there is an appointed special time (as shall hereafter appear) for the public exercise of all holy duties, not being limited to those times, but enlarged to other times also, hence there is no reason why our Saviour should institute a set Sabbath, when he instituted the Lord's supper, at the proper time of the celebration thereof, as it was in case of the passover.

Thesis 200. It is no argument to prove the Sabbath to be ceremonial, because it is reckoned among ceremonials, viz., showbread and sacrifices, as M. Primrose and Wallæus urge it out of Matt. xii. 1–3; for, 1. Upon the same ground fornication and eating of idolothytes are ceremonial, because they are ranked among ceremonials, viz., blood and things strangled, (Acts xv. 29.) 2. Upon this ground the Sabbath hath no morality at all in it, no more then showbread and sacrifices, which were wholly ceremonial. 3. The Sabbath is in the same place reckoned among things which are moral, as pulling a sheep out of a pit upon the Sabbath day, an act of humanity; why may it not then be as well accounted moral? 4. One may as well argue that the not keeping company with publicans and sinners was a ceremonial thing, because the Lord Jesus useth the same proverbial speech, "I will have mercy, not sacrifice," (Matt. ix. 13;) upon which he defends the lawfulness of pulling the ears of corn upon the Sabbath day, in this, Matt. xii. 15: the scope therefore of this place is not to show the nature of the Sabbath day, whether it be ceremonial or moral, but the lawfulness and morality of his act in eating the ears of corn upon this day; and thus the arguments of our Saviour are very strong and convicting to prove the morality of such an act, but no way to prove the ceremoniality of the Sabbath; for that is the scope of our Saviour, that mercy to the hungry is to be preferred before the sacrifice of bodily resting upon the Sabbath. M. Primrose indeed replies hereto, and tells us, that "mercy is to be preferred before sacrifice or ceremonial duties, but not before moral duties, and therefore Christ preferring it before the rest on the Sabbath, the Sabbath could not be moral." But we know that mercy in the second table is sometimes to be preferred before moral duties in the first table: a man is bound to neglect solemn prayer sometimes to attend upon the sick: it is a moral duty to sanctify some day for a Sabbath, (saith M. Primrose;) and yet suppose a fire be kindled in a town upon that day, or any sick to be helped;

must not mercy be preferred before hearing the word? which himself will acknowledge to be then a moral duty.

Thesis 201. When Christ is said to be Lord of the Sabbath, (Matt. xii. 8,) the meaning is not as if he was such a Lord as had power to break it, but rather such a Lord as had power to appoint it, and consequently to order the work of it for his own service. M. Primrose thinks "that he is said to be Lord of it because he had power to dispense with the keeping of it, by whom and when he would; and that Christ did choose to do such works upon the Sabbath day, which were neither works of mercy nor necessity, nay, which were servile, which the law forbade; for Christ, (saith he,) as Mediator, had no power to dispense with things moral, but he might with matters ceremonial, and therefore with the Sabbath." How far Christ Jesus might and may dispense with moral laws, I dispute not now; I think Biell comes nearest the truth in this controversy; only this is considerable: suppose the Sabbath was ceremonial; yet it is doubtful whether Christ Jesus, who came in the days of his flesh to fulfill all righteousness, could abolish or break the law ceremonial until his death was past, by which this handwriting of ordinances was blotted out, (Col. ii. 14,) and this middle wall of partition was broken down. (Eph. ii. 14–16.) But let it be yielded that Christ had power to break ceremonial laws then before his death, yet in this place there is no such matter; for the words contain a clear proof for the right observance of the Sabbath, against the over-rigid conceptions of the superstitious and proud Pharisees, who as they thought it unlawful for Christ to heal the sick upon the Sabbath, so to rub out, and eat a few corn ears upon it, although hunger and want (and perhaps more than ordinary in the disciples here) should force men hereunto, which was no servile work, (as M. Primrose would,) but a work of necessity and mercy in this case; and our Saviour proves the morality of it from the example of David eating the showbread, and those that were with him, preferring that act of mercy before sacrifice, and abstinence from showbread; and hence our Saviour argues, that if they attending upon David might eat the showbread, much more his hungry disciples might eat the corn while they attended upon him that day, who was Lord of the Sabbath, and that they might be the better strengthened hereby to do him service: these things being thus, where now is there to be found any real breach of the Sabbath, or doing of any servile work, or maintenance of any unnecessary work, which the same learned and acute writer imputes to our Saviour? which I had almost said is almost blasphemous.

Thesis 202. It is no argument that the Sabbath is not moral, because it is said (Mark ii. 27) that man is not made for it, but it for man; for, saith M. Ironside, man is made for moral duties, not they for man: for let the Sabbath be taken for the bare rest of the Sabbath, as the Pharisees did, who placed so much religion in the bare rest as that they thought it unlawful to heal the sick on that day, or feed the hungry; so man is not made as lastly, for the bare rest, but rather it for man and for his good; but if by Sabbath be meant the sanctification of that rest, so man is made for it, by M. Primrose's own confession. Now, our Saviour speaks of the Sabbath in the first respect; for the rest of it is but a means to a further and a better end, viz., the true sanctification of it, which the Pharisees little looked unto; and therefore he might well say that the Sabbath was made for man, the rest of it being no further good than as it was helpful to man in duties of piety or mercy required of man, in the sanctification thereof. M. Primrose, confessing that man is made for the sanctification of the Sabbath, would therefore wind out from this, by making this sanctification on the Sabbath to be no more than what is equally required of man all the week beside: but he is herein also much mistaken; for though works of piety and mercy are required every day, yet they are required with a certain eminency and specialty upon the Sabbath day, and thence it is that God calls men to rest from all worldly occasions, (which he doth not on the week days,) that they might honor God in special upon the Sabbath, as shall hereafter appear.

Thesis 203. It is a monkish speculation of M. Broad to distinguish so of the Sabbath in *sensu mystico* and *sensu literali*, as that the mystical sense, like the lean and ill-favored kine in Pharaoh's dream, shall eat up the literal sense, and devour God's blessed and sweet Sabbath; for the Lord never meant by the Sabbath such a mystical thing as the resting from the works of the old man only every day, no more than, when he commands us to labor six days, he permits us to labor in the works of the old man all the six days.

Thesis 204. For though it be true that we are to rest every day from sin, yet it will not hence follow that every day is to be a Christian's Sabbath, and that no one day in seven is to be set apart for it. For, 1. Upon the same ground Adam should have had no Sabbath, because he was to rest from sin every day. 2. The Jews also, before Christ, should have rejected all Sabbaths, because they were then bound to rest from sin as well as Christians now. 3. Upon the same ground there must be no days of fasting or feasting under the gospel, because we are to

fast from sin every day, and to be joyful and thankful every day. I know some libertines of late say so; but upon the same ground there should have been none under the law neither, for they were then bound as well as we to fast from sin. 4. Hence neither should any man pay his debts, because he is bound to be paying his debt of love to God and all men every day. 5. Hence also no man should pray at any time in his family, nor alone by himself solemnly, because a Christian is bound to pray continually. And, indeed, I did not think that any forehead could be so bold and brazen as to make such a conclusion. But while I was writing this, came to my hearing concerning a seaman who came to these coasts from London, miserably deluded with principles of Familism, who, when an honest New English man, his cabin mate, invited him to go along and pray together, considering their necessities, he would professedly refuse to do it, upon this ground, viz., Dost not pray continually? Why then should we pray together now? 6. The commandment of the Sabbath doth not therefore press us to rest only from such works as are in themselves evil, which God allows at no time; but from the works of our callings and weekly employments, which are in themselves lawful and of necessity to be attended on at some time. It is therefore a loose and groundless assertion to make every day under the gospel to be a Christian's Sabbath day.

Thesis 205. To think that the Sabbath was proper to the Jews, because they only were able to keep and exactly observe the time of it, being shut up (as M. Primrose saith) within a little corner of the earth, and that the Gentiles therefore are not bound to it, because they can not exactly observe the time of it, in several quarters of the earth so far distant, is a very feeble argument; for why might not all nations exactly observe the rising and setting of the sun, according to several climates by which the natural day, and so this of a Sabbath, is exactly measured? and which God hath appointed (without limitation to any hour) to be the bounds of the Sabbath as it sooner or later rises or sets? Were not the mariners of the men of Judah bound to observe the seventh day in all the several coasts where they made their voyages? Did God limit them to the rising or setting sun of Judea only? What color is there to think thus of them? Indeed, it is true that, in some habitable northern coasts, the sun is not out of sight some months together; but yet this is certain, if they know how the year spends into months, they can exactly reckon the weeks of those months, and therefore can exactly tell you the days of which those weeks consist, and therefore they have their exact rules and measures to know east and west, the

place of the sunrising and sunsetting, and consequently to know the Sabbath days; and yet, if they should not exactly know it, their will to do it is herein (as in other things) accepted of God.

Thesis 206. If this truth concerning the morality of the Sabbath did depend upon the testimony of ancient writers, it were easy to bring them up here in the rear, notwithstanding the flourishes of the great historian; but this hath been done sufficiently by others, nor doth it suit our scope who aim at only the clearing up of the meaning of the fourth command, which must stand firm; the heaven and earth shall fall asunder; the Lord will rather waste kingdoms, and the whole Christian world, with fire and sword, than let one tittle of his law perish; the land must rest when God's Sabbaths can not, (Lev. xxvi. 34;) and although I wish the ministry of Christ Jesus a comely and comfortable maintenance, as may richly testify his people's abundant thankfulness for the feet of those his messengers as preach peace, yet methinks it argues great blindness in those men who plead for a morality in a tenth pig, or sheaf of corn, and yet will acknowledge no morality in a seventh day.

Thesis 207. I shall therefore conclude and shut up these things with answer to M. Carpenter's and Heylin's εὕρημα, an argument against the Sabbath, which they have gone compassing the whole earth and heavens about to find out, never heard of till their days, and now it is brought to light. I would not make mirth with it, (as some have done, and left the scruple untouched,) but in words of sobriety, and seriousness, and plainness. If the Sabbath, or Lord's day, (say they,) be moral, then the moral law is subject to manifold mutation, because the nations issuing out of Noah's ark spread themselves from thence over the face of the whole earth, some farther, some at a shorter distance, whereby, changing the longitude with their habitation, they must of necessity alter the differences of times; neither can any exactly and precisely observe any one day, either as it was appointed by Moses, or as it was instituted by Christ's apostles afterward, by reason of the manifold transportation of colonies, and transmigration of nations, from one region into another, whereby the times must necessarily be supposed to vary. The answer is ready and easy, viz.: Although the nations issued out of Noah's ark, and spread themselves over the face of the whole earth, some farther, some at a shorter distance, and thereby changing their longitude, altered the differences of time, some beginning the day sooner, some later, yet they might observe the same day; for the day is regulated and measured by the sun, and the sun comes to one meridian sooner or later than to another, and

hence the day begins in one place sooner or later than in another, and so the beginning of the day is (respectively) varied, but yet the day itself remains unchangeably the same: what though our countrymen in Old England begin their Sabbath above four hours before us in New, they beginning at their evening, we at our evening; yet both may and do observe the same day: all nations are bound to keep holy a seventh part of time; but that time must be regulated by the sun, neither is it necessary that the same individual twenty-four hours should be observed by all, but the same day as it is measured by the sun in this or that place, which may begin in places more easterly many hours sooner than in other places more westerly; a day is not properly time, but a measure of time, and therefore the manifold transportation of colonies, and transmigration of nations, from one region unto another, hinder not at all, but that they may exactly and precisely observe the same day, which was instituted and appointed; for although the time of the beginning of the day be varied, yet the day itself is not, can not be varied or changed.

Now, whereas they say, that if any man should travel the world about, a whole day must needs be varied, and if two men from the same place travel, the one eastward, the other westward, round about the earth, and meet in the same place again, they shall find that he who hath gone eastward hath gotten, and the other going westward hath lost, a day in their account; yea, the Hollanders, after their discovery of Fretum de Mayre, coming home to their country, found, by comparing their accounts with their countrymen at home, that they had lost a day, having gone westward, and so compassed the earth round. I answer, what though a traveler varying perpetually the quantity of the day, by reason of his continual moving with or against the sun's motion, in time get or lose a day in his account; is the day, therefore, of its own nature variable or changeable? God hath placed the sun in the firmament, and appointed it for times and seasons, and in special for the regulating of the day; and as the motion of the sun is constant, so there is an ordinary and constant succession of days without variation; for unless the sun's course be changed, the day which is regulated by it is not changed. Now, if any shall travel round about the world, and so anticipate or second the diurnal motion of the sun, and thereby varying continually the quantity of the day, at length gain or lose a day, according to their reckoning, they may and ought then to correct their accounts. Gregory XIII., having found the Julian year to be too great for the motion of the sun, cut off ten days, by which

the equinoxes and solstices had anticipated their proper places, that so the year might be kept at its right periods; and is it not as good reason that a traveler who, opposing the sun's diurnal course, continually shortens somewhat of his day, till at last in compassing the earth round he gains a whole day, should cut off in his accounts that day which he hath gained by anticipating the sun's course, and so rectify his account of the day? For in every region and country whatsoever, and howsoever situate, as men are to begin the day at that time when the day naturally begins in that place, so likewise they are to reckon and count the days as they are there regulated and ordered by the sun, and that should be the first or second day of the week to them which is naturally the first or second day of the week to that place where they are; and thus their doubts are easily satisfied when they return to the place whence they first came. But if any shall say, it is very difficult for men thus to rectify their accounts, and to observe that time in every place which was at first instituted, and it is probable that the nations in their several transmigrations and transportations never used any such course, the answer is obvious: men's weakness, or neglect and carelessness to do what they ought, is not a sufficient argument to prove that not to be their duty; besides, it is not probable that any nations were thus put to it to travel round about the whole earth, (although some particular persons in this later age have sailed round about it,) and therefore could not vary a whole day possibly; but going some eastward, some westward, some southward, some northward, they spread themselves over the face of the whole earth, some at a shorter, some at a farther distance, and so some began the day sooner, some later, and yet all (as hath been shown) might observe the same day. The morality of the Sabbath is not built upon astronomical or geometrical principles, and therefore it can not fall by any shady speculations so far-fetched.

THE

CHANGE OF THE SABBATH.

Thesis 1. The change of this day from the last to the first of the week, although it be confirmed by an ancient custom, yet the true reason and grounds of so great a change are not so fully known, sacred writings not so expressly setting down (as it doth in some things of less concernment) the causes hereof. And many of the arguments heaped up and multiplied by some for the change of it, which may seem of very great weight, while they want an adversary at the other end of the scale to balance them; yet upon sad examination and search into them, they prove too light, and consequently occasion the temptation of scrupling the truth and validity of others more clear. We are therefore with more wariness and humility of mind to search into this controversy, and with much thankfulness and modesty to accept that little light which God gives us in greater, as well as of much light which he is pleased to lend us in smaller matters. *Pascimur opertis, exercemur obscuris*, was his speech long since concerning the Scriptures. There is no truth so clear but man's loose wit can invent and mint many pernicious cavils against it; and therefore in those things which shine forth with less evidence, it is no wonder if it casts such blots and stains upon them as that they can scarcely be discerned. *Nil magis inimicum veritati, acumine nimio.* We should therefore be wise with sobriety, and remember that in this and such like controversies, the Scriptures were not written to answer all the scruples and objections of cavilers, but to satisfy and stablish the consciences of poor believers. And verily, when I meet with such like speeches and objections as these, viz., Where is it expressly said that the old Sabbath is abrogated? and what one scripture is there in the New Testament declaring expressly that the Lord's day is substituted and put in its room? I can not from such expressions but think and fear that the ignorance of this

change in some doth not spring so much from deficiency and want of light on God's part, but rather from perverseness on man's part, which will not see nor own the truth, because it is not revealed and dispensed after that manner and fashion of expression as man's wit and fantasy would have it. Like Naaman, who, because the prophet went not about the cure of his leprosy in that way and fashion which he would have him, did not therefore (for a time) see that way of cure which God had revealed to him. For the Holy Ghost is not bound to write all the principles of religion under commonplace heads, nor to say expressly, In this place of Scripture you may see the old Sabbath abrogated, and the new instituted; for we find no such kind of expressions concerning Paul's epistles, and many books of Scripture, that this or that epistle or book is canonical, which yet we know to be so by other evidences. We know, also, that the Holy Ghost, by brief hints of truth, gives occasion of large comments, and by writing about other matters *tanquam aliud agens*, it brings forth to light, by the by, revelations of great concernment, which it saw meet purposely in that manner to make known. And as in many other things it hath thus done, so especially in this of the Sabbath. So that if our hearts, like locks, were fitted to God's key, they would be soon opened to see thoroughly the difficulties of this point; which I confess, of all practical points, hath been most full of knots and difficulties to my own weakness.

Thesis 2. To make apostolical unwritten inspirations, notified and made known in their days to the churches, to be the cause of the change of the day, is to plow with a Popish heifer, and to cast that anchor on which deceivers use to rely, and by which they hope to save themselves when they know not how otherwise to defend their falsehoods.

Thesis 3. To make ecclesiastical custom, established first by the imperial law of Constantine, to be the foundation of the change, is to make a prop for prelacy, and a step to Popery, and to open a gap to all human inventions. For if it be in the church's power to appoint the greatest holy day, why may not any other rite and ceremony be imposed also? And if it be free to observe this day or not, in respect of itself, because it wants a divine institution, and yet necessary to observe it, in respect of the church's custom and constitution, (as some pretend,) why may not the church's commandment be a rule of obedience in a thousand things else as well as in this? and so introduce will worship, and to serve God after the tradition of men, which God abhors?

Thesis 4. The observation of the first day of the week for the Christian Sabbath ariseth from the force of the fourth commandment, as strongly as the observation of the *media cultus*, or means of worship, now under the New Testament, doth from the force of the second commandment; only let this be supposed, that the day is now changed, (as we shall hereafter prove,) as also that the worship itself is changed by divine institution; for gospel institutions, when they be appointed by divine sovereign authority, yet they may then be observed and practiced by virtue of some moral law. The gospel appointed new sacraments, but we are to use them by virtue of the second commandment; so here the gospel appoints a new seventh day for the Sabbath, but it stands by virtue of the fourth commandment, and therefore the observation of it is not an act of Christian liberty, but of Christian duty, imposed by divine authority, and by virtue of the moral law.

Thesis 5. For, the morality of the fourth commandment (as hath been proved) being preserved in observing not that Sabbath only, nor yet a Sabbath merely when man sees meet, but in observing the Sabbath, i. e., such a Sabbath as is determined and appointed of God, (which may therefore be either the first or last of the seven days,) hence it is, that the first of the seven, if it be determined and instituted of God under the New Testament, ariseth equally from the fourth commandment, as the last seventh day did under the Old Testament; and therefore it is no such *piaculum*, nor delusion of the common people, as Mr. Brabourn would make it, to put the title of the Lord's Sabbath upon the Lord's day, and to call it the Sabbath day; for if it be born out of the same womb the first seventh was, if it arise (I mean) from the same commandment, "Remember to keep holy the Sabbath day," why may it not bear the name of the Sabbath now, as the first born did in former times?

Thesis 6. If the Lord would have man to work six days together, according to his own example, and the morality of the fourth commandment, that so a seventh day determined by himself might be observed, hence it is that neither two Sabbaths in a week can stand with the morality of the fourth commandment, nor yet could the former Sabbath be justly changed into any other day than into the first day of the week; the first day could not belong to the week before, for then there should be eight days in a week, and if it did belong to the week following, then (if we suppose that the second had been the Sabbath) there must be one working day, viz., the first day to go before it, and five working days after it, and so there should not nor could not be six

working days continued together, that the seventh might be the Lord's, according to the morality of the fourth commandment. And hence it is, that no human or ecclesiastical power can change the Sabbath to what day of the week they please, from the first, which now is.

Thesis 7. It should not seem an uncouth phrase, or a hard saying, to call the first day of the week a seventh, or the seventh day; for though it be the first absolutely in order of existence from the creation, yet relatively in way of relation, and in respect of the number of seven in a week, it may be invested with the name and title of a seventh, even of such a seventh as may lawfully be crowned and anointed to be the Sabbath day; for look, as Noah, though he was the first in order of years, and dignity of entrance into the ark, yet he is called the eighth, (2 Pet. ii. 5,) in that he was one of them (as the learned observe) *qui octonarium numerum perficiebant*, or who made up the number of eight; so it is in respect of the first day, which in divers respects may be called the first, and yet the seventh also. Mr. Brabourn's argument therefore is of no solidity, who goes about to prove the Christian Sabbath to be no Sabbath, because "that Sabbath which the fourth commandment enjoins is called the seventh day;" but all the evangelists call the Lord's day the first day of the week, not the seventh day. For he should remember that the same day in divers respects may be called the first day, and yet the seventh day; for in respect of its natural existence and being, it may be and is called the first day, and yet in respect of divine use and application, it may be and is called the seventh day, even by virtue of the fourth commandment, which is the Lord's day, which is confessed to be the first day.

Thesis 8. For although *in numero numerante*, (as they call it,) i. e., in number numbering, there can be but one seventh, which immediately follows the number six, yet *in numero numerato*, i. e., in number numbered, or in things which are numbered, (as are the days of the week,) any of the seven may be so in way of relation and proportion. As, suppose seven men stand together; take the last man in order from the other six, who stand about him, and he is the seventh; so again, take the first in order, and set him apart from the six who stand below him, and if the number of them who are taken from him make up the number of six, he then may and must necessarily be called the seventh. Just thus it is in the days of the week; the first Sabbath from the creation might be called the seventh day in respect of the six days before it; and this first day of the week may be called the seventh day also, in respect of the six working days together after

it. That may be called the last seventh, this the first seventh, without any absurdity of account, which some would imagine; and if this first day of the week is called the eighth day, according to Ezekiel's prophecy of evangelical times, and his reckoning onward from the creation, (Ezek. xliii. 27,) why may it not then in other respects put on the name of a seventh day also?

Thesis 9. The reason why the Lord should depose the last seventh, and exalt and crown the first of seven to be the day of the Christian Sabbath, is not so well considered, and therefore to be here narrowly examined. For as for those eastern Christians, who, in the primitive times, observed two Sabbaths in a week, the Jewish and the Christian, doubtless their milk sod over, and their zeal went beyond the rule. The number of Jews who were believers, and yet, too, too zealous of their old customs, we know did fill those places in their dispersion, and before more than the western and more remote parts, and therefore they might more powerfully infect those in the east; and they, to gain or keep them, might more readily comply with them. Let us therefore see into the reasons of this change from one seventh unto another.

Thesis 10. The good will of Him who is Lord of the Sabbath, is the first efficient and primary cause of the institution of a new Sabbath; but the resurrection of Christ, being upon the first day of the week, (Mark xvi. 9,) is the secondary, moral, or moving cause hereof: the day of Christ's resurrection being Christ's joyful day for his people's deliverance, and the world's restitution and new creation, it is no wonder if the Lord Christ appoint it, and the apostles preach and publish it, and the primitive Christians observe it as their holy and joyful day of rest and consolation. For some notable work of God upon a day being ever the moral cause of sanctifying the day, hence the work of redemption being finished upon the day of Christ's resurrection, and it being the most glorious work that ever was, and wherein Christ was first most gloriously manifested to have rested from it, (Rom. i. 4,) hence the Lord Christ might have good cause to honor this day above all others; and what other cause there should be of the public solemn assemblies in the primitive churches, upon the first day in the week, than this glorious work of Christ's resurrection upon the same day which began their great joy for the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, is scarce imaginable.

Thesis 11. No action of Christ doth of itself sanctify any time; for if it did, why should we not then keep as many holy days every year as we find holy actions of Christ recorded in Scripture, as the superstitious crew of blind Papists do at this day? But if God, who is the Lord of time, shall sanctify any such day

or time wherein any such action is done, such a day then is to be kept holy; and therefore if the will of God hath sanctified the day of Christ's resurrection, we may lawfully sanctify the same day; and therefore Mr. Brabourn doth us wrong, as if we made the resurrection of Christ merely to be the cause of the change of this day.

Thesis 12. Why the will of God should honor the day of Christ's resurrection as holy, rather than any other day of his incarnation, birth, passion, ascension: It is this; because Christ's rising day was his resting or Sabbath day, wherein he first entered into his rest, and whereon his rest began. For the Sabbath, or rest day, of the Lord our God, only can be our rest day, according to the fourth commandment. Hence the day of God's rest from the work of creation, and the day of Christ's rest from the work of redemption, are only fit and capable of being our Sabbaths. Now, the Lord Christ, in the day of his incarnation and birth, did not enter into his rest, but rather made entrance into his labor and sorrow, who then began the work of humiliation, (Gal. iv. 4, 5;) and in the day of his passion, he was then under the sorest part and feeling of his labor, in bitter agonies upon the cross and in the garden. And hence it is that none of those days were consecrated to be our Sabbath, or rest days, which were days of Christ's labor and sorrow; nor could the day of his ascension be fit to be made our Sabbath, because, although Christ then and thereby entered into his place of rest, (the third heavens,) yet did he not then make his first entrance into his estate of rest, which was in the day of his resurrection; the wisdom and will of God did therefore choose this day above any other to be the Sabbath day.

Thesis 13. Those that go about (as some of late have done) to make Christ's ascension day the ground of our Sabbath day, had need be fearful lest they lose the truth and go beyond it, while they affect some new discoveries of it, which seems to be the case here. For though Christ at his ascension entered into his place of rest, yet the place is but an accidental thing to Christ's rest itself, the state of which was begun in the day of his resurrection; and therefore there is no reason to prefer that which is but accidental above that which is most substantial; or the day of entrance into the place of his rest in his ascension before the day of rest in his resurrection; beside, it is very uncertain whether Christ ascended upon the first day of the week; we are certain that he arose then; and why we should build such a vast change upon an uncertainty I know not. And yet suppose that, by deduction and strength of wit, it might be found out,

yet we see not the Holy Ghost expressly setting it down, viz., that Christ ascended upon the first day of the week, which, if he had intended to have made the ground of our Christian Sabbath, he would surely have done; the first day in the week being ever accounted the Lord's day in Holy Scriptures; and no other first day do we find mentioned on which he ascended, but only on that day wherein he arose from the dead.

Thesis 14. And look, as Christ was a Lamb slain from the foundation of the world meritoriously, but not actually, so he was also risen again in the like manner from the foundation of the world meritoriously, but not actually. Hence it is, that look, as God the Father actually instituted no Sabbath day, until he had actually finished his work of creation, so neither was it meet that this day should be changed until Christ Jesus had actually finished (and not meritoriously only) the work of redemption or restoration; and hence it is that the church, before Christ's coming, might have good reason to sanctify that day, which was instituted upon the actual finishing of the work of creation, and yet might have no reason to observe our Christian Sabbath; the work of restoration and new creation, and rest from it, not being then so much as actually begun.

Thesis 15. Whether our Saviour appointed that first individual day of his resurrection to be the first Christian Sabbath is somewhat difficult to determine; and I would not tie knots, and leave them for others to unloose. This only I aim at: that although the first individual day of Christ's resurrection should not possibly be the first individual Sabbath, yet still the resurrection of Christ is the ground of the institution of the Sabbath, which one consideration dasheth all those devices of some men's heads, who puzzle their readers with many intricacies and difficulties, in showing that the first day of Christ's resurrection could not be the first Sabbath, and thence would infer that the day of his resurrection was not the ground of the institution of the Sabbath, which inference is most false; for it was easy with Christ to make that great work on this day to be the ground of the institution of it, some time after that work was past.

Thesis 16. The sin and fall of man having defaced and spoiled (*de jure*, though not *de facto*) the whole work of creation, as the learned Bishop Lake well observes, it was not so meet therefore that the Sabbath should be ever kept in respect of that work, but rather in respect of this new creation or restoration of all things by Christ, after the actual accomplishment thereof in the day of his resurrection. But look, as God the Father having created the world in six days, he rested therefore

and sanctified the seventh, so this work being spoiled and marred by man's sin, and the new creation being finished and ended, the Lord therefore rested the first day of the week, and therefore sanctified it.

Thesis 17. The fourth commandment gives in the reason why God sanctified the seventh day from the creation, viz.: because God rested on that day, and, as it is in Ex. xxxi. 17, was refreshed in it, that is, took a complacency and delight in his work so done and so finished. But the sin of man in falling from his first creation made God repent that ever he made man, (Gen. vi.,) and consequently the world for man, and therefore it took off that complacency or rest and refreshing in this his work; if, therefore, the Lord betake himself to work a new work, a new creation or renovation of all things in and by his Son, in which he will forever rest, may not the day of his rest be then justly changed into the first of seven, on which day his rest in his new work began, whereof he will never repent? If the Lord vary his rest, may not he vary the time and day of it? Nay, must not the time and day of our rest be varied, because the ground of God's rest in a new work is changed?

Thesis 18. As it was no necessary duty, therefore, perpetually to observe that seventh day wherein God first rested, because his rest on that day is now changed, so also it is not necessary orderly to observe those six days of labor, wherein he first labored and built the world, of which, for the sin of man, he is said to have repented; yet notwithstanding, though it be no necessary duty to observe those particular six days of labor, and that seventh of rest, yet it is a moral duty (as hath been proved) to observe six days for labor, and a seventh for rest; and hence it follows that, although the Lord Christ's rest on the day of his resurrection (the first day of the week) might and may justly be taken as a ground of our rest on the same day, yet his labor in the work of redemption three and thirty years and upward, all the days of his life and humiliation, could not nor can not justly be made the ground or example of our labor, so as we must labor and work thirty-three years together before we keep a Sabbath the day of Christ's rest. Because, although God could alter and change the day of rest without infringement of the morality of the fourth commandment, yet he could not make the example of Christ's labor thirty-three years together the ground and example of our continuance in our work, without manifest breach of that moral rule, viz.: that man shall have six days together for labor, and the seventh for rest. For man may rest the first day of the week, and withal observe six

days for labor, and so keep the fourth commandment; but he can not labor thirty-three years together, and then keep a Sabbath, without apparent breach of the same commandment; and therefore that argument of Master Brabourn against our Christian Sabbath melts into vanity, wherein he urgeth an equity of the change of the days of our labor, "either three days only together, (as Christ did lie in the grave,) or thirty-three years together, (as he did all the days of his humiliation,) in case we will make a change of the Sabbath, from the change of the day of Christ's rest." And yet I confess ingenuously with him, that if the Lord had not instituted the first day of the week to be our Christian Sabbath, all these and such like arguings and reasonings were invalid to prove a change; for man's reason hath nothing to do to change days without divine appointment and institution: these things only I mention why the wisdom of God might well alter the day. The proofs that he hath changed it shall follow in due place.

Thesis 19. The resurrection of Christ may therefore be one ground, not only of the sanctification of the Christian Sabbath, but also a sufficient ground of the abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath. For, first, the greater light may darken the less and a greater work (as the restoration of the world above the creation of it) may overshadow the less. (Jer. xxiii. 7–8; Ex. xii. 2.) Secondly, man's sin spoiled the first rest, and therefore the day of it might be justly abrogated. For the horrible wrath of God had been immediately poured upon man, (as might be proved, and as it was upon the lapsed angels,) and consequently upon all creatures for man's sake, if Christ had not given the Father rest, for whose sake the world was made, (Rev. iv. 11,) and by whose means and mediation the world continues as now it doth. (John vi. 22.)

Thesis 20. Yet although Christ's resurrection be one ground not only of the institution of the new Sabbath, but also of the abrogation of the old, yet it is not the only ground why the old was abrogated; for (as hath been shown) there was some type affixed to the Jewish Sabbath, by reason of which there was just cause to abrogate, or rather (as Calvin calls it) to translate the Sabbath to another day. And, therefore, this dasheth another of Mr. Brabourn's dreams, who argues the continuance of the Jewish Sabbath, because there is a possibility for all nations still to observe it. "For," saith he, "can not we in England as well as they at Jerusalem remember that Sabbath? Secondly, rest in it. Thirdly, keep it holy. Fourthly, keep the whole day holy. Fifthly, the last of seven. Sixthly, and all

this in imitation of God. Could no nation (saith he) besides the Jews observe these six things?" Yes, verily, that they could in respect of natural ability; but the question is not what men may or might do, but what they ought to do, and should do. For besides the change of God's rest through the work of the Son, there was a type affixed to that Jewish Sabbath, for which cause it may justly vanish at Christ's death, as well as other types, in respect of the affixed type, which was but accidental; and yet be continued and preserved in another day, being originally and essentially moral. A Sabbath was instituted in paradise, equally honored by God in the decalogue with all other moral laws, foretold to continue in the days of the gospel, by Ezekiel and Isaiah, (Ezek. xliii. ult.; Is. lvi. 4–6,) and commended by Christ, who bids his people pray that their flight may not be in the winter or Sabbath day, as it were easy to open these places against all cavils; and therefore it is for substance moral. Yet the word *Sabbatism*, (Heb. iv. 9,) and the apostle's gradation from yearly holy days to monthly new moons, and from them to weekly Sabbaths, which are called "shadows of things to come," (Col. ii. 16,) seems strongly to argue some type affixed to those individual Sabbaths, or Jewish seventh days; and hence it is, perhaps, that the Sabbath is set among moral laws in the decalogue, being originally and essentially moral, and yet is set among ceremonial feast days, (Lev. xxiii. 2, 3,) because it is accidentally typical. And therefore Mr. Brabourn need not raise such a dust, and cry out, "O, monstrous! very strange! what a mingle-mangle! what an hotchpotch have we here! what a confusion and jumbling of things so far distant, as when morals and ceremonials are here mingled together!" No, verily, we do not make the fourth commandment essentially ceremonial; but being accidentally so, why may it, notwithstanding this, be mingled among the rest of the morals? Let one solid reason be given, but away with words.

Thesis 21. If the question be, What type is affixed and annexed to the Sabbath? I think it difficult to find out, although man's wanton wit can easily allegorize and readily frame imaginations enough in this point. Some think it typified Christ's rest in the grave; but I fear this will not hold, no more than many other Popish conjectures, wherein their allegorizing postilers abound. Bullinger and some others think that it was typical in respect of the peculiar sacrifices annexed to it, which sacrifices were types of Christ. (Num. xxviii. 9.) And although much might be said for this against that which Mr. Brabourn replies, yet I see nothing cogent in this; for the multiplying of

sacrifices (which were *partes cultus instituti*) on this day proves rather a specialty of worshiping God more abundantly on this day than any ceremonialness in it; for if the offering of sacrifices merely should make a day ceremonial, why did it not make every day ceremonial in respect of every day's offering of the morning and evening sacrifice? Some think that our rest upon the Sabbath (not God the Father's rest, as Mr. Brabourn turns it) was made not only a resemblance, but also a type, of our rest in Christ, of which the apostle speaks, (Heb. iv. 3,) which is therefore called a *Sabbatism*, (ver. 9,) or keeping of a Sabbath, as the word signifies. What others would infer from this place to make the Sabbath to be merely ceremonial, and what Mr. Brabourn would answer from hence, that it is not at all ceremonial, may both of them be easily answered here again, as already they have been in some of the former theses. Some scruples I see not yet through, about this text, enforce me herein to be silent, and therefore to leave it to such as think they may defend it, as one ground of some affixed type unto the Jewish Sabbath.

Thesis 22. Learned Junius goes before us herein, and points out the type affixed to that Sabbath. For besides the first institution of it in paradise, he makes two other causes, which he calls accessory, or affixed and added to it. 1. One was *civilis*, or civil, that men and beasts might rest from their toilsome labor every week. 2. *Ceremonialis*, or ceremonial, for their solemn commemoration of their deliverance out of Egypt, which we know typified our deliverance by Christ. (Deut. v. 15.) Some think, indeed, that their deliverance out of Egypt was upon the Sabbath day; but this I do not urge, because, though it be very probable, yet it is not certain; only this is certain, that they were to sanctify this day because of this their deliverance; and it is certain this deliverance was typical of our deliverance by Christ: and hence it is certain that there was a type affixed to this Sabbath; and because the Scripture is so plain and express in it, I am inclined to think the same which Junius doth, that this is the type rather than any other I have yet heard of; against which I know many things may be objected; only it may be sufficient to clear up the place against that which Mr. Brabourn answers to it.

Thesis 23. "The deliverance out of Egypt," saith he, "is not set down as the ground of the institution of the Sabbath, but only as a motive to the observation thereof; as it was more general in the preface to the decalogue, to the obedience of every other command, which, notwithstanding, are not ceremonial; for God

saith, I am the Lord, who brought thee out of Egypt; therefore keep thou the first, the second, the third, the fifth, the sixth, as well as the fourth commandment; and therefore, saith he, we may make every commandment ceremonial as well as the Sabbath, if the motive of deliverance out of Egypt makes the Sabbath to be so." This is the substance and sinews of his discourse herein; and I confess it is true, their deliverance out of Egypt was not the first ground of the institution of it, but God's rest after his six days' labor; yet it was such a ground as we contend for, viz., a secondary, and an annexed or affixed ground. And that it was not a motive only to observe that day, (as it is in the preface to the decalogue,) but a superadded ground of it, may appear from this one consideration, viz., because that very ground on which the Lord urgeth the observation of the Sabbath in Ex. xx. 11 is wholly left out in the repetition of the law, (Deut. v. 15,) and their deliverance out of Egypt put into the room thereof; for the ground in Ex. xx. 11 is this: "Six days God made heaven and earth, and rested the seventh day and sanctified it;" but instead of these words, and of this ground, we find other words put into their room, (Deut. v. 15:) "Remember thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord brought thee out thence with a mighty hand; therefore the Lord thy God commandeth thee to keep the Sabbath." Which seems to argue strongly that these words are not a mere motive, but another ground of the observation of the Sabbath. And why might not the general motive in the preface to the decalogue serve as a sufficient motive to the obedience of this commandment, if there was no more but a motive in these words of Deuteronomy; and therefore I suppose this was also the ground and affixed type unto the Jewish Sabbath.

Thesis 24. But still the difficulty remains; for Mr. Brabourn will say that those were but human reasons: but what ground is there from Scripture for the institution of another Sabbath, as well as the abrogation of the old? which if it be not cleared, I confess this cause sinks: here, therefore, let it be again observed that we are not to expect such evidence from Scripture concerning this change, (as fond and humorous wit sometimes pleads for,) in this controversy, namely, that Christ should come with drum and trumpet, as it were, upon Mount Zion, and proclaim by word or writing, in so many express words, that the Jewish Sabbath is abrogated, and the first day of the week instituted in its room, to be observed of all Christians to the end of the world. For it is not the Lord's manner so to speak in many other things which concern his kingdom, but as it were occasionally, or in way of

history, or epistle to some particular church or people; and thus he doth concerning the Sabbath; and yet Wisdom's mind is plain enough to them that understand. Nor do I doubt but that those scriptures which are sometimes alleged for the change of the Sabbath, although at the first blush they may not seem to bear up the weight of this cause, yet being thoroughly considered, they are not only sufficient to stablish modest minds, but are also such as may ἐπισιομίζειν, or stop the mouths even of wranglers themselves.

Thesis 25. I do not think that the exercise of holy duties on a day argues that such a day is the Christian Sabbath day; for the apostles preached commonly upon the Jewish Sabbath, sometimes upon the first day of the week also; and therefore the bare exercise of holy duties on a day is no sufficient argument that either the one or the other is the Christian Sabbath; for then there might be two Sabbaths, yea, many Sabbaths, in a week, because there may be many holy duties in several days of the week, which we know is against the morality of the fourth commandment.

Thesis 26. Yet, notwithstanding, although holy duties on a day do not argue such a day to be our Sabbath, yet that day which is set apart for Sabbath services rather than any other day, and is honored above any other day for that end, surely such a day is the Christian Sabbath. Now, if it may appear that the first day of the week was thus honored, then certainly it is to be accounted the Christian Sabbath.

Thesis 27. The primitive pattern churches thus honored the first day of the week; and what they practiced without reproof, that the apostles (who planted those churches) enjoined and preached unto them so to do; at least in such weighty matters as the change of days, of preferring one before that other which the Lord hath honored before; and what the apostles preached, that the Lord Jesus commanded, (Matt. xxviii. 20,) "Go teach all nations that which I command you." Unless any shall think that the apostles sometimes went beyond their commission to teach that to others which Christ never commanded, which is blasphemous to imagine; for though they might err in practice as men, and as Peter did at Antioch, and Paul and Barnabas in their contention, yet in their public ministry they were infallibly and extraordinarily assisted, especially in such things which they hold forth as patterns for after times; if, therefore, the primitive churches thus honored the first day of the week above any other day for Sabbath services, then certainly they were instituted and taught thus to do by the apostles approving of them

herein; and what the apostles taught the churches, that the Lord Jesus commanded to the apostles. So that the approved practice of the churches herein shows what was the doctrine of the apostles; and the doctrine of the apostles shows what was the command of Christ; so that the sanctification of this first day of the week is no human tradition, but a divine institution from Christ himself.

Thesis 28. That the churches honored this day above any other shall appear in its place, as also that the apostles commanded them so to do. Yet Mr. Primrose saith, that this latter is doubtful; and Mr. Ironside (not questioning the matter) falls off with another evasion, viz., that they acted herein not as apostles, but as ordinary pastors, and consequently as fallible men, not only in commanding this change of the Sabbath, but in all other matters of church government, (among which he reckons this of the Sabbath to be one,) which he thinks were imposed according to their private wisdom, as most fit for those times, but not by any apostolical commission as concerning all times. But to imagine that matters of church government in the apostles' days were coats for the moon in respect of after times, and that the form of it is mutable, (as he would have it,) I suppose will be digested by few honest and sober minds in these times, unless they be biased for a season by politic ends, and therefore herein I will not contend; only it may be considered whether any private spirit could abolish that day, which from the beginning of the world God so highly honored, and then honor and advance another day above it, and sanctify it too (as shall be proved) for religious services. Could any do this justly but by immediate dispensation from the Lord Christ Jesus? And if the apostles did thus receive it immediately from Christ, and so teach the observation of it, they could not then teach it as fallible men and as private pastors, as he would have it; a pernicious conceit, enough to undermine the faith of God's elect in many matters more weighty than this of the Sabbath.

Thesis 29. To know when and where the Lord Christ instructed his disciples concerning this change, is needless to inquire. It is sufficient to believe this: that what the primitive churches exemplarily practiced, that was taught them by the apostles who planted them; and that whatsoever the apostles preached, the Lord Christ commanded, as hath been shown. Yet if the change of the Sabbath be a matter appertaining to the kingdom of God, why should we doubt but that, within the space of his forty days' abode with them after his resurrection, he then taught it them? for it is expressly said, that he then taught them such things. (Acts xiii.)

Thesis 30. When the apostles came among the Jews, they preached usually upon the Jewish Sabbath; but this was not because they did think or appoint it herein to be the Christian Sabbath, but that they might take the fittest opportunity and season of meeting with, and so of preaching the gospel to, the Jews in those times. For what power had they to call them together when they saw meet? Or, if they had, yet was it meet for them thus to do, before they were sufficiently instructed about God's mind for setting apart some other time? And how could they be sufficiently and seasonably instructed herein without watching the advantage of those times which the Jews thought were the only Sabbaths? The days of pentecost, passover, and hours of prayer in the temple are to be observed still as well as the Jewish Sabbath, if the apostles' preaching on their Sabbaths argues the continuance of them, as Mr. Brabourn argues; for we know that they preached also, and went up purposely to Jerusalem, at such times, to preach among them, as well as upon the Sabbath days; look therefore, as they laid hold upon the days of pentecost and passover as the fittest seasons to preach to the Jews, but not thinking that such feasts should still be continued, so it is in their preaching upon the Jewish Sabbaths.

Thesis 31. Nor did the apostles sinfully Judaize by preaching to the Jews upon their Sabbaths, (as Mr. Brabourn would infer;) supposing that their Sabbaths should not be still observed, they should then Judaize and after ceremonies, (saith he,) and so build up those things which they labored to destroy. For suppose they did observe such days and Sabbaths as were ceremonial for a time, yet it being done not in conscience of the day, but in conscience of taking so fit a season to preach the gospel in, it could not nor can not be any sinful Judaizing, especially while then the Jews were not sufficiently instructed about the abolishing of those things. For Mr. Brabourn could not but know that all the Jewish ceremonies, being once the appointment of God, were to have an honorable burial, and that therefore they might be lawfully observed for a time among the Jews, until they were more fully instructed about them; and hence Paul circumcised Timothy because of the Jews, (Acts xvi. 3,) and did otherwise conform to them, that so he might win and gain the more upon them; and if Paul observed purposely a Jewish ceremony of circumcision which was not necessary, nay, which was not lawful to be observed among the Gentiles, (Gal. v. 2,) and yet he observed it to gain the Jews, why might not Paul much more preach the gospel, which is in itself a necessary duty, upon a Jewish Sabbath which fell out occasionally to him, and therefore

might lawfully be observed for such an end among the Jews, which among the Gentiles might be unlawful? Suppose therefore that the apostles might have taught the Jews from house to house, (as Mr. Brabourn argues against the necessity put upon the apostles to preach upon the Jewish Sabbath,) yet what reason or conscience was there to lose the opportunity of public preaching for the more plentiful gathering in of souls, when many are met together, and which may lawfully be done, and be contented only to seek their good in such private ways? And what although Paul did assemble the chief of the Jews together at Rome, when he was a prisoner, to acquaint them with civil matters about his imprisonment, (Acts xxviii. 17;) yet had he power to do thus in all places where he came? or was it meet for him so to do? Did not he submit the appointment of a sacred assembly to hear the word rather unto them than assume it to himself? (Acts xxviii. 23.) It is therefore false and unsound which Mr. Brabourn affirms, viz., that Paul did preach on the Jewish Sabbath in conscience of the day, not merely with respect of the opportunity he then took from their own public meetings then to preach to them; for (saith he) Paul had power to assemble them together on other days. This, I say, is both false; for he that was so much spoken against among them might not in all places be able to put forth such a power; as also it is unsound; for suppose he had such a power, yet whether it was so meet for him to put it forth in appointing other times, may be easily judged of by what hath been said.

Thesis 32. Nor is there a foundation here laid of making all other actions of the apostles unwarrantable or unimitable, (as Mr. Brabourn saith,) because we are not to imitate the apostles herein in preaching upon the Jewish Sabbaths. For no actions either of Christ or the apostles, which were done merely in respect of some special occasion, or special reason, are, *ea tenus*, or in that respect, binding to others; for the example of Christ eating the Lord's supper only with men, not women, in an upper chamber, and toward the dark evening, doth not bind us to exclude women, or not to celebrate in other places and times, because we know that these actions were merely occasioned in respect of special reasons, (as the eating of the passover with one's own family, Christ's family not consisting of women,) so it is here in respect of the Sabbath. The apostles preaching upon the Jewish Sabbaths was merely occasional, by occasion of the public meetings (their fittest time to do good in) which were upon this and any other day.

Thesis 33. Now, although the Jews observing this day, the

apostles observed it among the Jews by preaching among them, yet we shall find that among the Christian Gentile churches and believers, (where no Judaism was to be so much as tolerated for a time,) not any such day was thus observed; nay, another day, the first day in the week, is honored and preferred by the apostles above any other day in the week for religious and Sabbath services. For, although holy duties do not argue always a holy day, yet when we shall find the Holy Ghost single out and nominate one particular day to be observed and honored rather than any other day, and rather than the Jewish seventh day itself, for Sabbath services and holy duties, this undeniably proves that day to be the Christian Sabbath, and this we shall make evident to be the first day of the week; which one thing seriously minded (if proved) doth utterly subvert the whole frame and force of Mr. Brabourn's shady discourse for the observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and most effectually establisheth the Christian Sabbath. Mr. Brabourn therefore herein bestirs his wits, and tells us, on the contrary, that Paul preached not only to the Jews, but even unto the Gentiles, upon this Jewish Sabbath, rather than any other day; and for this end brings double proof: one is Acts xiii. 42, 44, where the Gentiles are said to desire Paul to preach to them, εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον, i. e., the week between, or any day between till the next Sabbath, (as some translate it,) or (if Mr. Brabourn will) the next Sabbath, or Jewish Sabbath, when almost all the city came out to hear Paul, who were most of them Gentiles, not Jews. Be it so, they were Gentiles indeed; but as yet no church or Christian church of Gentiles actually under Christ's government and ordinances, among whom (I say) the first day of the week was so much honored above any other day for sacred assemblies. For it is no wonder if the apostles yield to their desires in preaching any time of the week which they thought the best time, even upon the Jewish Sabbath, among whom the Jews being mingled, they might have the fitter opportunity to preach to them also, and so become all things to all men to gain some. His second proof is Acts xvi. 12, 13; and here he tells us that Paul and Timothy preached, not to the Jews, but to the Gentiles, upon the Sabbath day. I confess they are not called *Jews* no more than it is said that they were *Gentiles;* but why might not Lydia and her company be Jews or Jewish proselytes, who, we know, did observe the Jewish Sabbath strictly till they were better instructed, as they did all other Jewish ceremonies also? For Lydia is expressly said to be one who worshiped God before Paul came. Mr. Brabourn tells us they were no Jewish proselytes, because they had no Jewish syna-

gogue, and therefore they were fain to go out of the city into the fields, beside a river to pray. I confess the text saith that they went out to a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; but that this was the open fields, and that there was no oratory, house, or place of shelter to meet and pray in, this is not in the text, but it is Mr. Brabourn's comment and gloss on it. But suppose it was in the open fields, and that they had no synagogue; yet will it follow that these were not Jews? Might not the Jews be in a Gentile city for a time, without any synagogue, especially if their number be but small, and this small number consist chiefly of women, as it seems this did, whose hearts God touched, leaving their husbands to their own ways? If they were not Jews, or Jewish proselytes, why did they choose the Sabbath day, (which the Jews so much set by,) rather than any other, to pray and worship God together in? But verily such answers as these, wherewith the poor man abounds in his treatise, make me extremely fear that he rather stretched his conscience than was acted by a plain deluded conscience in this point of the Sabbath.

Thesis 34. It remains, therefore, to prove that the first day of the week is the Christian Sabbath by divine institution; and this may appear from those three texts of Scripture ordinarily alleged for this end: 1. Acts xx. 7; 2. 1 Cor. xvi. 2; 3. Rev. i. 10; which, being taken jointly together, hold these three things: —

1. That the first day of the week was honored above any other day for Sabbath services in the primitive church's practice, as is evident, Acts xx. 7.

2. That the apostles commanded the observation of this day rather than any other for Sabbath services, as is evident, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

3. That this day is holy, and sanctified to be holy to the Lord above any other day, and therefore it hath the Lord's name upon it, (a usual sign of things holy to him,) and therefore called the Lord's day, as is evident, Rev. i. 10; but these things need more particular explication.

Thesis 35. In the first of these places, (Acts xx. 7,) these particulars are manifest: —

1. That the church of Troas (called disciples) publicly and generally now met together, so that it was no private church meeting, (as some say,) but general and open, according as those times would give leave.

2. That this meeting was upon the first day of the week, called ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων: which phrase, although Gomarus, Primrose, Heylin, and many others go about to translate thus,

viz., upon one of the days of the week. Yet this is sufficient to dash that dream, (besides what else might be said,) viz., that this phrase is expounded in other Scriptures to be the first day of the week, (Luke xxiv. 1 ; John xx. 1,) but never to be found throughout all the Scriptures expounded of one day in the week. Gomarus indeed tells us of ἐν μιᾷ ἡμερῶν, (Luke v. 17, and viii. 22, and xx. 1,) which is translated *quodam die*, or a certain day; but this will not help him, for this is not ἐν τῇ μιᾷ των σαββάτων, as it is in this place.

3. That the end of this meeting was holy duties, viz., to break bread, or to receive the Lord's supper, as the phrase is expounded, (Acts ii. 43,) which was therefore accompanied with preaching the word and prayer, holy preparation and serious meditation about those great mysteries. Nor can this breaking of bread be interpreted of their love feasts, or common suppers, as Gomarus suspects. For their love feasts and common suppers were not of the whole church together, (as this was,) but in several houses, as Mr. Cartwright proves from Acts ii. 46. And although the Corinthians used their love feasts in public, yet they are sadly reproved for it by the apostle, (1 Cor. xi. 12,) and therefore he would not allow it here.

4. It is not said that Paul called them together because he was to depart the next day, or that they purposely declined the Lord's supper till that day because then Paul was to depart, (as Mr. Primrose urgeth ;) but the text speaks of it as of a time and day usually observed of them before, and therefore it is said, that "when they came together to break bread;" and Paul therefore took his opportunity of preaching to them, and seems to stay purposely, and wait seven days among them, that he might communicate with them, and preach unto them in this ordinary time of public meeting; and therefore, though he might privately instruct and preach to them the other seven days, yet his preaching now is mentioned in regard of some special solemnity of meeting on this day.

5. The first day was honored above any other day for these holy duties, or else why did they not meet upon the last day of the week, the Jewish Sabbath, for these ends? For if the Christian churches were bound to observe the Jewish Sabbath, why did they not meet then, and honor the seventh day above the first day? considering that it was but the day before, and therefore might easily have done it, more fitly, too, had that seventh day been the Christian Sabbath.

6. Why is the first day of the week mentioned, which is attributed only in the New Testament to the day of Christ's resur-

rection, unless this day was then usually honored and sanctified for holy duties, called here breaking of bread, by a synecdoche of a part for the whole, and therefore comprehends all other Sabbath duties? For there is no more reason to exclude prayer, preaching, singing of psalms, etc., because these are not mentioned, than to exclude drinking of wine in the sacrament, (as the blind Papists do,) because this neither is here made mention of. Mr. Primrose indeed tells us that it may be the first day of the week is named in respect of the miracle done in it upon Eutychus. But the text is plain; the time of the meeting is mentioned, and the end of it to break bread, and the miracle is but brought in as a particular event which happened on this day, which was set apart first for higher ends.

7. Nor is it said in the text that the church of Troas met every day together to receive the sacrament, (as Mr. Primrose suggests,) and that therefore this action of breaking bread was done without respect to any particular or special day, it being performed every day. For I do not find that the primitive church received the Lord's supper every day; for though it be said (Acts ii. 42) that the church continued in the apostles' fellowship and breaking of bread; yet it is not said that they brake bread every day. They are indeed said to be daily in the temple, (ver. 46,) but not that they brake bread every day in the temple, or from house to house, or if they should, yet the breaking of bread in this verse is meant of common, not sacred bread, as it is verse 42, where I think the bread was no more common than their continuance in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship was common; and therefore in this 46th verse the phrase is altered, and the original word properly signifies ordinary bread for common nourishment. And yet suppose they did receive the sacrament every day, yet here the breaking of bread is made mention of as the *opus diei*, or the special business of the day; and the day is mentioned as the special time for such a purpose; and hence no other day (if they brake bread in it) is mentioned, and therefore it is called in effect "the day of meeting to break bread." Nor do I find in all the Scripture a day distinctly mentioned for holy duties, (as this first day of the week is,) wherein a whole people or church meet together for such ends; but that day was holy: the naming of the particular day for such ends implies the holiness of it, and the time is purposely mentioned, that others in aftertimes might purposely and specially observe that day.

8. Nor is it said that the disciples met together the night after the first day; but it is expressly said to be upon the first day of

the week: and suppose (as Mr. Brabourn saith) that their meeting was not together in the morning, but only in the evening time to celebrate the Lord's supper, a little before the shutting in of the day; yet it is a sufficient ground for conscience to observe this day above any other for holy services, although every part of the day be not filled up with public and church duties; for suppose the Levites on the Jewish Sabbath should do no holy public duty on their own Sabbath until the day was far spent; will Mr. Brabourn argue from thence that the Jewish Sabbath was not wholly holy unto God? But again: suppose the latter part of the day was spent in breaking of bread; yet will it follow that no other part of the day was spent before, either in any private or public holy duties? Possibly they might receive the Lord's supper in the evening of this Sabbath, (for the time of this action is in the general indifferent;) yet might they not spend the rest of the morning in public duties, as we know some do now in some churches, who are said to meet together to break bread the latter part of this day, and yet sanctify the Sabbath the whole day before? Suppose it be not expressly said that they did shut up shop windows at Troas, and forsake the plow and the wheel, and abstain from all servile work; yet if he believes that no more was done this day but what is expressly set down, Mr. Brabourn must needs see a pitiful face of Christ in the Lord's supper, and people coming rushing upon it without any serious examination or preparation, or singing of psalms, because no such duties as these are mentioned to be upon this day.

9. Lastly, Master Primrose, like a staggering man, knows not what to fasten on in answer to this place, and therefore tells us, that suppose it was a Sabbath, yet that it might be taken up from the church's liberty and custom, rather than from any divine institution; but besides that which hath been said to dash his dream, (Thesis. 27,) the falseness of this common and bold assertion will appear more fully in the explication of the second text, (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2,) which now follows, wherein it will appear to be an apostolical (and therefore a divine) institution from Jesus Christ.

Thesis 36. In the second of the places therefore alleged, (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2,) these things are considerable to prove the first day in the week to be the Christian Sabbath, and that not so much by the church's practice, as by the apostle's precept; for, —

1. Although it be true, that in some cases collections may be made any day for the poor saints, yet why doth the apostle here limit them to this day for the performance of this duty? They

that translate *κατὰ μ'αν σαββάτων*, upon one day of the week, do miserably mistake the phrase, which in Scripture phrase only signifies the first day of it, and beat their foreheads against the main scope of the apostle, viz., to fix a certain day for such a duty as required such a certain time; for they might (by this translation) collect their benevolences one day in four or ten years, for then it should be done one day in a week.

2. The apostle doth not only limit them to this time, but also all the churches of Galatia, (ver. 1,) and consequently all other churches, if that be true, (2 Cor. viii. 13, 14,) wherein the apostle professeth he presseth not one church, that he may ease another church, but that there be an equality; and although I see no ground, from this text, that the maintenance of the ministry should be raised every Sabbath day, (for Christ would not have them reckoned among the poor, being laborers worthy of their hire,) and although this collection was for the poor saints of other churches, yet the proportion strongly holds, that if there be ordinary cause of such collections in every particular church, these collections should be made the first day of the week, much more carefully and religiously for the poor of one's own church; and that in all the churches of Christ Jesus to the end of the world.

3. The apostle doth not limit them thus with wishes, and counsels only to do it if they thought most meet, but *ὥσπερ διέταξα*, (ver. 1,) as I have ordained, or instituted; and therefore binds their consciences to it; and if Paul ordained it, certainly he had it from Christ Jesus, who first commanded him so to appoint it; who professeth that what he had received of the Lord, that only he commanded unto them to do. (1 Cor. xi. 13.)

4. If this day had not been more holy and more fit for this work of love than any other day, he durst not have limited them to this day, nor durst he have honored this day above any other in the week, yea, above the Jewish seventh day. For we see the very apostle tender always of Christian liberty, and not to bind where the Lord leaves his people free; for thus doing he should rather make snares than laws for churches, (1 Cor. vii. 27, 35,) and go expressly against his own doctrine, (Gal. v. 1,) who bids them "stand fast in their liberty," and that in this very point of the observation of days. (Gal. iv. 10.) But what fitness was there on this day for such a service? Consider therefore, —

5. That the apostle doth not in this place immediately appoint and institute the Sabbath, but supposeth it to be so already, (as Mr. Primrose is forced to acknowledge,) and we know duties of mercy and charity, as well as of necessity and piety, are Sabbath

duties; for which end this day (which Beza finds in an ancient manuscript to be called the Lord's day) was more fit for those collections than any other day; partly because they usually met together publicly on this day, and so their collections might be in a greater readiness against Paul's coming; partly, also, that they might give more liberally, at least freely, it being supposed that upon this day men's hearts are more weaned from the world, and are warmed, by the word and ordinances, with more lively faith and hope of better things to come, and therefore, having received spiritual things from the Lord more plentifully on this day, every man will be more free to impart of his temporal good things therein for refreshing of the poor saints, and the very bowels of Christ Jesus. And what other reason can be given of limiting this collection to this day I confess I can not honestly (though I could wickedly) imagine. And certainly if this was the end, and withal the Jewish day was the Christian Sabbath, the apostle would never have thus limited them to this day, nor honored and exalted this first day before that Jewish seventh; which if it had been the Christian Sabbath, had been more fit for such a work as this than the first day (if a working day) could be.

6. Suppose therefore that this apostolical and divine institution is to give their collections, but not to institute the day, (as Master Primrose pleads;) suppose also that they were not every Lord's day or first day, but sometimes upon the first day; suppose also that they were extraordinary, and for the poor of other churches, and to continue for that time only of their need; suppose also that no man is enjoined to bring into the public treasury of the church, but (παρ ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω) privately to lay it by on this day by himself, (as Mr. Brabourn urgeth against this text,) yet still the question remains unanswered, viz.: Why should the apostle limit them to this day? Either for extraordinary or private collections, and such special acts of mercy, unless the Lord had honored this day for acts of mercy (and much more of piety) above any other ordinary and common day? What then could this day be but the Christian Sabbath imposed by the apostles, and magnified and honored by all the churches in those days? I know there are some other replies made to this scripture by Mr. Brabourn; but they are wind eggs (as Plutarch calls that philosopher's notions,) and have but little in them; and therefore I pass them by as I do many other things in that book as not worth the time to name them.

7. This, lastly, I add, this first day was thus honored either by divine or human institution; if by divine, we have what we

plead for; if by human custom and tradition, then the apostle assuredly would never have commended the observation of this day, who elsewhere condemns the observation of days, though the days were formerly by divine institution. "Ye observe," saith he, "days and times;" and would he then have commended the observation of these days above any other which are only by human, but never by divine institution? It is strange that the churches of Galatia are forbidden the observation of days, (Gal. iv. 10,) and yet commanded (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2) a more sacred and solemn observation of the first day of the week rather than any other. Surely, this could not be, unless we conclude a divine institution hereof. For we know how zealous the holy apostle is every where to strike at human customs, and therefore could not lay a stumbling block (to occasion the grievous fall of churches) to allow and command them to observe a human tradition, and to honor this above the seventh day for such holy services as are here made mention of. But whether this day was solemnly sanctified as the Sabbath of the Lord our God, we come now to inquire.

Thesis 37. In the third text, (Rev. i. 10,) mention is made of the Lord's day, which was ever accounted the first day of the week. It seems, therefore, to be the Lord's day, and consequently the Sabbath of the Lord our God. Two things are needful here to be considered and cleared: —

1. That this day being called the Lord's day, it is therefore set apart and sanctified by the Lord Christ as holy.

2. That this day thus sanctified is the first day of the week, and therefore that first day is our holy or Sabbath day.

Thesis 38. The first difficulty here to prove and clear up is, that this day, which is here called the Lord's day, is a day instituted and sanctified for the Lord's honor and service above any other day. For, as the sacrament of bread and wine is called the Lord's supper, and the Lord's table, for no other reason but because they were instituted by Christ, and sanctified for him and his honor, so what other reason can be given by any Scripture light why this is called the Lord's day, but because it was in the like manner instituted and sanctified as they were? Mr. Brabourn here shifts away from the light of this text, by affirming that it might be called the Lord's day in respect of God the Creator, not Christ the Redeemer, and therefore may be meant of the Jewish Sabbath, which is called the Lord's holy day. (Is. lviii. 3.) But why might he not as well say, that it is called the Lord's supper and table, in respect of God the Creator, considering that in the New Testament, since Christ is actually exalted

to be Lord of all, this phrase is only applied to the Lord Christ as Redeemer? Look, therefore, as the Jewish Sabbath, being called the Lord's Sabbath, or the Sabbath of Jehovah, is by that title and note certainly known to be a day sanctified by Jehovah, as Creator, so this day, being called the Lord's day, is by this note as certainly known to be a day sanctified by our Lord Jesus, as Redeemer. Nor do I find any one distinct thing in all the Scripture which hath the Lord's superscription or name upon it, (as the Lord's temple, the Lord's offerings, the Lord's people, the Lord's priests, etc.,) but it is sanctified of God and holy to him. Why is not this day, then, holy to the Lord, if it equally bears the Lord's name? Master Primrose, indeed, puts us off with another shift, viz., that this day being called so by the church's customs, John, therefore, calls it so in respect of that custom which the church then used, without divine institution. But why may not he as well say that he calls it the Lord's table in respect of the church's custom also? The designation of a day, and of the first time in the day for holy public services, is, indeed, in the power of each particular church, (suppose it be a lecture, and the hours of Sabbath meetings;) but the sanctification of a day, if it be divine worship, to observe it if God command and appoint it, then surely it is will worship for any human custom to institute it. Now, the Lord's name being stamped upon this day, and so set apart for the honor of Christ, it can not be that so it should be called in respect of the church's custom; for surely then they should have been condemned for will worship by some of the apostles; and therefore it is in respect of the Lord's institution hereof.

Thesis 39. The second difficulty now lies in clearing up this particular, viz., that this day, thus sanctified, was the first day of the week, which is therefore the holy day of the Lord our God, and consequently the Christian Sabbath: for this purpose let these ensuing particulars be laid together.

1. That this day of which John speaks is a known day, and was generally known in those days by this glorious name of the Lord's day, and therefore the apostle gives no other title to it but the Lord's day, as a known day in those times; for the scope of John in this vision is, as in all other prophetical visions when they set down the day and time of it, to gain the more credit to the certainty of it, when every one sees the truth circumstantiated, and they hear of the particular time; and it may seem most absurd to set down the day and time for such an end, and yet the day is not particularly known.

2. If it was a known day, what day can it be either by

evidence of Scripture, or any antiquity, but the first day of the week? For, —

1. There is no other day on which mention is made of any other work or action of Christ which might occasion a holy day, but only this of the resurrection, which is exactly noted of all the evangelists to be upon the first day of the week, and by which work he is expressly said to have all power given him in heaven and earth, (Matt. xxviii. 18,) and to be actually Lord of dead and living, (Rom. xiv. 9;) and therefore why should any other Lord's day be dreamed of? Why should Master Brabourn imagine that this day might be some superstitious Easter day, which happens once a year? the Holy Ghost, on the contrary, not setting down the month or day of the year, but of the week wherein Christ arose, and therefore it must be meant of a weekly holy day here called the Lord's day.

2. We do not read of any other day besides this first day of the week, which was observed for holy Sabbath duties, and honored above any other day for breaking of bread, for preaching the word, (which were acts of piety,) nor for collections for the poor, (the most eminent act of mercy:) why, then, should any imagine any other day to be the Lord's day, but that first day?

3. There seems to be much in that which Beza observes out of an ancient Greek manuscript wherein that first day of the week (1 Cor. xvi. 2) is expressly called the Lord's day; and the Syriac translation saith that their meeting together to receive the sacrament (1 Cor. xi. 20) was upon the Lord's day; nor is there any antiquity but expounds this Lord's day of the first day of the week, as learned Rivet makes good against Gomarus, professing that *Quotquot interpretes hactenus ferunt, hæc verba de die resurrectionis Domini intellexerunt; solus quod quidem sciam, Cl. D. Gomarus contradixit.*

4. Look, as Jehovah's or the Lord's holy day (Is. lviii. 13) was the seventh day in the week then in use in the Old Testament, so why should not this Lord's day be meant of some seventh day, (the first of seven in the week which the Lord appointed, and the church observed under the New Testament,) and therefore called (as that was) the Lord's day?

5. There can be no other day imagined but this to be the Lord's day. Indeed, Gomarus affirms that it is called the Lord's day, because of the Lord Jesus' apparition in vision to John; and therefore he tells that, in Scripture phrase, the day of the Lord is such a day wherein the Lord manifests himself either in wrath or in favor, as here to John. But there is a great difference between those phrases; the Lord's day, and the day of the

Lord, which it is not called here. For such an interpretation of the Lord's day, as if it was an uncertain time, is directly cross to the scope of John in setting down this vision, who, to beget more credit to it, tells us, first, of the person that saw it, — I, John, — (Rev. i. 9;) secondly, the particular place, in Patmos; thirdly, the particular time, the Lord's day.

These considerations do utterly subvert Mr. Brabourn's discourse, to prove the Jewish Sabbath to be the Lord's day, which we are still to observe, and may be sufficient to answer the scruples of modest and humble minds; for, if we ask the time of it, it is on the first day of the week. Would we know whether this time was spent in holy duties and Sabbath services? This also hath been proved. Would we know whether it was sanctified for that end? Yes, verily, because it is called the Lord's day, and consequently all servile work was and is to be laid aside in it. Would we know whether it is the Christian Sabbath day? Verily, if it be the day of the Lord our God, (the Lord's day,) why is it not the Sabbath of the Lord our God? If it be exalted and honored by the apostles of Christ above the Jewish Sabbath for Sabbath duties, why should we not believe but that it was our Sabbath day? And although the words *Sabbath day*, or *seventh day*, be not expressly mentioned, yet if they be for substance in this day, and by just consequence deduced from Scripture, it is all one as if the Lord had expressly called them so.

Thesis 40. Hence therefore it follows, that although this particular seventh day, which is the first of seven, be not particularly made mention of in the fourth commandment, yet the last of seven being abrogated, and this being instituted in its room, it is therefore to be perpetuated and observed in its room. For though it be true (as Mr. Brabourn urgeth) that new institutions can not be founded, no, not by analogy of proportion, merely upon old institutions, as, because children were circumcised, it will not follow that they are therefore to be baptized, and so because the Jews kept that seventh day, that we may therefore keep the first day; yet this is certain, that when new things are instituted not by human analogy, but by divine appointment, the application of these may stand by virtue of old precepts and general rules, from whence the application even of old institutions formerly arose. For we know that the *cultus institutus* in the New Testament, in ministry and sacraments, stands at this day by virtue of the second commandment, as well as the instituted worship under the Old. And though baptism stands not by virtue of the institution of circumcision, yet it being, *de novo*, instituted by Christ, as the seal of initiation into Christ's mystical body, (1 Cor. xii. 12,) it

now stands by virtue of that general rule by which circumcision itself was administered, viz., that the seal of initiation into Christ's body be applied to all the visible members of that body; and hence children are to be now baptized, as once they were circumcised, being members of Christ's body. So the first day of the week being instituted to be the Lord's day, or Lord's Sabbath, hence it follows, that, if the first seventh, which is now abrogated, was once observed because it was the Lord's Sabbath, or the Sabbath day which God appointed, — by the very same rule, and on the very same ground, we also are bound to keep this first day, being also the Sabbath of the Lord our God, which he hath now appointed anew under the New Testament.

Thesis 41. It is true that some of the primitive churches, in the eastern parts, did for some hundred of years observe both Sabbaths, both Jewish and Christian. But they did this without warrant from God, (who allows but one Sabbath in a week,) and also against the rule of the apostles; for I think that Paul, foreseeing this observation of days and Jewish Sabbaths to be stirring and ready to creep into the church, that he did therefore condemn the same in his Epistles to the Galatians and Colossians; and that therefore Christian emperors and councils, in after times, did well and wisely both to condemn the observations of the one and withal honor the other.

Thesis 42. Although the work of redemption be applied unto few in respect of the special benefits of it, yet Christ, by his death, is made Heir and Lord of all things, being now set down at the right hand of God, and there is some benefit which befalls all the world by Christ's redemption; and the government of all things is not now in the hand of God as Creator, but in the hand of a Mediator, (Heb. i. 1, 2; ii. 8, 9; John v. 22; Col. i. 16, 17; 1 Tim. iv. 10; John iii. 35;) and hence it is no wonder if all men, as well as a few elected, selected, and called, be commanded to sanctify the Lord's day, as once they were the Jewish seventh day; the work of Christ being in some respect of as great extent, through all the work of creation, as the work of the Father. And therefore it is a great feebleness in Mr. Brabourn to go about to vilify the work of redemption, and extol that of creation above it; and that therefore the Sabbath ought still to be kept in reference to the work of creation, which concerns all men, rather than in respect of redemption, which he imagines concerneth only some few.

Thesis 43. The Lord Christ rested from the work of redemption by price, upon the day of his resurrection; but he is not yet at rest from the work of redemption by power, until the

day of our resurrection and glory be perfected. But it doth not hence follow (as Mr. Primrose imagines) that there is no Lord's day instituted in respect of Christ's resurrection, because he hath not, nor did not then rest from redemption by power; for look, as the Father, having rested from the works of creation, might therefore appoint a day of rest, although he did not, nor doth not yet rest from providence, (John v. 17,) so the Lord Christ having finished the great work of redemption, he might justly appoint a day of rest, although his redeeming work by power was yet behind.

Thesis 44. The heavy and visible judgments of God revealed from heaven against profaneness of this our Lord's day Sabbath will one day be a convincing argument of holiness of this day, when the Lord himself shall have the immediate handling and pressing of it. Meanwhile I confess my weakness to convince an adversary by it; nor will I contend with any other arguments from antiquity for the observation of this day; but these may suffice, which are alleged from the holy word.

THE

BEGINNING OF THE SABBATH.

Thesis 1. It is a holy labor (saith one) to inquire after the beginning of holy rest. The Sabbath can not be so sweetly sanctified unless we know the time when to begin and end it; the different apprehensions of such as have inquired after the truth in this particular have made way for the more clear and distinct knowledge of it, it being the privilege of truth to be more purified, and shine the brighter, by passing through the heats and fires of men's contentions and disputations.

Thesis 2. There being therefore five several opinions concerning this particular, it may not be unuseful to bring them all to the balance and touchstone, that so by snuffing the candle, and rejecting that which is false, the light of truth may shine the brighter at last.

Thesis 3. Some there be who make the time mutable and various, affirming that God hath not fixed any set time, or that he stands upon or would have his people troubled with such niceties; so long as the day be observed, (say they,) it is no matter when it be begun: nor do they make this variation to be according to that which God allows, (suppose from sun to sun, sooner or later, as the time of the year is,) but according to the civil customs of several nations, as they variously begin or end their days among whom they live; as suppose they live among Romans, they think they may begin it at midnight; if with Babylonians, at sunrising; if among Grecians, at sunset; if among Umbrians and Arabians, at midday.

Thesis 4. If the Scripture had left us such a liberty as this, viz., to measure the beginning of the day according to human custom, a scrupulous conscience (I think) might have a most and ready quieting answer here; but it will be found too true, that though civil and common time may admit of such variations as may best suit with their manner and occasions, yet sacred and

holy time is not dependent upon human customs, but upon divine institutions; for which purpose God hath made the lights of heaven to be for seasons, (Gen. i. 14,) to be guides and helps to begin and end the seasons and days which he shall appoint.

Thesis 5. It is true that it suits not with God's wisdom to determine all particular circumstances of things (which are almost innumerable and infinite) by the express letter of the Scripture; and therefore he hath left us a few general rules to direct us therein; yet for the Lord to leave the determination of some circumstances to human liberty would be very perilous. The temple was but a circumstance of place, and King Uzziah, in offering incense, varied only in a circumstance of person; yet we know that the ten tribes were carried away captive for not sacrificing at the temple, and Uzziah smitten with leprosy till his death; so the Lord having determined the seventh day to be his, what now should hinder but that he should determine the beginning also thereof?

Thesis 6. If God hath been accurately careful to fix the beginning of other feasts and holy days, far inferior unto this, as appeareth, Lev. xxiii. 23, Ex. xii. 6, why should we think that the Lord is less careful about the beginning of his Sabbath?

Thesis 7. If the Lord hath not left it to human wisdom to set down the bounds and limits of holy places, (as appears in the temple, tabernacle, and all their appurtenances,) why should we think that he hath left it to man's wisdom to limit and determine holy time?

Thesis 8. If the Lord will have a special time of worship once within the circle of seven days, and not appoint the time for the beginning and end of it, might he not lose much of the beauty of the holiness of the day, every thing being beautiful in its season? May not man begin the day at such a season as may not be beautiful?

Thesis 9. The deputation of time for holy uses upon occasion is allowed to man; yet sanctification of time, and to set the bounds and limits of it, is left to no man; sanctification not only positive, but relative, (as here in the Sabbath,) being as proper to the Holy Ghost as creation to the Father, and redemption to the Son.

Thesis 10. Application of holy time to the performance of holy duties on the Sabbath (as to fix what hours to meet in upon that day) is left to human prudence from general rules of conveniency, order, comeliness; but consecration of constant and fixed time is the Lord's propriety, not only of the middle, but of the beginning and end thereof.

Thesis 11. The Scriptures have left the determination of the beginning of the Sabbath no more to civil nations, and their customs, than to particular churches, and each particular person; for they may all equally plead against the Lord's strictness to any exact beginning of time; but if such a loose liberty were granted, a world of confusion, scandal, and division would soon appear; for some persons might then begin it at midnight, some at midday; some might measure the beginning of the Sabbath according to their sleeping sooner or later on the Sabbath day morning; some might be plowing, or dancing and drinking, when others are praying and hearing of the word; and who could restrain them herein? for they might plead the Sabbath is not yet begun to them.

Thesis 12. If, therefore, God hath sanctified a set time, he hath set and sanctified the bounds and limits of that time; and to begin the time when we list, it may sometimes arise from weakness, but usually it is a fruit of looseness of heart, which secretly loves to live as it lists, which would not conform to God's rule, and therefore will crook and bend the rule to its humor, which will not come up to God's time, and therefore make God to come down to theirs.

Thesis 13. Others there be who give God the honor of determining the beginning and end of the day, but they cut him short of one half of it, in that they make the artificial day, or the daylight, from sunrising to sunsetting, to be the day of his Sabbath. Thus some affirm downright. Others more modestly say that conscience ought not to be scrupulous, nor trouble itself, if they conscientiously give God the honor of the Sabbath daylight, having some general preparations for it the night before, and good affections the night after.

Thesis 14. But if the daylight be the measure of the Sabbath, those that live in some part of the Russia and East land must have once a year a very long Sabbath, for there are some times of the year wherein they have daylight a month together.

Thesis 15. If God give us six natural days to labor in, is it not fit that the seventh day should bear an equal proportion with every working day? And therefore it is not an artificial, but a natural day, consisting of twenty-four hours, which we must in conscience allow unto God to be the Sabbath day.

Thesis 16. It is true that the night is given to man to rest in, it being most fit for that end; but it is not necessary that all the weekly nights be spent in sleep, for we then do labor, and God's providence puts men generally upon it to labor in their callings early and late those nights, and the Lord allows it; nay,

it would be sin and idleness in many not to do it; besides that sleep and rest which is to be taken in the night, it is *in ordine*, or in reference to day labor, and is as a whet thereunto; and in this respect the whole weekly night, as well as the day, is for labor; as the sleep we take on Sabbath night is *in ordine*, or with respect to spiritual rest, and so that whole natural day is a day of spiritual rest. It is therefore a vain thing for any to make the nights of the six working days to be no part of the six working days, because (they say) they are given to man to rest and sleep in; for upon the same ground they may make the artificial days no days of labor neither, because there must be ordinarily some time taken out of them to eat, drink, and refresh our weak bodies in.

Thesis 17. If Nehemiah shut the gates of the city when it began to be dark, lest that nighttime should be profaned by bearing burdens in it, then certainly the time of night was sanctified of God as well as the day; to say that this act was but a just preparation for the Sabbath is said without proof, for if God allows men six days and nights to labor in, what equity can there be in forbidding all servile work a whole night together which God hath allowed man for labor? And although we ought to make preparation for the Sabbath, yet the time and measure of it is left to each man's Christian liberty; but for a civil magistrate to impose twelve hours' preparation for the Sabbath is surely both against Christian liberty, and God's allowance also. Again: Nehemiah did this, lest the men of Tyre should occasion the Jews to break the Sabbath day by bringing in wares upon that night; so as, if that night therefore had not been part of the Sabbath, they could not thereby provoke the Jews to profane the Sabbath day, by which Nehemiah tells them they had provoked the wrath of God.

Thesis 18. A whole natural day is called a day, though it take in the night also, because the daylight is the chiefest and best part of the day, and we know that the denomination of things is usually according to the better part; but for Mr. Brabourn to affirm that the word *day*, in Scripture, is never taken but for the artificial day, or time of light, is utterly false, as might appear from sundry instances; it may suffice to see a cluster of seven days which comprehended their nights also. (Ex. xii. 15, 18, 19, 41, 42.)

Thesis 19. To affirm that the Sabbath day only comprehends the daylight, because the first day in Gen. i. began with morning light, is not only a bad consequence, (supposing the ground of it to be true,) but the ground and foundation of it is as certainly

false as to say that darkness is light; for it is evident that the first day in Genesis began with that darkness which God calls night, (Ps. iv. 5,) and to affirm that the first day in Gen. i. begins with morning light is as grossly false as it is apparently true that within six days the Lord made heaven and earth, (Ex. xx. 11;) for before the creating of that light which God calls day, the heavens, and with them the angels, and the earth, or first matter called the deep, which was overspread with darkness, were created. Either therefore the Lord did not create the world in six days, or it is untrue that the first day in Genesis began with morning light; and I wonder upon what grounds this notion should enter into any man's head; for though God calls the light day and the darkness night, (as we shall do when we speak of the artificial day,) yet withal he called the evening of the morning the first day; and what was this evening and morning? Surely it is all that space of time wherein the Lord did his first day's work: now, it is evident that part of the first day's work was before God created the light; and what though evening be oftentimes taken for the latter part of the daylight? Yet it is too well known to those who have waded the deep in this controversy, that it is oftentimes taken not only for the bound between light and darkness, i. e., the end of light and beginning of darkness, (Josh. x. 26, 27; Ps. civ. 23,) but also for the whole time of darkness, as it is here in this first of Genesis, and as we shall prove in due place; and therefore to affirm that the Hebrew word used by Moses for evening, not to be naturally appliable to the night, because it signifies a mixture of light and darkness in the notion of it, is a gross mistake; for the Hebrew word *Gnereb* doth not signify a mixture of light and darkness, but only a mixture, because it is the beginning of darkness, wherein all things seem to be mixed and compounded together, and can not be clearly and distinctly discerned in their kinds and colors, if Buxtorfius may be believed, as is also evident, (Is. xxix. 15;) and to affirm that the day is before the night, even in this first of Genesis, because Moses sometimes sets the day before the night, it may seem as feeble an argument as to say that the evening is before the morning, because Moses here sets the evening before the morning; but this will not seem rational to them who make the evening to comprehend the latter part of the daylight, and the morning the first part of it. Lastly, to make the light to begin the day, because the time of light is a certain principle of computation, (the space of darkness before that light was created being unknown,) is all one as if one should affirm that the time of daylight was not the beginning of the

day, because the space of that is also as much unknown. For if we know that darkness was before light, though we may not know how long it continued, yet we do know certainly that the first day began with darkness, and that this darkness and light made up the space of twenty-four hours, or of a natural day, (as in all other days' works of creation,) and which is sufficient to break down this principle, viz., that the first day in Genesis began with morning light.

Thesis 20. Some say the Sabbath is significative of heaven, and therefore it only comprehends the daylight, which is fit to signify the lightsome day of heaven, which darkness is not; but why may not nighttime signify heaven as well as daytime? for heaven is a place of rest, and the night is the fittest time for rest, after our weary labors in the day. Who teacheth men thus to allegorize? How easy a thing is it thus to abuse all the Scripture! And yet suppose it should signify heaven, yet why may not the Sabbath continue the space of a natural as well as of an artificial day, considering that the natural day of the world, or of both hemispheres, consists only of light, which these men say is significative of heaven?

Thesis 21. We may and do sanctify time by sleeping on the Sabbath night, as well as by showing works of mercy and doing works of necessity upon the Sabbath day, or as we may do by eating and drinking; for to take moderate sleep is a work not only of necessity, but also of mercy to ourselves; and therefore to abolish the Sabbath night from being any part of the Sabbath because we can not (as some think) sanctify time by sleeping, no more than by working, is very unsound.

Thesis 22. Moses indeed tells the people, (Ex. xvi. 23,) that to-morrow is the Lord's Sabbath; but he doth not say that the daytime only was the only time of the Sabbath, or that the daylight begins and ends the Sabbath; but he mentions that time, because on that daylight of the seventh day they were apt and inclined to go out (as in other days) to gather manna, and so to break the Sabbath; and it is as if we should say to one who was ready to ride out on the Sabbath morning about worldly occasions, "Do not stir out, for to-morrow is the Sabbath;" that so we may hereby prevent the breach of the Sabbath in that thing, especially at that time wherein one is most inclined so to do.

Thesis 23. To imagine that the Sabbath must be contained within the bounds of daylight, because Christ Jesus arose at break of day, (Matt. xxviii. 1,) is of no more force than as if one should

conclude the containment of it within the bounds of some darkness and twilight; for it is evident that he arose about that time.

Thesis 24. There is no more necessity of sanctifying a day and a half, by beginning the day at evening, than by beginning it at morning light, (for thus some argue;) for what is said of the evening of both hemispheres, that the second evening would begin twelve hours after the first, if the Sabbath was sanctified to begin at the evening of both hemispheres, and so there would be a day and a half sanctified; the like, I say, may be averred of the morning, supposing that both hemispheres should begin their Sabbath at the morning of both hemispheres; but we know that the Sabbath day is sanctified to begin and end according to the setting and rising sun in each hemisphere and longitude of places respectively.

Thesis 25. If evening, morning, light, and night made up every day the creation, why shall we think but that the Sabbath day also consisted of the same parts? and if the whole world was made in six days, and these days be only such as consist of daylight, when then was the third heaven and chaos made which did exist before light? Those fathers and schoolmen who set such narrow bounds to the day had need consider of it, lest their answer be like his, who hearing a simple preacher desiring the continuance of the life of the king so long as sun and moon endured, and being asked, if that should be so, when should his son reign, he replied, it may be the preacher thought that he might rule by candlelight.

Thesis 26. Suppose therefore that there was no public worship in the temple (as one objecteth) among the Jews in the nighttime, yet it will not follow from hence that the Sabbath was to continue no longer than daylight; for the Sabbath might be sanctified privately in the night, as well as more publicly in the day; and thus the Jews were wont to sanctify their Sabbath, and so should we. (Is. xxx. 29. Ps. lxiii. 7; xcii. 2, 3.)

Thesis 27. It is true that it is very good to prepare for and end the Sabbath with holy affections; yet if a seventh part of weekly time be due to God, as six parts of it are due to us, through the goodness of God, then let God be glorified as God, and the whole day allowed him as his day. Let Cæsar have his due, and God his.

Thesis 28. Others allow the Lord his whole time, but they think that he hath fixed the beginning of it at the gates of midnight, "which midnight they call morning, or morning midnight, or midnight morning, and therefore they imagine out of Gen. i.

that the morning was half night wherein time began, and half day; six hours night from midnight to six, and six hours day from six to midday; and by the same proportion, the evening to begin at midday, and so to continue six hours day from twelve to six, and six hours night from six to midnight; and therefore they say, that God is said to stretch the north upon the empty, (Job xxvi. 7,) because the first beginning of the notion of time began from the north point, when darkness was first upon the face of the deep, and from this north point in the revolution of the heavens we do account it midnight, as being opposite to the south, which in the course of the sun is at midday; and therefore also they say that evening is never taken in all the Scripture for the whole night, but as evening begins at midday, so morning begins at midnight."

Thesis 29. But if the first day, and consequently the Sabbath day, should begin at midnight, it were meet to give a demonstration that this first darkness should continue just six hours, or half the time of such a night when the sun is in the equinoctial; but although it be certain that the first time began in darkness, yet it is wholly uncertain whether this darkness continued but six hours. Zanchius and many others have very good cards to show that this first darkness continued a complete night of twelve hours; others, on the other hand, make it far less; certain it is, it continued some considerable space of time, in that it hath the name of night put upon it; but that it should be just six hours, neither can man's reason demonstrate it, nor hath God in any scripture revealed it, but it is a mere uncertainty, and therefore an ill foundation for settling the beginning of the Sabbath upon.

Thesis 30. Some would prove the Sabbath to begin at midnight, because Christ arose at midnight, and he arose at midnight because Samson, a type of Christ, carried away the gates of Gaza at midnight, (Judg. xvi. 3;) but such allegorical reasonings were fit tools for blind monks in former times to delude the simple people with. I suppose men are wiser now than to be fed with wind and chaff, and to build their faith upon cozening allegories of human wit, by which as the blind monks of old did feed the people, so the Familists now deceive the world; both which are the fruits of God's heavy curse upon their hearts, who, because they did not love the truth to feed upon it, are therefore fed with vanity of mind.

Thesis 31. It is true Paul preached till midnight, (Acts xx. 7,) but doth it hence follow that the Sabbath was to end at midnight? No, verily, for the beginning and end of the Sabbath is not measured by man's preaching a longer or a shorter time.

Paul might have continued preaching longer than the Sabbath, or midnight, the case being extraordinary in respect of his departure the next day, never to see their faces more; and he might have continued a shorter time than the Sabbath continued, as our Saviour himself did before sunset, (Mark i. 22, 32;) for the bounds of continuance of the Sabbath are not set according to the beginning and end of any man's preaching, which is so exceeding uncertain. Paul's long sermon was not continued and ended at midnight purposely, and because so long the Sabbath continued; but occasionally, in regard of his final departure from them the next day; and hence in respect of this extraordinary cause he continued so long at it, which in ordinary course had been very unseasonable.

Thesis 32. It is not said in the first of Genesis that the morning and the evening were the first day, as if the day should begin at morning midnight: but the evening and the morning were the first day; and therefore it is strange that any should derive the beginning of the Sabbath from morning midnight out of this text. The Grecians, because they begin the day at the evening of sunset, did therefore orderly call their natural day (2 Cor. xi. 25) *νυχθήμερον*; and is it probable that Moses would speak disorderly, *et ordine retrogrado*, here? and not rather according to the interpretation of Daniel, who calls twenty-three hundred days by name of *Ghnereb Boker*, which signifies *evenings, mornings*, because the evening, not the morning, much less midnight morning, is to begin the day. (Dan. xiv. 26.)

Thesis 33. It is true that sometimes those things which are first in order of time are spoken of last in order of story; and therefore it is no solid argument to prove that the evening is before the morning, merely because the evening is set down first before the morning, unless it can be proved that the story sets down such things (and so this in particular) orderly; which I suppose is evident, 1. Because the first darkness is called night, and also comprehends the whole time of night, as light comprehends the whole time of the day. (Gen. i. 4, 5.) Now, I do not find in all the Scripture, nor is any man, I think, able to show, that the whole night is taken for the morning; and therefore the first darkness could not possibly begin at the morning or midnight morning. 2. Because the scope of Moses in this chapter is to set down not only the work of creation, but the exact order of it, and consequently of the order of time, which was consecrated with the world; first the beginning of it, then the succession and vicissitude of it, first in the dark night, then in the light day, and (which is all one) first in the evening, then in the morning. 3.

Because the evening may be the end of the artificial day; but I know no proof from any instance in Scripture to make it the end of the natural day, of which Moses here speaks; and therefore as evening can not end the day, so midnight morning can not begin it.

Thesis 34. To affirm that the evening is never taken in Scripture for the whole night, and that therefore by the evening we are to understand six hours day and six hours night, as the consequence is most weak, so the assertion is most false, as may appear to any who seriously ponders these and such like scriptures: Hab. i. 8; Ps. xcii. 2; Job vii. 4; Deut. xxviii. 66, 67; Zach. xiv. 7; Is. xxi. 12.

Thesis 35. Nor can it be proved that the evening begins at midday, which is their principal argument to prove that the morning begins at midnight.

Thesis 36. For, though it be said (Ex. xxix. 38, 39; xii. 6) that the lamb was to be slain between the two evenings, (as it is in the Hebrew,) yet neither these or any such scriptures are able to prove that one of those evenings must necessarily begin at midday; but only this, that some part of the afternoon, when the sun was in his declining, was one of these evenings: some of the Jewish rabbins begin it at noon, and yet it is without warrant from Scripture, and they are overwhelmed with cross testimonies from most of their fellows, who begin it some about one, some about two of the clock in the afternoon; and Josephus, (who knew best his countrymen's manners,) and who is one of most credit in his writings, tells us that they began their first evening about three of the clock in the afternoon.

Thesis 37. We read indeed of the shadows of the evening, (Jer. vi. 4;) but it doth not hence follow that the evening begins at midday, but rather some time after it, the shadows of the evening being the shadows of the day declining, which therefore grow long; but midday is no time of declining shadows.

Thesis 38. Although the evening may be called by human custom all that part of the day wherein we wish men good even from noon till sunset, yet it is then called the evening in respect of the artificial, not natural day, of which Moses speaks when he divides the day into morning and evening, part of which afternoon is also called evening by the Holy Ghost in Scripture; because it is either approaching or hasting toward the evening of the natural day, or contiguous to it; even as part of a dark night is sometimes called morning, because it is either contiguous or not far from the morning light, and men are then usually up, and preparing for it.

Thesis 39. And as no text can be produced to prove that the evening begins at midday, so neither can any be alleged to prove the morning to begin at midnight; the Scripture (speaking properly) putting an express difference between midnight, cock-crowing, and morning. (Mark xiii. 35.)

Thesis 40. And therefore to translate the words in Gen. i., So was the evening, so was the morning the first day: and then and this gloss and interpretation, viz., that out of the premises of night and day, so was the evening mixed of them both; so was the morning also compounded of both, to wit, of night and light; this, I say, is but words; here is no proof for such an interpretation. Junius's translation is best and most clear, and rational, viz., So was the evening and the morning of the first day; for, as hath been said, the whole time of night is never called by the name of morning; let any man show the least tittle in any scripture of it, and I will yield to them in this cause.

Thesis 41. To affirm that the division of the natural day (Gen. i.) into day and night was for civil use, and into evening and morning for religious use, in respect of the evening and morning sacrifice, a long time after, is just such a device as his who would needs think that the first day of the week was called *μία σαββάτων*, because God foresaw and ordained the change of the Sabbath unto that first day; for we know God speaks of things as they were then in their nature, when they did first exist, before sacrifices were thought of; Adam called the names of things according to their natures and special use, and is it credible that before his fall, where there was no use of sacrifices, that he should know of morning and evening sacrifices, in which respect it was called evening morning? And yet suppose it was in respect of religious use that these names are given to each day; yet why must not the evening begin the day rather than the morning? it being, as hath been proved, first in being as it is first in naming.

Thesis 42. It is true, the time before day (Mark i. 35) is called early morning, and we read of the morning watch before daylight, (Ex. xiv. 24;) yet these places no way prove that which they are produced for, viz., that morning begins at midnight; that Christ went to prayer at midnight, because he went to it in the early morning, or that the morning watch began at midnight; for we know it was some time after it; these places, indeed, show thus much: that some time before daylight is sometimes called morning, which is readily acknowledged in the respects forementioned.

Thesis 43. The angels indeed were created together with

the third heaven, (Gen. i. 1,) in the beginning of time; for, being incorruptible, (as the third heaven is,) they could not be afterward created out of the first matter, as all this visible and corruptible world was; therefore the earth is said to be dark and void, (i. e., of all inhabitants and beautiful form,) in opposition to the third heaven, which was made with it, which was lightsome and full of inhabitants, viz., the angels; and if it was a kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world, surely this kingdom had a king then, and this king had his subjects; who could they then be but angels? but to infer from hence that this time of darkness, wherein the angels were created, should be morning, and that therefore they are called by Job the morning stars, (Job xxxviii. 6, 7,) as some imagine, will follow no more than as if one should affirm that the King of Babel (called Lucifer) was certainly born in the morning, because he also is called a morning star, (Is. xiv. 13;) for who sees not but that the speech is metaphorical in both? glorious excellency above others being bestowed on them, as special brightness and luster is given to the morning star.

Thesis 44. Belshazzar is said to be slain in the night, (Dan. v. 30,) which the prophet Isaiah has foretold should be in the morning, (Is. xlvii. 11;) but will it follow hence that the morning is the time of midnight? Might it not be after midnight as well? for the text is silent; and yet I do not think that the word *morning* in Isaiah is meant of midnight, nor any part of any night, but, by a metaphor, the apparent time of the beginning of his misery, (the light of the morning manifesting all things apparently,) the Lord also alluding to the manner of human judicatures, who were wont to pass the sentence and inflict it in the morning, as the Scripture frequently holds forth.

Thesis 45. Though also it be true that the Lord smote the Egyptians at midnight, and that the Israelites were prohibited from stirring out of doors till morning, (Ex. xii. 22, 29, 30,) and yet that they did stir up one another to depart before morning light, yet it will not hence follow (as some would infer) that midnight was the beginning of their morning; for then, 1. They might have risen at midnight, just when God was destroying the Egyptians' first born, for that was part of the morning by this account. 2. They are prohibited from stirring out of doors till morning, as of themselves: yet if God, and Pharaoh, and Moses will force them out, there is no rule broken by stirring out in such a case before daylight morning. 3. It is more than probable that there was some good space after midnight before they stirred out, which is said to be in the morning watch; for

the death stroke was at midnight, after which Pharaoh and his council must sit and consult, and conclude what to do, and send for Moses; after which there must be some time for Moses to acquaint the Israelites to make them fit and ready to depart their departure; therefore "in the morning" was not at midnight which began this morning. 4. Pharaoh sends for Moses after midnight; yet this time is called night, (Ps. xxx. 31,) and not morning; and indeed properly it was not so, only called so by an improper speech.

Thesis 46. When Job saith that God stretched out the north upon the empty, (Job xxvi. 7,) it is not spoken of the empty chaos, for Job had no occasion to speak thereof, nor is it his scope; but of the places near the north pole which are void and empty of inhabitants, none being able now to dwell in that frigid zone.

Thesis 47. If God hath set any time to begin the Sabbath, surely it is such a time as may be ordinarily and readily known, that so here (as well as in all other ordinances) the Sabbath may be begun with prayer, and ended with praise: but if it should begin at midnight, what man of a thousand can readily tell the certain time when it begins, that so they may in a holy manner begin the Sabbath with God? All men have not the midnight clocks and bells to awaken them, nor can the crowing of cocks herein give a certain sound; a poor Christian man had need be a good and watchful mathematician that holds this opinion, or else I see not how he will know when midnight is come; and if he can not, then it is very considerable, and to me unquestionable, that that can not be the beginning of holy time which can not be begun in a holy manner: there was never any ordinance of God but it was so ordered as that it might ordinarily be begun and ended with God; which makes me question that the beginning of it at morning midnight can not be of God.

Thesis 48. Others there be who do not begin the Sabbath at morning midnight, but begin and end it at morning light, at the rising of the sun, and the light of it; who indeed are assisted with better proofs and stronger arguments than any of the rest, and therefore need trial, and we have need to know what weight they are of; as also to be accurately wary lest the rule of love be broken toward such gracious and learned servants of God; considering how much they have to say in this point, in which case, much love, respect, and indulgence hath been ever accounted necessary by men of moderate and sober minds.

Thesis 49. The six working days being considered absolutely in themselves, in this respect it is no matter whether they begin at evening, or morning, or midnight, or midday; nor is it in this

respect a sin to begin and end the days according to the custom of the civil nation where we live; but because these days are to be considered relatively in respect of the seventh day, hence the week days are so to be begun as that their relation to the seventh be not disturbed, so as that the bounds and limits of the Sabbath be not impaired or transgressed: for there is no religious necessity to begin and end civil time with sacred*; nor is it so uncomely as it may seem, at first blush, to give God and Cæsar their due; civil accounts to the one, and sacred to the other; for when the Jews were subdued by the Romans, they might and did begin their reckoning of civil time as the Romans did, and yet reserve the bounds of sacred time wholly unto God. They did the like in England many years since, saith M. Fox, and that their civil days began in the morning, and religious days in the evening; and when they did thus variously begin their days, there was no such indecent disproportion of times as Rev. Mr. Cleaver imagines, in the like case, if holy time should not begin with morning, which he pleads for.

Thesis 50. The principal foundations of this opinion are the words of the four evangelists. (Matt. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 1, 2. Luke xxiv. 1. John xx. 1.) Among all of which that of Matt. xxviii. 1 hath most weight, wherein it is said, "In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week," etc., from whence it seems to follow, that if the Sabbath day did end at the dawning of the first day of the week, that then the dawning of the daylight of the first day must be the beginning of the Sabbath day, or of the Christian Sabbath.

Thesis 51. The consideration of this scripture hath caused some, very judicious, (viz., Beza, Junius, and others,) who conceive the Sabbath to begin at even, to affirm, upon very probable grounds, that there was among the Jews, at this time under their Roman bondage, a double account and reckoning of the days of the week. 1. Civil. 2. Sacred account. According to sacred account, (say they,) the church of God began their Sabbath at evening, not morning, which they demonstrate from sundry pregnant texts in the Old and New Testament; but according to the civil account of the Romans, who gave the precedency to the morning before the evening, they began it therefore in the morning, and according to this latter account they suppose the evangelists to speak.

Thesis 52. But if the several texts be duly examined, rightly compared, and sincerely interpreted, there will not appear a necessity of such an account from this place, but rather that these texts, which are ordinarily produced to evince the beginning

of the Sabbath at morning, will bring in strong evidence to demonstrate its beginning rather on the evening before.

Thesis 53. For this dawning toward the first day of the week is meant of the artificial day, or the light of the first day of the week, as the word *dawning* implies, and the evidence of their fact in coming to the sepulchre demonstrates as much; for it is not the scope of the evangelist to set down when the first day of the week began, but at what time of the first day of the week such and such actions fell out: any thing done in any time of the day, whether at six or nine, or two of the clock, may be said to be done that day; but it will not follow that they are therefore done in the beginning of that day. I meet with two exceptions here.

1. Some say that it might be meant of the artificial day if the words had run thus, viz., at the "dawning of the day," or the first day of the week about the dawning of the day; but the dawning toward the first day, this phrase (they say) seems to describe the beginning of such a day as stands in relation to the whole week, and all the other days of the week, which are to be taken for natural days. But, 1. There is, I hope, a first artificial day of the week, as well as a natural. 2. This artificial day doth not in this account exclude the night before as part of the first day, and consequently the natural day, consisting of night and light; therefore it may well stand in relation to the other days of the week which were natural; for although the evangelist sets down particularly when these things about the resurrection of Christ happened to be, viz., at the dawning toward the first day of the week, yet we, that begin the Sabbath at evening, may and do use the same phrase, and yet so speak of the artificial day upon which some event begins, as not to exclude the night before upon which the natural day begins. 3. Compare the evangelists, and the dawning, in Matthew, toward the first day, will be found to be all one with this phrase, viz., the first day about or at the dawning of it: for that which Matthew calls dawning to the first day, Mark calls early in the morning, the first day of the week, at the rising of the sun; and Luke calls upon the first day of the week very early in the morning: whence it is evident that Matthew's dawning to the first day is all one with about the rising of the sun upon the first day: so that this difference between dawning toward the first day, and the dawning upon the first day, seems to be an English cabalism, and a mere curiosity exhaled and extracted out of the words, rather than any solid truth which the text holds forth, or the Spirit of God aimed at.

2. A second exception is, that though the words *day* in Scripture be taken for the artificial day, yet never when the first, second, or third day, etc., are joined together: and they point us to the first of Genesis, where, when the first or second day is mentioned, it is constantly meant of a natural and not an artificial day. But, 1. This is a great mistake; for the day of the Levites' travel (which was not in the night, but upon the artificial day) is called the fourth day, (Judg. xix. 5,) and the fifth day. (ver. 8.) 2. This artificial day may be called the first day, as that it may involve the night before, (where we make the Sabbath to begin,) as well as the night after, on which they make the Sabbath to end; and thus the natural day may be here comprehended also, (which they plead for;) the same day which artificially begins at daylight may naturally begin the night before.

Thesis 54. If we should suppose that this day is meant of the artificial day, yet there is a harder knot to be unloosed in the words of Matthew, who affirms that this daylight or day-dawn was the end of the Sabbath; whereby it seems that the Sabbath began at the dawning of the day before, and therefore it ends at the dawning of the first day following; and hence they infer that the daylight of this first day can not belong to the night of the Jewish Sabbath, which immediately went before. And I confess the argument is strong and undeniable, as the words lie under the gloss. We must therefore inquire more narrowly into the true translation of the words, and their meaning.

Thesis 55. That, therefore, which we translate the end of the Sabbath, is in the original ὀψὶς δὲ σαββάτων, which words are variously translated; we shall only observe that the Greek word ὀψὲ hath a double signification, in frequent use among Greek writers.

1. Somewhile it signifies late time, or the extreme and last time of the continuance of any thing, as ὀψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας i. e., the late time, or latter time of the day.

2. Sometimes it signifies a long time after, as ὀψὲ τῆς τροικῶν, i. e., a long time after the Trojan war. Now, in this place it is to be translated, and in this latter sense, thus, "a long time," or "a good while after the Sabbath was ended, as it began to dawn to the first day of the week," etc.; which interpretation, if it be made good, will clear up this difficulty, viz., that the Jewish Sabbath did not end at the dawning of the first day of the week, but long before; nor, indeed, durst I incline to this interpretation, if I did not see the evangelists (the best interpreters one of another) making the same to my hand.

Thesis 56. For first, Mark, who writ after Matthew, and is best able to interpret his words, expressly saith that the Sabbath was past when the women came to the sepulcher; his words are, διαγενομένου σαββάτου, the Sabbath being past. (Mark xvi.) 1. Hence, therefore, if Matthew's words should be translated, late on the Sabbath, or toward the end of the Sabbath, then the Sabbath was not already past, (as Mark affirms,) but drawing toward an end. Mark, therefore, telling us that the Sabbath was ended, and yet not telling us when it ended, why should we not harmonize the evangelists by Matthew's words, which tell us that it was long before? 2. The time of the coming of some of the women to the sepulcher, as it was upon the first day of the week, so it was some time within the night; and hence Mark tells us it was very early, (Mark xvi. 2,) which can not be at the rising of the sun only when it is said also that they came to the sepulcher; for that is not λιαν πρωΐ, *valde mane*, or very early. Again: Luke tells us that it was ὀρθρου βάθεος, very early or in the depth of the night; for so the word ὀρθρος frequently signifies the time of the night when cocks crow. I forbear to instance in Greek writers, because the evangelist John clears up this most fully, who expressly saith that it was σκοτίας ἐτι οὔσης, it being yet dark; and though it be said (Mark xvi. 2) that the women came to the sepulcher about the rising of the sun, yet Piscator and others interpret that of their last actual coming to it; their preparation for it being very early, while it was yet dark night; and it seems there were two comings by several of them to the sepulcher; for it is evident that Mary (who had most affection) came to the sepulcher while it was yet dark, the rest of them possibly preparing thereunto. However the evangelists be reconciled, this is evident, that the first stirring of the women about that work from which they abstained upon the Sabbath day was very early in the depth of the morning darkness, before the daylight, when some would begin the Christian Sabbath; and from hence it follows, 1. That if the Sabbath was not passed even before this dark time of the night began, but rather ended when the first day of the week began to dawn, then it will follow that these holy women did not rest the Sabbath according to the commandment; for we see they are this night busy about those things which they did forbear to do because of the Sabbath. (Luke xxiii. 52.) 2. Hence it will also follow that if the Sabbath was not ended before this dark time of the night, but only at the dawning of the daylight, then our Saviour could not arise from the dead the first day of the week, but within the dark night of the Jewish Sabbath; for Mary came when it was dark, and the Lord Christ was risen before she

came, and how long before no man can tell; but it is evident that Christ arose the first day of the week, (Mark xvi. 9,) and therefore the Sabbath was ended long before. 3. If, therefore, the Sabbath was past at the dark time of the night, how, then, can the Sabbath begin at morning light? and if it was passed when it was thus dark, when, then, could the Sabbath end, but when this night did first begin? and if this was so, it was then truly ὀψὲ σαββάτων, a good while after the Sabbath was ended when this dawning toward the first day began, according to the interpretation given.

Thesis 57. It is true, indeed, that this time of darkness is called morning; and hence some would infer that the Sabbath begins in the morning; but suppose it be so called, yet it is not called morning light, at which time they plead the Sabbath should begin; and it is improperly called morning, because (as hath been formerly shown) it is preparatively so, men usually preparing them for the work of the daylight following. Morning is also frequently taken in Scripture for any early time, (Eph. iii. 5,) and so this night of the first day of the week, wherein the women arose to their work, was an early time, and therefore called morning. Again, suppose a double morning be acknowledged, (as there was a double evening,) yet it will not follow that this morning belongs only to the day following, for it may belong to the night before; for, as where there are two evenings spoken of, the former belongs to the day, the latter to the night, so, if we grant two mornings, the latter morning may belong to the day ensuing, and the former to the night preceding; if, therefore, any plead for the beginning of the Sabbath at the morning light, these places of the evangelist will not bear them out in it, it being dark morning when Christ arose; if they say it begins in the dark morning, then let them set exactly the time of that dark morning wherein Christ arose, and when they would begin it; but no wit of man, I fear, is able to demonstrate this.

Thesis 58. And surely it is of deep consideration to all those who would have the beginning of the Sabbath to be just at the time of the resurrection of Christ, on the morning, that not any one of the evangelists do set forth, or aim to set forth, the exact time of Christ's resurrection; they tell us, indeed, the exact time of the women's preparation and coming to the sepulcher, and of the earthquake, and fear of the soldiers, and that these things were done in the morning, but none of them points out the time of Christ's rising, nor is it their scope to show exactly when he rose, but only to show that he was risen, and that he appeared to many being risen, who came to seek for him. Now,

assuredly, if it had been the mind of God that his people should begin the Sabbath when Christ began his resurrection, he would have pointed out the exact time when he did rise, that so they might exactly begin the Sabbath; but none of the evangelists point out the time, nor is it their scope exactly so to do; nay, they do exactly point out when other matters happened about the women's coming to the sepulcher, but this is not made mention of; only we may gather by laying many things together about what time it should be, and therefore I marvel at them who would prove the beginning of the Sabbath at the time of Christ's resurrection from the four evangelists' speaking exactly to the time of the women's rising in the morning to visit Christ's sepulcher, but not a word of the main thing this drives at, which is the exact time of Christ's rising.

Thesis 59. Those that would have the Sabbath begin at morning allege John xx. 19, where it is said, "that the same day at even, which was the first day of the week, Jesus came among his disciples, when the doors were shut," which (say they) was within night; and therefore the night following belongs to the day before, which was the Christian Sabbath; which place compared, with Luke xxiv. 33, does further clear up (as they say) this truth; for the two disciples who went to Emmaus, and met Christ, are said to return to the disciples when they are thus met together; which evening can not (say they) be possibly meant of the first evening before sunlight was set, because the day being far spent, (ver. 29,) and they constrained him to abide with them, (which argues that it was late,) and the distance of Emmaus from Jerusalem being sixty furlongs, or eight miles excepting a half; so that it was impossible for them to travel so long a journey in so short a time, within the compass of the first evening: hence therefore it is meant of the second evening, which was within night, which yet we see belongs to the day before. But there are many things considerable to evacuate the strength of these reasons.

Thesis 60. For, first, this invitation our Saviour had to stay by the two disciples was probably to some repast, some time after high noon; possibly to a late dinner rather than a late supper toward the latter evening; and if so, then the disciples might easily come from Emmaus to Jerusalem before sunset within the former evening; for the words "toward evening," πρὸς ἑσπέραν, may be as well understood of the first evening toward two or three of the clock, as of the second; and if it be objected, that before the first evening the day could not be said to be far spent, yet if the words be well observed, no such

translation can be forced from them, for the words are κέκικεν ἡ ἡμέρα, i. e., "the day hath declined," which is truly said of any time after high noon, and therefore might be a fit season to press our Saviour to eat; as may appear by comparing this with a parallel scripture, (Judg. xix. 8, 9,) which is almost word for word with this place of Luke: for the Levite's father invites him to eat something after his early rising, (ver. 8,) which was too soon for supper, and therefore seems to be rather to a dinner which they tarried for until after high noon, or as it is in the original, עַד־נְטוֹת הַיּוֹם, i. e., until the day declined, (just as it is here in Luke,) and then when dinner was ended he persuades him to stay still because the day was weak, and (as we translate it) toward evening, (as here the disciples tell our Saviour;) and yet after these persuasions to tarry, as late as it was, he departed and came to Jerusalem before night, and from thence to Gibeah (without any miracle too) before sun was set, or the latter evening; and verily if we may give credit to topographers, Gibeah was almost as far from Bethlem (from whence the Levite came) as Jerusalem was from Emmaus; and therefore if the Levite came with his cumber and concubine so many miles before the second evening, notwithstanding all the arguments used from the day declining, and that it was toward evening, why may we not imagine the like of these disciples at Emmaus much more? who had no cumber, and whose joy could not but add wings to a very swift return to the eleven before the second evening, notwithstanding the like arguments here used in Luke xxiv. 29. And yet, secondly, suppose that they invited our Saviour to supper; yet, the former evening beginning about two or three of the clock in the afternoon, our Saviour might stay some time to eat with them, and yet they be timely enough at Jerusalem before the second evening; for suppose our Saviour staid an hour with them, or more, after two or three of the clock; yet, if a strong man may walk ordinarily three miles an hour, why might not the tidings of this joyful news make them double their pace, whether on foot or horseback, (no mention is made of either,) and so be there within an hour and half, or thereabout, before the second evening could come?

Thesis 61. And, although our Saviour appeared to them when the doors were shut, yet it is not said that the doors were shut because it was night, but for fear of the Jews and their pursuivants; that they might not rush in suddenly upon them, which they might do in the day as well as in the night; and though this was a poor safeguard from their enemies, yet it was

some, and the best which they had, or at least could think of at such a time; and if our Saviour came to them when they were at supper, (Mark xvi. 14,) and if the ordinary time of the Jews' supper was a little after, or about sunset, (as might be demonstrated,) then the second evening was not as yet begun; no, not when Christ came, much less before the other two came, who were there from Emmaus before.

Thesis 62. It is said, by some, that if it was not very late, then the arguments of the disciples to persuade Christ to stay were weak; but it seems (say they) they were strong, because it is said "they constrained him;" but we know that much affection will sometimes urge a weak argument very far, for stay of some special friend; and when arguments will not prevail, it will hold them and constrain them by force; and thus it seems the disciples dealt with our Saviour; their constraining him was not so much by force of argument as violence and force of love, for so the words in the original (παρεβιάσαντο) properly signifies; and hence it seems that there was day enough above head to travel farther in; otherwise what need such violent persuasions to stay with them? and for any to say that the parallel of the Levite's father's persuasions to stay, upon weak grounds, is not the same with this, because his arguments might suit well not to begin a long journey when it was past noon, which was the case there; but it is a reason of no force to persuade to go farther when a man is in a journey already, which is the case here. I say this answer is against the practice of love in common experience; men weary in their journey may stand in more need of persuasions to stay than they that have not begun to travel at all; nor was the Levite's journey long from Bethlem to Gibeah.

Thesis 63. Nor is it an argument of any weight, from John xxxix. 1, because the two disciples are said to abide with Christ that day, that therefore the night following did belong to that day, (they staying, as it is supposed, all night,) and consequently that the day begins in the morning; for these disciples coming to Christ at the tenth hour, or four of the clock in the afternoon, there were then two hours remaining until night, (the Jews' artificial day continuing from six to six,) within which time our Saviour (who can do much work in a small time) might sufficiently instruct them (for that time) within the space of two hours; and why might they not depart before the night came, and so stay with him only so short a time? And yet, if they did stay that night, they might, notwithstanding, be said to stay that artificial day only, without reference to any night before or

after, or to any part of the morning following that night, when it is probable they departed, if they did stay with him all that night.

Thesis 64. Those who think that Paul would never have preached till midnight, (Acts xx. 7,) if that night had not been part of the Sabbath which began the morning before, much less would he, after this long sermon, have communicated with them in the sacrament, (ver. 11,) unless it had been the Sabbath day, may do well to consider these things: —

1. That the cause of taking in so much of the night following for preaching till midnight was extraordinary, viz., Paul's early departure never to see their faces more, and to say that if this night was no part of the Sabbath, it was then unreasonable to hold them so long at it, is an assertion which wants reason, if we do but consider the shortness of his time, the largeness of Paul's heart, speaking now for his last, and the sweetness of their affections as might easily enable them to continue till midnight and upward, with cheerfulness, and without thinking the duty tedious and unreasonably long. Paul therefore might begin his sermon some part of the daylight, which was part of the Sabbath day, and continue it till midnight following, and yet this night be no part of the Christian Sabbath, because it was an extraordinary cause which pressed him hereunto.

2. That there is nothing in the words which will evince the Sabbath to continue so long as Paul's sermon did; for suppose those who begin the Sabbath at evening, that it should be said of such, that being met together the first day of the week to break bread, their teacher, being to depart on the morrow, preached unto them, and continued his speech till midnight; will this argue a continuance of the same day? No, verily; and the like reason is here.

3. That the Lord's supper might be and was administered before Paul's sermon; for there is a double breaking of bread in the text: the one is of common bread, (ver. 11,) after Paul had preached; and the other is of holy bread in the eucharist, (ver. 7;) for the Syriac calls that breaking of the bread which is mentioned verse 7, the eucharist or Lord's supper; but that which is mentioned verse 11, common bread; and the Greek word γευσάμενος implies as much, and hence also it is spoken of one man principally, viz., that when he had broken bread, and eaten, and talked a long time till break of the day, he then departed, it being some ordinary repast for Paul after his long preaching, and before his long journey, and is not therefore any sacramental eating; the manner of which is wont to be expressed in other

words than as they are here set down; if, therefore, Paul's eating (ver. 11) was common bread, it can not be then affirmed that the eucharist was then administered after sermon at midnight, and yet they partaking of the sacrament this day, (ver. 7,) it seems therefore that it was administered some time before this extraordinary course of preaching began.

Thesis 65. Nor will it follow that the Sabbath begins in the morning, because the morning is set before the night, in the psalm, for the Sabbath, (Ps. xcii. 1, 2;) for, 1. The scope of the Psalmist is not to set forth when the Sabbath begins, but how it is to be sanctified; and that is not only by showing forth the loving kindness of God every morning or daytime, (for that perhaps many will readily do,) but also in the night, when men may think it too unseasonable or too late, and therefore in a holy gradation from the less to the greater, he first makes mention of the morning. 2. The Hebrew word for every night, is, in the nights; and therefore (suppose that this psalm is specially applicable to the Sabbath, which we know some question) yet this place will as soon evince the Sabbath to begin in the night before the morning, and to be continued in sweet affections the night after, as that it should begin in the morning, and be continued the night after; so that this place will not clear this cause, nor is there any weight in such kind of reasonings.

Thesis 66. Nor will it follow from Levit. vii. 15, with 22, 29, 30, and Ex. xii. 10, that because the flesh of the peace offerings was to be eaten the same day, and nothing to be left until the morning, (something like this being spoken also of the passover,) that the day therefore began in the morning: for in Leviticus there is a double commandment, 1. To eat the flesh of their peace offerings the same day; but yet because, when they have eaten, some bones and offal might remain, hence, 2. They are commanded to leave nothing till the morning, which doth not argue that they had liberty to eat it as long as they might keep it, but that, as they had liberty no longer than the same day to eat it, so nor liberty any longer than the next morning so much as to keep any of the relics of it. And as for the passover, (a place much urged by some,) they were to kill it on the fourteenth day, (Ex. xii. 6,) which they might eat the night following, (ver. 8,) yet so as to leave nothing of it till the morning. (ver. 10.) This night following is not, therefore, any part of the fourteenth, but of the fifteenth day: for at midnight there was a cry, (ver. 30, 31,) and this night they went from Rameses to Succoth, (ver. 37, with 46,) and this time is expressly called the morrow after the passover, (Num. xxxiii. 3;) nor is there any inconvenience or

rule broken to kill the passover upon one day, and continue eating of it some part of another, the passover being a feast of more days than one.

Thesis 67. Nor doth it follow that because our Saviour tells Peter, (Mark xiv. 30; Luke xxii. 34,) that this day, even this night, (viz., of the passover,) he should deny him, that this night therefore was any part of the precedent day; for it may be as fairly interpreted to belong to the day following that night. Nor is it necessary to determine this word *day* always to a determinate time of twenty-four hours, of which the night was a part, but only of a special season of time: for so it is frequently figuratively taken without any respect to a day of twenty-four or twelve hours, viz., for a special season of time wherein some special providence of God doth appear and is put into execution, as Is. xxix. 18 and xxv. 9, and xxvii. 1; Ex. xiv. 13; 1 Sam. iv. 7, 8; 2 Sam. iv. 5, 7, 8.

Thesis 68. It answers many objections produced against the beginning of the day in the evening, for the morning, to consider that the word *day* is frequently taken in Scripture for an artificial day, and that the word *morrow* frequently signifies a new artificial day, which, in respect of, and reference unto, the artificial day going before or following after, is no part thereof, but as the proverb is, to-morrow is a new day; and thus it is taken, John xii. 12; vi. 22; Acts xxi. 7, 8; 1 Sam. xiv. 24; Acts xxiii. 31, 32; 2 Sam. xi. 12, 13; Ex. x. 4, 13; Deut. xxi. 22, 23; Josh. viii. 29, and x. 26; Ex. vii. 4, 11, 12, 17, with i. 6–13; Ex. xiv. ult., with xxxiv. 2, 4, 28; Deut. ix. 9, 11. Whence only let this be noted, that to argue from hence, that to-morrow morning or to-morrow daylight is the beginning of the natural day, because it is called a new or another day, is not solid; nor also that although the night following the artificial day be not frequently called *to-morrow*, yet sometimes it is so called, (1 Sam. xxx. 17,) where the evening of their morrow stopped David, i. e., that night.

Thesis 69. There are some who confess that the Jewish Sabbath began at the evening ever since the creation unto the time of Christ's resurrection; but now they tell us that it begins in the morning, because of Christ's resurrection, (the cause of it,) which began then; so that, as this makes the change of the day, so it makes a change of the beginning of the day from evening till morning, when the resurrection of Christ began: but the feebleness of this opinion will appear from these ensuing considerations.

Thesis 70. 1. *Consider.* That the foundation of this opinion

is exceeding rotten, viz., that the day must not begin until that work which occasions the change doth actually exist. But we know that the passover began before the work which did occasion it did actually exist, viz., the angels passing over the Israelites at midnight, (Ex. xii. 29, with xii. 13, 14, and vi. 8 ;) indeed, the Christian Sabbath day is not before the day of Christ's resurrection ; yet the beginning of this day may be before the beginning of the resurrection, as it was in the passover.

2. *Consider.* That if any of the evangelists had intended a new beginning of the Sabbath at morning, that they would then have set down the exact time of the Lord's resurrection ; but none of them do this ; they set down the time of other things to prove that Christ was risen, but not the exact time of the resurrection, for it is wholly uncertain ; certain it is that it was before daylight began ; for Mary came and found him risen while it was yet dark, (John xx. 1,) and how long he was risen before, who can determine ?

3. *Consider.* That if Christ's resurrection began the Sabbath, so that in that moment and point of time wherein Christ arose the Christian Sabbath began, then Christ could not lie three days in the grave ; for either he lay three days according to the Jewish account, beginning the day at evening, and then the third day on which Christ arose (which also was the first day) must begin at evening, as we plead for, or else he must lie three days according to the new account, which begins the third day in the morning, leaving out the night before as not appertaining to any part of the week before or after ; but according to this reckoning it is impossible that Christ should lie three days in the grave ; he may be then indeed said to arise the third day, but not to lie any part of the third day, because lying in the grave implies some time of continuance therein upon the third day ; but how could this be when they say that the moment of Christ's resurrection began the day of our Christian Sabbath ?

4. *Consider.* If the Jewish Sabbath was the last day of the week, and began and ended at evening, then the Christian Sabbath must either begin at evening, when the Jewish Sabbath ended, or the first day of the week can not be the Christian Sabbath, but only a part of the first day, and part of the second day ; for the night which goes before the Christian Sabbath either, 1, they must make it to belong to the Jewish Sabbath, and then that Sabbath must be sanctified thirty-six hours, and so it must be more than a day which is sanctified, which is absurd ; or, 2, they must make it belong to the Christian Sabbath, and then they can not make it begin in the morning; or, 3, they must leave it out from all

weekly account, and so take in the night following (which is part of the second day) as part of the Sabbath.

5. *Consider.* That the seventh part of time can not be orderly given to God, but it must be either the first or last seventh, (as hath been shown;) and the morality of the fourth commandment can not be observed without giving to God either of these; if therefore the Jewish Sabbath ended at even, the Christian Sabbath must immediately succeed it, and begin it then, or else a moral rule is broken.

6. If the Jewish Sabbath began and ended at even, and the Christian Sabbath began at morning, what must become of that night which is between them both, and to what day of the week must it belong? If any say, that it is no matter whether it belong to any or no, so long as time runs on, this answer will not suffice; for though time runs on, yet what *orderly* time is there here which is running on? Time consists of years, and years of months, and months of weeks, and weeks of days; to what day or what week then must this night belong? They that maintain this opinion do roundly affirm that it is no absurdity to leave that one night out from weekly, nor as pertaining to any week before or after, but say it was lost. Alas! poor forlorn night, that art thus strangely forsaken; what a strange kind of night is this which belongs to no day! What a misshapen lump of time art thou, and yet how canst thou be part of time, that art part of no day, but only (as they say) of time flowing and running on, without head or foot, week or day!

Thesis 71. They tell us, that "in Joshua's time, when the sun stood still, and in Hezekiah's time, when the sun went back, that there was as great a perverting of the order of time as this comes to; and that there is as good reason to alter the time upon such a special and wonderful occasion as Christ's resurrection, as there was to disorder the course of time then;" but the weakness of this answer may appear from these things: —

1. That in the days of Joshua and Hezekiah, there was no monstrous, misshapen piece of time cut out, as here is imagined; for though the sun stood still, suppose about twelve hours in Joshua's time, and so made a day of thirty-six hours, yet these twelve hours were part of that day, and of that which ordinarily makes the day, viz., the motion of the sun about the earth, which is ordinarily once in twenty-four hours, only the Lord stopped it a while, and so made it a longer day, and yet measured by the ordinary measure of a day, viz., the sun compassing the earth; which this night is not.

2. Though some part of the weekly time was changed in some respect, yet no part of sacred and Sabbath time was perverted by either the sun's standing still, or its going back, because, though these things were longer than ordinary, yet they were but ordinary days in this sense, viz., because there was no more to either day than that which ordinarily makes a day, to wit, that space of time wherein the sun circularly compasseth the whole earth. For though a seventh part of time be morally due to God, man having six days for himself, yet this is to be understood as each day is measured by, and made up of, the whole complete motion of the sun circling the earth: now, though these days were longer than usual in those famous times, yet they were only such days as were made by this motion; and hence there was no change or perverting of the time of the Sabbath, but God hath his due then orderly. But here we must make a new and strange beginning of time, by leaving out a whole night, and denying God a seventh day, according to ordinary account and reckoning, and must fall to a disorderly beginning, upon pretense of a more than ordinary occasion; which yet we see was not so in those extraordinary times of Hezekiah and Joshua.

3. In the days of Joshua and Hezekiah there was some necessity of prolonging those days, and that in a course of providence, supposing that God would work wonders by his providence; but what necessity is there to begin the day when Christ did first arise? for this action falling out upon the first day, might sanctify the whole day, which in ordinary course should have begun at evening; we see the whole fifth of November is sanctified, upon an occasion which happened about nine or ten of the clock; and the evening of the passover was sanctified before the angel passed over the Israelites at midnight, which was the occasion of the sanctification of that day: what need or necessity was there to leave a whole night out of weekly account, and lose such a part of precious treasure?

4. It was for the manifestation of the marvelous glory of God in the eyes of all the world, good and bad, to make that violation (as it were) of the course of time in the days of Joshua and Hezekiah; but what glory doth Christ gain in the eyes of others, by making the day to begin at the time of his resurrection by the loss of the whole evening before out of the account of weekly time? Or what glory doth Christ lose if he should begin the day at evening when the Jewish Sabbath ended, whenas the whole day thus is celebrated and sanctified for his glory in respect of his resurrection upon this day? And therefore it is a

great mistake to imagine as much reason for the violation of the course of time in respect of Christ's resurrection (which makes so little for the glory of Christ) as there was for the variation of time in the days of Joshua and Hezekiah, which made so apparently, and evidently, and exceedingly for the glory of God, and the honor of those who were types of Christ.

Thesis 72. To say that there is a necessity of beginning the Christian Sabbath when Christ first entered into his rest, (the first moment of his resurrection,) because the Father began the Jewish Sabbath the first moment of his rest after his six days' labor, is not solid nor sound; for there was a necessity for God the Father to begin his rest at the end of his work; otherwise a moral rule had not been observed, viz., that a seventh part of time be sanctified; for six days being finished in creating the world, there was now a necessity of sanctifying the seventh day wherein his rest began, lest a moral rule should be exemplarily broken; but there was no such necessity here; for the whole evening of the first day may be sanctified upon occasion of Christ's rest on some part of that day, and no moral rule broken hereby; nay, there had been a moral rule broken if the Christian Sabbath had not begun upon this evening; because hereby God should have lost a Sabbath day within the compass of seven days as they are measured by the sun; and this is directly cross to the morality of the fourth command; for if a whole night be lost, (as these men reckon,) only time flows on, (they say,) then it must be full seven days and a half before God have a Sabbath to begin; and this absurdity in the course of time, I believe, will not be found in Joshua's time, nor in altering the beginning of the year in Moses' time, (Ex. xii.,) for no moral rule was intrenched upon by these and such like alterations.

Thesis 73. It is an ungrounded assertion to say that the reasons of the change of the day are the same for the change of the beginning of the day; for, 1. There was a type affixed (as hath been shown) to that Jewish Sabbath; but I never yet heard of any type in respect of the beginning of the Sabbath. 2. Divine will and institution changed the day, and that according to a moral rule, viz., that God hath one day in seven given him; but God could not begin the Sabbath with excluding the evening before Christ arose without breach of this rule, as hath been shown. The day might be kept and changed without breach of that rule, but the beginning could not be changed but there would necessarily follow some breach thereof.

Thesis 74. To think that the Sabbath must needs begin in the morning, because we read not expressly after Christ's resur-

rection, that the night should belong to the day following, nor is there any instance thereof as in the Old Testament, and before Christ's resurrection, it may be (they confess) undeniably so found, — I say, to think the Sabbath must begin in the morning, upon this ground, is somewhat like to his conceit, who finding in the Old Testament that the seventh day is to be sanctified, but not finding this expression, after Christ's resurrection, hence he thought there was now no seventh day to be sanctified. Those who can answer this objection may know how to answer thereby their own argument for the beginning of it at morning, which is just like unto it; if indeed there were clear scriptures for the beginning of it at morning in the New Testament, and none to show the beginning of it at evening, the argument had much weight; but this hath not yet appeared. Old Testament evidences are not apocrypha proofs in moral matters in these men's consciences who thus argue for the morning.

Thesis 75. To argue the beginning of the Sabbath at morning, from the congruity and fitness of the season for holy time rather than evening, is no way fair or rational; for, 1. There may be as much said (perhaps more) for the fitness and congruity of the evening, if this arguing were evicting; but we know the ground of all superstition hath been human wisdom, which puts out the eagle's eyes when it goes about to mend them; and when it would better God's worship by goodly seemings and trappings, it then destroys it, at least corrupts it; this only may be said, that just as we lie down with our hearts over night, so we find them commonly in the morning; the beginning of the Sabbath at evening will force us in conscience to lie down over night with Sabbath hearts, which marvelously prepares for the receiving of Sabbath blessings the day ensuing.

Thesis 76. If, therefore, the Sabbath doth not begin, neither according to the custom of civil nations, nor at midnight, nor morning, what time, then, must it begin at (from any color of Scripture) but only in the evening? At evening, therefore, after the setting of the light of the body of the sun, wherein darkness begins to be predominant over the light, the Sabbath begins now, as the Jewish Sabbath began in former times; and here let me say that Old Testament proofs may be in this, as in many other things, New Testament rules.

Thesis 77. If the Jewish Sabbath did begin and end at evening, which was the last day of the week, then the Christian Sabbath the first day of the week, which immediately succeeds the last, is to begin at evening also; if the Sabbath in the first institution began at evening, why should not the Christian

Sabbath be conformed as near as may be to the first institution? But we see, out of Gen. i., that, as all other days began at the evening or dark night, so it was not orderly or possible, according to the moral rule God acted by, that the Sabbath should begin upon any other time than the evening; nor is it improbable but that Ezekiel foretells this, that in the Christian church, as the gate for the Sabbath should not be shut until the evening, (Ezek. xlvi. 1, 2,) so, by just proportion, the time for opening of it was the evening before, when the Sabbath began.

Thesis 78. Now, although some deny the beginning of the Sabbath in Gen. i. to be in the evening, (deceiving themselves and their readers with the ambiguity and various acceptation of the words *evening* and *morning*,) yet this is most evident, that the first day began with night. or darkness, which is called night, (Gen. i. 4, 5,) and consequently ended with daylight; let evening and morning, therefore, be taken how they will, yet it is sufficient to prove that which we aim at, viz., that as the first day began with night, and ended at the end of daylight, so by just consequence every other day did, even the Sabbath itself, which still begins the beginning of night, which is all that which we mean by evening when we say that it begins then; which also the Holy Ghost calls darkness, which darkness (Gen. i. 2) he calls night, (ver. 5,) and which night is all one with evening.

Thesis 79. And if the natural (which some call civil, others the compound) day began first in the evening, then surely it continued so; or, if not, then this disorderly practice should have been regulated again, according to the first pattern, as the abuses crept into the Lord's supper were by Paul, (1 Cor. xi. 23,) and as errors about marriage were by our Saviour, telling them that *ab initio non fuit sic.*

Thesis 80. Nor should it be a wonder why the wise Creator should begin time with darkness, or the less noble part of the day, no more than why the Lord should begin the world with a rude and confused chaos before a glorious world; the progress of his wisdom in making the whole world being for the most part from more imperfect things to perfect, from the chaos to beauty, from the servants and furniture to man, the lord and master of this great house; and so here, from darkness to light: the Sabbath also being a day of rest, was it not most proper to begin it then, when man begins his rest, which is the night? when also God began rest from his work in the first creation.

Thesis 81. Some conceive by the evidence of the text. that darkness was before light, yet wrestle with their wits to make it

neither part of the night nor part of time, but only *punctum temporis*, and by this shift would make the first day to begin in the morning light.

Thesis 82. But was ever any *punctum temporis* (which is thought to be no part of time) called by the name of night, as this darkness is? (Gen. i. 4, 5, with ii.) Was the world made in six days, and is there a heaven and earth made within the time of this darkness, and yet this time of darkness to be no part of time, but only a mathematical point, but no real part of succeeding time? Zanchy long since hath largely confuted and crushed this egg shell, where the reader may look; there was not indeed any celestial motion of the heavens to measure this time by, (for Master Weemes objects *tempus est mensura motus*,) but by this argument there was no time till the fourth day, when the sun and stars were created, nor is time properly *mensura motus*, but as eternity is the indeterminate duration of a thing together, so time is the determinate duration of things by succession; which was evidently since time began on the first moment of creation.

Thesis 83. Others, who acknowledge this first darkness to be part of time, yet will not have it to be part of the nighttime, because light, (the habit,) they say, must go before darkness, (the privation,) because also this first darkness is not so called night, but the separated darkness, (Gen. i. 3,) when God separated the light into one hemisphere, and darkness into another.

Thesis 84. But this arguing is almost against the express letter of the text, (Gen. i.,) wherein it is most evident that light was created after darkness had been some time upon the face of the deep; which darkness can not be part of the daylight, no more than blindness is a part of sight, and therefore is a part of the night, before this conceived separated darkness could exist. Beside, the separation of darkness from light doth not make any new darkness which is a new denominated darkness, but is the same darkness which was at first, only the separation is a new placing of it, but it gives no new being to it.

Thesis 85. Suppose also that light and darkness are *contraria privantia;* yet it is not true, either in philosophy or divinity, that the habit must always actually go before the privation in the same subject; for the privation may be first if it be in *subjecto capaci;* i. e., in a subject capable of the habit; for silence may be before speech in a man, and blindness and deafness in a man who never saw nor heard a word, because man is a subject capable of both; and so here darkness might be before light, because this subject of the first matter was capable of both.

Thesis 86. Nor is it true in divinity that the darkness and light were at first separated into two hemispheres; or if they were, yet what orthodox writer affirms that the supposed separated darkness only is called night?

Thesis 87. For look, as the darkness did overspread the whole chaos and all the dimensions of it at the same time, why might not the light, the habit, be extended as far as was the privation before, and that at the same time? there being no globe, or dense body of earth and water, (existing as now they do,) at that time created, and consequently no opaque and solid body to divide between light and darkness, and so to separate them into two hemispheres, as by this means it is at this day, unless we imagine miracles without necessity, and that God then miraculously did it when there was no necessity of it. For the element of fire being figuratively called light, it being (as Junius shows) *proprietas essentialis ignis*, being also created in the superior part of the vast chaos, might therefore be cast down by a mighty hand of God (there being no ordinary means of sun or stars yet created to do it) into all the inferior chaos, and so make day. And the ascending of this light upward again might make it to be night; and therefore, although God separated between light and darkness, yet this separation seems to be rather in respect of time than in respect of place, or two hemispheres; for the light, when it was cast down, separated and scattered the darkness, and so excluded it, so that when there was light, there was no darkness; when darkness, there was no light; and thus they succeeding and excluding one another, the Lord is said to separate them one from another, but not into two imagined hemispheres, by which imagination of two hemispheres it will be also very difficult to set down when it was day and when it was night, at this time of the creation; because, in respect of one part of the chaos, it might be called day, in respect of the other hemisphere of the chaos it might be called night; and therefore it seems more suitable to the truth that the descending of the light made day throughout the whole chaos remaining, and the ascending of it to its proper place successively made night; which as it answers many curious questions about the nature and motion of this light, so it yields a more than probable argument, that, if the daylight continued twelve hours, (which none question,) why should not each night continue as long? and therefore that the first darkness did continue such a time before the creation of the light.

Thesis 88. But suppose this local separation into two hemispheres was granted, yet it will not follow from hence that this separated darkness only is called night, and that the darkness

before was no part of it; for if the day and night began at the imagined division of light and darkness, then (this division being in an instant of time) neither could the day be before the night, nor the night before the day, but both exist and begin together; and then it will follow that the beginning of the first day was neither in the morning nor evening, in darkness nor light, in night nor day; but that it began in the morning and evening, daylight and dark night, together; which is too gross for any wise man to affirm, nor would the God of order do it. Again: if the first darkness, which was preëxistent to this hemispherical light and darkness, was no part of the night, then much less was it any part of the first daylight, and so no part of the natural day; which if any should affirm, they must deny the creation of the world in six days; for it is evident that the heavens and earth were made in the time of the first darkness.

Thesis 89. To say that this first darkness was part of the morning, and did belong to the morning light, as now some time of darkness in the morning is called morning, and therefore is called the womb of the morning, (Ps. cx. 2,) is a mere shift to prove the beginning of time to be in the morning, and an evasion from the evidence of truth. For, 1. This first darkness must either be the whole night, consisting, as the light did, of about twelve hours, and then it can not possibly be called morning, or belong thereunto; or it must be part of the night, and that which came after the light another part of it, and then we may see a monstrous day, which hath part of its night before it, and part after it; beside, it is contrary to the text, which makes the whole morning together, and the whole evening together, the whole daylight together, and so the whole night together. 2. That darkness which by an improper speech we make to belong to the morning, in our ordinary account, is the latter part of the night, or of the darkness; but we read not in all the Scripture, nor is it suitable to any solid reason, to make the first beginning of night or darkness as part of the morning. Now, this first darkness (which is the beginning of darkness) is called night, at least is the beginning of night, and therefore can not be called morning, but evening rather, as we usually call the first beginning of darkness after daylight.

Thesis 90. That express commandment (Lev. xxiii. 32) to celebrate the ceremonial Sabbath from even to even, doth strongly prove the beginning of the moral Sabbath at the same time; for why else is it called a Sabbath of rest, but because it is to be spent in duties of humiliation, as the other Sabbath in duties suitable to the nature of it? and hence the Lord's care is

greatly exact herein, 1. That no servile work be done, because it is a Sabbath, (ver. 31, 32;) 2. That it be spent and sanctified from even to even, (meaning,) like as you do your weekly Sabbaths. And hence the Lord saith not, You shall celebrate your day of atonement from even to even, but (the Lord usually wrapping up arguments in his words) *your Sabbath;* as if he should say, You would account it a profane thing not to celebrate your ordinary weekly Sabbath from even to even, or to do any servile work on that day; this day is a Sabbath, and therefore you must sanctify it from even to even, and therefore do no servile work herein.

Thesis 91. To imagine (as some do) that "the ordinary Sabbath began at another time, because here God makes a new command, that it be from even to even, in opposition to the other Sabbaths beginning, and that otherwise it had been enough to say, You shall celebrate this day as a Sabbath;" one may from the same ground imagine that in other Sabbaths they might do any servile work, because here also they are forbidden it; for it may be as well said, that otherwise it had been enough to say, You shall sanctify this day as you do other Sabbaths: here, therefore, is no new institution of time from the beginning of the Sabbath, but of a new ordinance, together with the application of time according to common and ordinary account; and the Lord expresseth from even to even, (which makes up a natural day,) lest man's heart (which is soon weary of duties of humiliation) should intepret it of an artificial day, to prevent which mistake the Lord had good reason to set the distinct bounds of it from even to even.

Thesis 92. Nor can this evening be fairly interpreted of the former even before sunset, as taking in that also; for this evening is to begin at the evening of the ninth day, (ver. 32,) which evening of the ninth day is not the evening of that day about two or three of the clock, — for the tenth day only is called the day of atonement, (ver. 27,) and therefore part of the ninth day is no part of the atonement day, — but, as Junius well expounds it, at the evening of the ninth day, *puta qua nonus dies definit*, at that nick of time, which is the *communis terminus* of the end of the ninth day and beginning of the tenth, you shall then celebrate your Sabbath; which curious exactness of the Lord is partly to express his zeal for the full and plenary observation of the day, that he may not lose a moment's time of honor, as also to show what care they should have of holding out from the first point to the last period of that Sabbath.

Thesis 93. And therefore it is a groundless deduction from

the text to make this day to be of extraordinary length, and so an unfit measure for our ordinary Sabbath. And to say that there was a ceremony in beginning this day at even is but *gratis dictum*, and can never be made good, unless it be by such fetches of wit which can mold the plainest history into the image of a goodly allegory, a most impudent course of arguing, in Austin's judgment and in his time.

Thesis 94. If the Sabbath do not begin at evening, why did Nehemiah (an exemplary magistrate) command the gates to be shut, when the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark before the Sabbath? (Neh. xiii. 19.) Was it not lest the Sabbath should be profaned that night by bringing in of wares and burdens through the gates, as well as in the ensuing day? Is it not expressly said that he set his servants at these gates that there might be no burden brought in upon the Sabbath day? Is it not expressly said that he set the Levites to keep the gates to sanctify the Sabbath day? (ver. 19, 22.) Now, if this evening was no part of the Sabbath, how could they then be said to sanctify the Sabbath thereby?

Thesis 95. To imagine that Nehemiah did this to prevent the profaning of the Sabbath day after, is as if a man should shut his doors at noon against such thieves as he knows will not come to hurt him until midnight be past. It would be weakness in a magistrate to take away any considerable part of the week which God allows for labor, to prevent that evil on the Sabbath which he knows he is sufficiently able to prevent at the approach of the day itself; for Nehemiah might easily have shut the gates in the morning, if the Sabbath had not begun before; and might have better done it than to cut so large a thong out of the week time to prevent such defilement of the Sabbath day.

Thesis 96. When therefore the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark, or, as Junius renders the words, *quum abumbrarentur portæ*, i. e., when they were shadowed by the descent of the sun behind the mountains which compassed Jerusalem, and so did cast a shadow of darkness upon the gates of the city, somewhat sooner than in other places less mountainous, this shadow, being no part of the dark night, is truly said to be before, or (as the Hebrew is) before the face or looking out of the Sabbath; for although the Sabbath be said to begin at sunset, yet it is to be understood not of the setting of the body of the sun visibly, but of the light of the sun when darkness begins to be predominant over the light, and men are forced to forsake their work: now, just before this Nehemiah shut the gates, at the common term and end of the six days' labor, and the seventh day's

rest; and therefore it is a weak objection which some make, to say that this evening was not part of the Sabbath, because the gates are said to be shut before the Sabbath.

Thesis 97. It is said the women who prepared spices for our Saviour's body, that they rested the Sabbath, which is evident to be in the evening; and this they did not superstitiously, (as some say,) but according to the commandment. (Luke xxiii. 53–56.) If, therefore, these women began to rest, according to the commandment of God, upon the evening, then the evening, by the same commandment, is the beginning of the holy rest of the Sabbath. It is not only the commandment of God that one day in seven be sanctified, but also that it be sanctified from even to even.

Thesis 98. Now that they began to rest in the evening, is evident from these considerations: —

1. That our Saviour died the ninth hour, (Luke xxiii. 44, 46,) which was about three of the clock in the afternoon. A little after this, Joseph begs his body, and takes it down, because it was *παρασκευη σαββατον*, or preparation for the Sabbath, (Mark v. 42,) in which preparation it is said that the Sabbath did *ἐπέφωσκε*, draw on, shine forth, (Luke xxiii. 34:) now, this shining or breaking forth of the Sabbath can not be meant of the daylight morning shining forth; for it is a mere dream to think that Joseph should be so long a time in doing so little work, from Saturday in the afternoon until the next morning light only in taking of Christ from the cross, wrapping him in linen, and laying him in his own sepulcher, which was not far off, but near at hand also. (John xix. 42.) The shining forth of the Sabbath also stopped the women from proceeding to anoint Christ's body, after they had brought their spices; and therefore, if the shining forth of the Sabbath had been the morning after, they might certainly have had sufficient time to do that work in; the shining forth therefore of the Sabbath was in the latter evening in which the Sabbath began; and it is said to shine forth by a metaphor, because it did then first appear, or draw on; or, as Piscator and sundry others think, because about that time the stars in heaven, and the lamps and candles in houses, began to shine forth; which if just then when darkness is predominant, which is the beginning of the Sabbath at evening time.

2. If that evening had not begun the Sabbath, why did not the women (who wanted neither conscience, nor affection, nor opportunity) anoint his body that evening, but defer it until the night after? What could stop them herein, but only the conscience of the commandment which began the Sabbath that evening?

3. Either the Sabbath must begin this evening, or they did not rest the Sabbath according to the commandment; for if they began to keep the Sabbath at morning light, then, if they rested according to the commandment, they must keep it until the morning light after; but it is manifest that they were stirring, and in preparing their ointments long before that, even in the dark night before the light did appear, as hath been formerly shown.

Thesis 99. Why the women did not go about to embalm Christ's body the beginning of the dark evening after the Sabbath was past, but staid so long a time after till the dark morning, can not be certainly determined: perhaps they thought it not suitable to a rule of God and prudence to take some rest and sleep first, before they went about the said work, and might think the morning more fit for it than the dark evening before, when their sorrowful hearts and spent spirits might need mercy to be shown them, by taking their rest a while first. They might also possibly think it offensive to others presently to run to the embalming of the dead, as soon as ever the Sabbath was ended, and therefore staid till the dark morning, when usually every one was preparing and stirring toward their weekly work.

Thesis 100. The Lord Christ could not lie three days in the grave, if the Sabbath did not begin at evening; and for any to affirm that the dark morning wherein he arose was part of this first day, and did belong thereunto, is not only to overthrow their own principles, who begin the Sabbath at the beginning of daylight morning, but they also make the beginning of the Sabbath to be wholly uncertain; for who can tell at what time of this dark morning our Saviour arose?

Thesis 101. It is true there are some parts of the habitable world, in Russia, and those northern countries, wherein for about a month's time the sun is never out of sight: now, although they have no dark evening at this time, yet doubtless they know how to measure their natural days by the motion of the sun; if, therefore, they observe that time which is equivalent to our dark evenings, and sanctify to God the space of a day, as it is measured by the circling sun round about them, they may then be said to sanctify the Sabbath from even to even, if they do that which is equivalent thereunto; they that know the east, west, south, north points, do certainly know when that which is equivalent to evening begins, which if they could not do, yet doubtless God would accept their will for the deed in such a case.

Thesis 102. If, therefore, the Sabbath began at evening from Adam's time in innocency till Nehemiah's time, and from Nehemiah's time till Christ's time, why should any think but that

where the Jewish Sabbath, the last day of the week, doth end, there the Christian Sabbath, the first day of the week, begins? Unless any can imagine some type in the beginning of the Sabbath at evening; which must change the beginning of the day, as the type affixed did change the day; or can give demonstrative reasons that the time of Christ's resurrection must of necessity begin the Christian Sabbath, which for aught I see can not be done. And therefore it is a groundless assertion that "the reasons of the change of the day are the same for the change of the beginning of it; and that the chief of the reasons for the evening may be as well applied against the change of the day itself, as of the time of it. But sufficient hath been said of this. I shall only add this, that there is no truth of Christ's, but, upon narrow search into it, hath some secret knots and difficulties, and so hath this about the beginning of the Sabbath; it is therefore humility and self-denial to follow our clearest light in the simplicity of our hearts, and to wait upon the throne of grace with many tears for more clear discoveries until all knots be unloosed.

THE

SANCTIFICATION OF THE SABBATH.

Thesis 1. THE word *Sabbath* properly signifies, not common, but *sacred* or *holy rest.* The Lord therefore enjoins this rest from labor upon this day, not so much for the rest's sake, but because it is a medium, or means of that holiness which the Lord requires upon this day; otherwise the Sabbath is a day of idleness, not of holiness; our cattle can rest but a common rest from labor as well as we; and therefore it is man's sin and shame if he improve the day no better than the beasts that perish.

Thesis 2. And as the rest of the day is for the holiness of it, so is all the labor of the week for this holy rest; that as the end of all the labor of our lives is for our rest with Christ in heaven, so also of the six days of every week for the holy rest of the Sabbath, the twilight and dawning of heaven. For the eighth commandment, which would not have us steal, commands us therefore to labor for our families and comforts in all the seasons of labor. This fourth command, therefore, which not only permits but commands us to labor six days, must have another respect in commanding us to labor, and a higher end, which can not be any thing else but with respect to the Sabbath; that as we are to watch unto prayer, so we are to work unto the Sabbath, or so work all the week day that we may meet with God, and sanctify the Sabbath day.

Thesis 3. As therefore the holiness of the Sabbath is moral because it is the end of the day, so is the rest of the Sabbath (the immediate means to that end) moral also. Look, therefore, whatever holy duties the Lord required of the Jews, which were not ceremonial, the same duties he requires of us upon this day; so whatever rest he required of them for this end, he exacts of all Christians also.

Thesis 4. Those that make the Sabbath ceremonial imagine a stricter rest imposed upon the Jews than Christians are now

bound unto, because they place the ceremonialness of the Sabbath in the strict rest of it; but we are bound to the same rest for substance of it; and the ground for a stricter rest than we are bound unto will be found too light, if well pondered.

Thesis 5. For, though it be said that the Jews might not bake, nor seethe meat upon this day, (Ex. xvi. 23,) no, nor make a fire upon it, (Ex. xxxv. 3,) no, nor gather sticks upon it, without death, (Num. vi. 15, 30,) — all which things Christians now may lawfully do, — yet none of these places will evince that for which they are alleged.

Thesis 6. For, first, it is not said, (Ex. xvi. 23,) Bake and seethe that to-day which may serve you next day; but, that which remains, (viz., which is not sod nor baked,) lay it up until the morning, and consequently for the morrow of the next day, which being thus laid up, I do not find that they are forbidden to bake or seethe that which remains upon the next day; but rather, if they must use it the next day, they might then bake it or seethe it that day also, as they did that of the sixth day, and without which they could not have the comfortable use of it upon the Sabbath day. Indeed, it was as lawful to grind and beat the manna in mills and mortars, mentioned Num. xi. 8, upon this day as now to thresh and grind corn this day; the meal therefore, which did remain, is not forbidden to be baked or sod upon this day; nor would God's special and miraculous providence appear in preserving it from worms and stinking, if there had been any baking of it the day before, and not rather upon the Sabbath day.

Thesis 7. Although also they were forbidden to kindle fire upon this day, (Ex. xxxv. 3,) in respect of some use, yet they are not forbidden so to do in respect of any use whatsoever. For there was fire kindled for the Sabbath sacrifices, and it would have been a breach of the rule of mercy, not to kindle a fire for the sick and weak in the wilderness. Nehemiah also, a man most strict and zealous for the Sabbath, yet had such provision made every day as could not be dressed nor eaten without some fire upon the Sabbath day, (Neh. v. 18;) and the Sabbath not being a fast, but a feast in those times as well as these, hence it is not unsuitable to the time to have comfortable provisions made ready, provided that the dressing of meat be not an ordinary hinderance to public or private duties of holiness upon this day, (Ex. xii. 16:) this kindling of the fire here forbidden must therefore be understood in respect of the scope of the place, viz., not to kindle a fire for any servile work, no, not in respect of this particular use of it. viz., to further the building of the sanctuary

and tabernacle, made mention of in this chapter; for it is said, whosoever shall do any work therein (i. e., any servile work, which is more proper for the week time) shall be put to death, (ver. 2;) there is, therefore, either no dependence of these words in the third verse with those in the second, or else we must understand it of kindling fires restrictively for any servile work, which is there forbidden not only the Jews, but us Christians also.

Thesis 8. The man that gathered sticks on the Sabbath (Num. xv. 30) was put to death. What! for gathering of sticks only? Why then did not the just God put them to death who were the first offenders, (and therefore most fit to be made examples,) who went out to gather manna upon this day? (Ex. xvi.) This gathering of sticks, therefore, though little in itself, yet seems to be aggravated by presumption; and that the man did presumptuously break the Sabbath, and therefore it is generally observed, that this very example follows the law of punishing a presumptuous transgressor with death in this very chapter: and though it be said that they found a man gathering sticks, as if it were done secretly, and not presumptuously, yet we know that presumptuous sins may be committed secretly as well as openly, though they are not in so high a degree presumptuous as when they are done more openly: the fear of the law against Sabbath breakers might restrain the man from doing that openly which before God was done proudly and presumptuously; and though Moses doubted what to do with the man, who had that capital law given him before against Sabbath breakers, yet they might be ignorant for a time of the full and true meaning of it, which the Lord here seems to expound, viz., that a Sabbath breaker sinning presumptuously is to be put to death; and although it be doubted whether such a law is not too rigorous in these times, yet we do see that where the magistrate neglects to restrain from this sin, the Lord takes the magistrate's work into his own hand, and many times cuts them off suddenly who profane his Sabbath presumptuously; and it is worth inquiring into, whether presumptuous Sabbath breakers are not still to be put to death; which I doubt not but that the Lord will either one day clear up, or else discover some specialty in the application of this judicial law, to that polity of the Jews, as most fit for them, and not so universally fit for all others in Christian commonwealths; but this latter I yet see no proof for; nor do I expect the clearing up of the other while the temper of the times is loose and lukewarm.

Thesis 9. Considering, therefore, that some work may be done upon the Sabbath, and some not, and that man's heart is apt to run to extremes, either to gross profaneness or pharisaical

strictness, we are therefore to inquire what works we must rest from, and what not from, upon the Sabbath day.

Thesis 10. If the Scriptures may be judge herein, we shall find that when they forbid all manner of work, they interpret this of servile work. The work forbidden in the annual Sabbaths, (which did but shadow out the rest on this Sabbath,) it is servile work, (Lev. xxiii. 7, 8;) and hence the rest on the Sabbath (in this fourth command) is opposed to the labor on the week days, which is properly servile, lawful to be done then, but unlawful upon the Sabbath day.

Thesis 11. The schoolmen and some of their late idolizers, (like the Pharisees of old,) ever blind in interpreting the spiritualness of the law of God, describe a servile work in that manner, so as that the grinding of watermills and windmills, as also the counsels of lawyers to their clients, the herring trade of fishermen, are with them no servile works on this day; and indeed they scarce make any work servile, but what is slavish and external bondage and burden.

Thesis 12. But if we consult with Scriptures and the very words of this fourth commandment, we shall find two things concurring to make up a servile work: 1. If any work be done for any worldly gain, profit, or livelihood, to acquire and purchase the things of this life by, (which is the principal end of week-day labor, Eph. iv. 28; 1 Thess. iv. 12,) this is a servile work, all one with what the commandment calls "thy work." Hence buying, selling, sowing, reaping, which are done for worldly gain, are unlawful on this day, being therefore servile works; hence also worldly sports and pastimes (which are ordained of God to whet on worldly labor, not necessary every day, but only at some seasons) are therefore most proper appurtenances unto days of labor, and are therefore unlawful upon this day. Holy times are no more to be sported on than holy places; hence also, on the other side, to rub the ears of corn, to dress meat for comfortable nourishment of man, because they respect not worldly gain, are no servile works, nor yet unlawful, but may be more lawfully done for the comfort of man than to lead his horse to the water this day, (Luke vi. 2, and xiii. 15, and xiv. 5;) hence also such works as are done only for the preservation of the creatures, as to pull a sheep out of a ditch, to quench fire in a town, to save corn and hay from the sudden inundation of water, to keep fire in the iron mills, to sit at stern and guide the ship, and a thousand such like actions, (being not done properly for worldly gain,) are not unlawful; God himself not ceasing from works of preservation, when he did from those of

creation; hence also such works as are not works of immediate worship, but only required necessarily thereto, as killing the sacrifices in the temple, traveling a Sabbath day's journey to the public assemblies, being no servile works for outward gain, are not unlawful upon this day.

2. Such worldly works, which though they be not done for worldly gain or profit, yet if by a provident care and foresight they might be done as well the week before, or may as well be done a week after the Sabbath, these also are servile works; for thus the commandment expresseth it: "Six days thou mayest do all thy work," (meaning which can be done as well the week before,) and if all can not be done, it may therefore be as well done the week after. Hence the building of the tabernacle, (which was not so much for man's profit as God's honor,) because it might be done upon the six days seasonably enough, hence it is prohibited upon the Sabbath day. (Ex. xxxi.) If a man hath corn in the field, though he may pretend that the weather is uncertain, and it is ready to be brought into the barn, yet he is not to fetch it in upon the Sabbath day, because there is no imminent danger of spoil the Monday after, and then he may fetch it as well as upon that day; the like may be said concerning seamen's setting sail upon the Sabbath day, though they be uncertain of a fair gale upon the day after. Yet we must trust God's providence, who almost in all such matters keeps us at uncertainties; hence also the sweeping of the house ought not to be done now, if it may as well be done the day before; so also to buy any things at shops, or to wash clothes; if they may be done the week before or after, they must not be done upon this day; hence, on the other side, works of necessity, which can not be so conveniently done the day before or after, are not unlawful upon this day, as to fly in persecution, to watch the city, to fight with the enemy. (Matt. xxiv. 24. 2 Kings i. 2.) Hence also works of necessity, not only for preservation of life, but also for comfort and comeliness of life, are not unlawful; for it is a gross mistake to think that works only of absolute necessity are allowed only upon this day; for to lead an ox to water, which in the strictest times was not disallowed of, is not of absolute necessity, for it may live more than a day without it; only it is necessary for the comfort of the life of the beast: how much more is allowed to the comfort of the life of man! The disciples possibly might have lived longer than the Sabbath without rubbing corn ears, and men may live on Sabbath days generally without warm meat, yea, they may fast perhaps all that day; yet it is not unlawful to eat such meat, because it is necessary for the comfort of life. Hence also to put on comely

garments, to wash hands and face, and many such things as are necessary for the comeliness as well as the comfort of life, are not unlawful now; there is sometimes an inevitable necessity by God's providence, and sometimes a contracted necessity through want of care and foresight: in this case the work may sometimes be done, provided that our neglect beforehand be repented of: in a word, he that shall conscientiously endeavor that no more work be done on the Sabbath than what must be done for the ends mentioned, that so he may have nothing else to do but to be with God that day, shall have much peace to his own conscience herein, against Satan's clamors: hence, lastly, not only outward servile work, but servile thoughts, affections, and cares, are to be cast off this day from the sight of God, as others are from the eyes of men; servile thoughts and affections being as much against the fourth commandment as unchaste and filthy thoughts against the seventh.

Thesis 13. That we are to abstain from all servile work, not so much in regard of the bare abstinence from work, but that having no work of our own to mind or do, we might be wholly taken up with God's work, being wholly taken off from our own that he may speak with us, and reveal himself more fully and familiarly to us, (as friends do when they get alone,) having called and carried us out of the noise and crowd of all worldly occasions and things.

Thesis 14. Holy rest, therefore, being for holy work, it may not be amiss to inquire what this work is, and wherein it consists; for which end I shall not instance in any the particular several duties, in public and private, of holiness and mercy, because this is to be found in all who write upon this subject. I shall only speak of that kind of holiness which the Lord requires in all public and private duties, and is to run through them, and as it were animate them; and in truth to find out this, and observe this, is one of the greatest difficulties (but yet the greatest excellency) of a Christian life. It consists therefore in these five things:—

Thesis 15. The first: the holiness upon this day ought to be immediate. I do not mean without the use of public or private means, but in respect of worldly things; for we are commanded to be holy in all manner of conversation all the week in our worldly affairs. (1 Pet. i. 17.) Holiness is to be writ upon our cups, and pots, and horse bridles, and plows, and sickles, (Zech. xiv. 20, 21;) but this holiness is more immediate; we enjoy God by and in the creature, and in our weekly occasions and providences; but do we think that there is no more holiness required upon the Sabbath? Verily, every day then should be

our Christian Sabbath, which is most false ; and therefore some more immediate holiness is required now on this day which is not then, nor required of us every week day ; and what can this be but drawing near to God this day more immediately, and as near as mortal man can do, and casting aside the world, and getting out of it, and so to be near God in prayer, in hearing the word, in meditation, etc.? (Ps. xcv. 5, 6.) If it were possible to be with and enjoy Christ in heaven where there are no means, we should this day long for it, and prize it ; but because this can not yet be, and that the Lord comes down from heaven to us in his ordinances, and thereby makes himself as near to us as he can in this frail life, hence we are not only to draw near to ordinances, but to God and Christ in them, upon this day, and so be as near them with greatest immediateness that we can. (Ps. xlii. 1, 2 ; lxiii. 1–3.) Adam did enjoy God in his calling the week day, but this was not so immediate as he was to have upon the Sabbath day.

Thesis 16. The second is, this holiness ought not only to be immediate, but also special, and in our endeavors after the highest degree, and with the greatest intention of holiness ; for we are bound every day to be holy in more immediate and near approaches to God some time or other of the day ; but now we are called to be more specially holy, because both the day and ourselves are now set apart for it in a more special manner. We are to love, fear, delight in God, and pray to him, and muse on him every day, but now in a more special manner all these are to be done. The Sabbath is not only called "holy," but "holiness to the Lord," (Ex. xxxi. 15 ;) which shows that the day is exceeding holy, and suitably our affections and hearts ought therefore so to be. The sacrifice on this day was to be doubled. (Num. xxviii. 9.) The Lord would have double honor from us this day ; that as in the week time we are sinfully drowned in the cares of this world, and affections thereto, so upon every Sabbath we should be in a holy manner drowned in the cares, and thoughts, and affections of the things of God ; and hence we are commanded to call the Sabbath our delight, and not to think our own thoughts, or do our own works this day. (Is. lviii. 13.) David said (Ps. xliii. 4) that he would go to the altar of God, (the place of public worship,) to God his joy, yea, his exceeding joy ; so are we not only to draw near to altar, word, sacraments, prayer, but to God in them ; nay, to God in them as our exceeding joy, our exceeding love, our exceeding fear, etc., especially upon this day. There is scarce any week but we contract soil from our worldly occasions, and by touching worldly things ; and

we suffer many decays, and lose much ground by temptations herein. Now, the Lord pitying us, and giving us a Sabbath of recovery, what should we do now but return, recover, and renew our strength, and, like the eagle, cast our bills, and stand before our God and King this day of state and royal majesty, when all his saints compass his throne and presence, with our most beautiful garments, mourning especially that we fall so far short of Sabbath acts and services? We should not content ourselves with working-day holiness, joys, fears, hopes, prayers, praises; but Sabbath joys, fears, praises, must be now our ornaments, and all within us must be raised up to a higher strain; that as God gives us this day, special grace, means of grace, seasons of grace, special occasions of grace, by reviewing all our experiences the week past, so there is good reason that the Lord should be honored with special holiness this day.

Thesis 17. The third is, this holiness ought to be not only immediate and special, but constant and continued, the whole day together. For upon every day of the week we are to take some time for converse with God; but our worldly occasions soon call us off, and that lawfully; but Sabbath holiness must be constant and continued all the day. If the Lord was so strict that he would not lose a moment's honor in a ceremonial day of rest, (Lev. xxiii. 32,) what shall we think the Lord expects upon this day which is moral? The Lord would not be honored this day only by fits, and flashes, and sudden pangs, which pass away as the early dew, but as it is in the psalm for the Sabbath. "It is good to sing of his loving kindness in the morning, and of his faithfulness every night," (Ps. xcii. 1, 2;) and though this be a wearisome thing to the flesh to be so long pent in, and although we can not perfectly do it, yet it is a most sweet and glorious work in itself, to think that the infinite glorious God should call a poor, sinful creature to be with him and attend upon him all the day long: to be ever with the Lord is best of all; but next to that to be with him a whole day together. They that see how fit they are to be forever banished from the presence of the Most High, and how exceeding unworthy to come into it, can not but infinitely and excessively prize that love of Jesus Christ, this day to come and enter into his rest, and lie in his very bosom all the day long, and as a most loving friend loth to part with them till needs must and that the day is done.

Thesis 18. The fourth is, this holiness ought not only to be immediate, special, and constant, but all those holy duties are thus to be performed of us as that hereby we may enter into rest; so as that our souls may find and feel the sweet of the true rest of the

Sabbath; and therefore it must be a sweet and quieting holiness also; for the Sabbath is not only called a Sabbath of rest in respect of our exemption from bodily labor, but because it is so to be sanctified, as that on this day we enter into rest, or such a fruition of God as gives rest to our souls; otherwise we never sanctify a Sabbath aright, because we then fall short of this, which is the main end thereof, until we come so to seek God as that we find him, and so find him as that we feel rest in him, in drawing near to him and standing before him; that as God, after his six days' labor, did rest, and was refreshed in the fruition of himself, so should we, after our six days' labor, also be refreshed in the presence of the Lord; that in case we want means upon the Sabbath, yet he may be in lieu of them unto us; and in case we have them, and find but little by them conveyed to us, yet that by that little we may be carried on the wings of faith beyond all means unto that rest which upon this day we may find in his bosom; that as Christ, after his labors, entered into his rest, (Heb. iv.,) so we ought to labor after the same Sabbatism begun here on earth, but perfected in heaven; that after all the weary steps we tread, and sins and sorrows we find all the week, yet when the Sabbath comes we may say, Return unto thy rest, O my soul. The end of all labor is rest; so the end of all our bodily and spiritual labor, whether on the week days or Sabbath day, it should be this rest; and we should never think that we have reached the end of the day until we taste the rest of the day. Nor is this rest a meteor in the air, and a thing only to be wished for, but can never be found; but assuredly those who are wearied with their sins in the week and wants on the Sabbath, and feel a need of rest and refreshing, shall certainly have the blessing, viz., the rest of these seasons of refreshing and rest, and the comforts of the Holy Ghost filling their hearts this day. (Is. l. 2–4; lvi. 5–8; lviii. 13, 14. Ps. xxxvi. 7, 8.) Not because of our holiness, which is spotted at the best, but because of our great High Priest's holiness, who hath it written upon his forehead to take away the iniquity of all our holy offerings, (Ex. xxviii. 36, 38;) and who hath garments of grace and blood to cover us, and to present us spotless before the face of that God whom we seek and serve with much weakness, and whom at last we shall find, when our short day's work here is done, and our long-looked-for Sabbath of glory shall begin to dawn.

Thesis 19. Now, when the Lord hath inclined us thus to rest and sanctify his Sabbath, what should the last act of our holiness be but diffusive and communicative, viz., in doing our utmost that others under us, or that have relation to us, that they sanctify the

Sabbath also, according to the Lord's express particular charge in the commandment, "Thou, thy son, thy daughter, thy servants, the stranger within thy gates"? The excellency of Christ's holiness consists in making us like himself in holiness; the excellency and glory of a Christian's holiness is to endeavor to be like to the Lord Christ therein: our children, servants, strangers who are within our gates, are apt to profane the Sabbath; we are therefore to improve our power over them for God, in restraining them from sin, and in constraining them (as far as we can) to the holy observance of the rest of the Sabbath, lest God impute their sins to us, who had power (as Eli in the like case) to restrain them and did not; and so our families and consciences be stained with their guilt and blood.

Thesis 20. And if superiors in families are to see their gates preserved unspotted from such provoking evils, can any think but that the same bond lies upon superiors in commonwealths, who are the fathers of those great families, whose subjects also are within their gates, and the power of their jurisdictions? The civil magistrate, though he hath no power to impose new laws upon the consciences of his subjects, yet he is bound to see that the laws of God be kept by all his subjects; provided always, that herein he walk according to the law and rule of God, viz., that, 1, ignorant consciences in clear and momentous matters be first instructed; 2, doubting consciences have sufficient means of being resolved; 3, bold and audacious consciences be first forewarned. Hence it is, that though he hath no power to make holy days, and to impose the observation of them upon the consciences of his subjects, (because these are his own laws,) yet he may and should see that the Sabbath day, (the Lord's holy day,) that this be observed, because he doth but see to the execution of God's commandment herein.

By what rule did Nehemiah not only forbid the breach of the Sabbath, but did also threaten bodily punishment upon the men of Tyre? (although they were heathens, yet were they at this time within the gates and compass of his jurisdiction, Neh. xiii. 21.) Certainly he thought himself bound in conscience to see that the Sabbath should not be profaned by any that were within his gates, according to this fourth commandment. If kings, and princes, and civil magistrates have nothing to do in matters of the first table, (and consequently must give any man liberty to profane the Sabbath that pretends conscience,) why then doth Jeremy call upon princes to see that it be not profaned, with promise of having their crowns and kingdoms preserved from wrath if thus they do, and with threatening the burning up and con-

suming of city and kingdom if this they do not ? (Jer. xvii. 19, 25, 27.) If civil magistrates have nothing to do herein, they then have nothing to do to preserve their crowns, kingdoms, scepters, subjects, from fire and blood, and utter ruin. Nehemiah was no type of Christ, nor were the kings of Israel bound to see the Sabbath kept as types of Christ, but as nursing fathers of the commonwealth, and because their own subjects were within their gates, and under their power ; and therefore, according to this moral rule of the commandment, they were bound not only to keep it themselves, but to see that all others did so also. It is true civil magistrates may abuse their power, judge amiss, and think that to be the command of God which is not ; but we must not therefore take away their power from them, because they may pervert it and abuse it ; we must not deny that power they have for God, because they may pervert it and turn the edge of it against God ; for if upon this ground the magistrate hath no power over his subjects in matters of the first table, he may have also all his feathers pulled from him, and all his power taken from him in matters of the second table ; for we know that he may work strange changes there, and pervert justice and judgment exceedingly : we must not deny their power, because they may turn it awry, and hurt God's church and people by it, but (as the apostle exhorts, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2) to pray for them the more, that under them we may live a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty : it is a thousand times better to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake and for a good conscience, than to desire and plead for toleration of all consciences, that so (by this cowardly device and lukewarm principle) our own may be untouched : it was never heard of, until now of late, that any of God's prophets, apostles, martyrs, faithful witnessess, etc., that they ever pleaded for liberty in error, but only for the truth, which they preached and prayed for, and suffered for unto the death ; and their sufferings for the truth with zeal, patience, faith, constancy, have done more good than the way of universal toleration is like to do, which is purposely invented to avoid trouble. Truth hath ever spread by opposition and persecution ; but error, being a child of Satan, hath fled, by a zealous resisting of it.

Sick and weak men are to be tendered much, but lunatic and frantic men are in best case when they are well fettered and bound : a weak conscience is to be tendered, a humble conscience tolerated ; errors of weakness, not wickedness, are with all gentleness to be handled ; the liberty given in the reign of Episcopacy for sports, and pastimes, and may games, upon the Lord's day, was

once loathsome to all honest minds; but now to allow a greater liberty to buy, sell, plow, cart, thresh, sport upon the Sabbath day, to all those who pretend conscience, or rather that they have no conscience of one day more than another, is to build up Jericho and Babel again, and to lay foundations of wrath to the land; for God will certainly revenge the pollutions of his Sabbaths: if God be troubled in his rest, no wonder if he disturbs our peace: some of the ancients think that the Lord brought the flood of waters upon the Sabbath day, as they gather from Gen. vii. 10, because they were grown to be great profaners of the Sabbath; and we know that Prague was taken upon this day. The day of their sin began all their sorrows, which are continued to this day, to the amazement of the world. When the time comes that the Lord's precious Sabbaths are the days of God's church's rest, then shall come in the church's peace. (Ps. cii. 13, 14.) The free grace of Christ must first begin herein with us, that we may find at last that rest which this evil world is not yet like to see, unless it speedily love his law more, and his Sabbaths better.

I could therefore desire to conclude this doctrine of the Sabbath with tears, and I wish it might be matter of bitter lamentation to the mourners in Sion, every where to behold the universal profanation of these precious times and seasons of refreshing, toward which, through the abounding of iniquity, the love of many, who once seemed zealous for them, is now grown cold: the Lord might have suffered poor, worthless, sorrowful man to have worn and wasted out all his days in this life in weariness, grief, and labor, and to have filled his days with nothing else but work, and minding of his own things, and bearing his own necessary cumbers and burdens here, and never have allowed him a day of rest until he came up to heaven at the end of his life; and thus to have done would have been infinite mercy and love, though he had made him grind the mill only of his own occasions, and feel the whip and the lash only of his daily griefs and labors, until dark night came; but such is the overflowing and abundant love of a blessed God, that it can not contain itself (as it were) so long a time from special fellowship with his people here in a strange land, and in an evil world, and therefore will have some special times of special fellowship and sweetest mutual embracings; and this time must not be a moment, an hour, a little, and then away again; but a whole day, that there may be time enough to have their fill of love in each other's bosom before they part: this day must not be merely occasional at human liberty, and now and then, lest it be too seldom, and so strangeness grow between them; but the Lord (who exceeds and excels poor man in love) therefore to

make all sure, he sets and fixeth the day, and appoints the time, and how to meet, merely out of love, that weary man may enjoy his rest, his God, his love, his heaven, as much and as often as may be here, in this life, until he come up to glory, to rest with God; and that because man can not here enjoy his days of glory, he might therefore foretaste them in days of grace; and is this the requital, and all the thanks he hath for his heart-breaking love? to turn back sweet presence and fellowship, and love of God in them, to dispute away these days with scorn and contempt, to smoke them away with profaneness and mad mirth, to dream them away with vanity; to drink, to swear, to riot, to whore, to sport, to play, to card, to dice, to put on their best apparel that they may dishonor God with greater pomp and bravery, to talk of the world, to be later up that day than any other day of the week, when their own irons are in the fire, and yet to sleep sermon, or scorn the ministry, if it comes home to their consciences; to tell tales and break jests at home, or (at best) to talk of foreign or domestic news, only to pass away the time, rather than to see God in his works, and warm their hearts thereby; to think God hath good measure given him, if they attend on him in the forenoon, although the afternoon be given to the devil, or sleep, or vanity, or foolish pastimes; to draw near to God in their bodies, when their thoughts, and hearts, and affections are gone a-hunting or ravening after the world the Lord knows where, but far enough off from him: do you thus requite the Lord for this great love, O foolish people and unwise? Do you thus make the days of your rest and joy the days of the Lord's sorrow and trouble? Do you thus weary the Lord when he gives rest unto you? Was there ever such mercy shown, or can there be ever any greater love upon earth, than for the Lord to call to a wicked, sinful creature, which deserves to be banished forever out of his presence, to come unto him, enter into his rest, take his fill of love, and refresh itself in his bosom in a special manner all this day? And therefore can there be a greater sin above ground committed out of hell than thus to sin against this love? I do not think that the single breach of the Sabbath (as to sport and feast inordinately) is as great a sin as to murder a man, (which some have cast out to the reproach of some zealous for the observation of the Sabbath day, truly the Lord knows,) for I believe their milk sod over, if thus they said; but I speak of the Sabbath under this notion and respect, and as herein God's great love appears to weary, sinful, restless man, as a day wherein all the treasures of his most rich and precious love are set open; and in this respect, let any man tell me what greater sin he can

imagine than sins against the greatest love. The same sins which are committed upon other days in the week are then provoking sins; but to commit these sins upon the Sabbath day is to double the evil of them. Drinking, and swearing, and rioting, and vain talking, etc., are sins on the week day, but they are now but single sins; but these and such like sins on the Sabbath day are double sins, because they are now not only sins against God's command, but also against God's Sabbaths too, which much aggravates them; and yet men mourn not for these sins: had the Lord never made known his Sabbaths to his churches and people in these days, they might then have had some excuse for their sins; but now to profane them since God hath made them known to us, especially the English nation and people to do it, upon whom the Lord hath shined out of heaven with greater light and glory in this point of the Sabbath, above any other places and churches in the world, what will they have to say for themselves? with what fig leaves will they hide this nakedness before the tribunal of God?

The Lord might have hid his Sabbaths from us, and gone to another people that would have been more thankful for them and glad of them than we have been; and yet he hath been loth to leave us; and do we thus requite the Lord? Surely he hath no need of the best of us, or of our attendance upon him upon these days; it is only his pity, which, seeing us wearied with sorrows, and wearying ourselves in our sins, makes him call us back to a weekly rest in his bosom, who might have let us alone, and tired out our hearts in our own folly and madness all our days; and do we thus requite the Lord? Certainly the time will come wherein we shall think (as once Jerusalem did in the days of her affliction) of all our pleasant things we once had in the days of our prosperity; certainly men shall one day mourn for the loss of all their precious time, who misspend it now, and (above all times) for the loss of their precious pleasant Sabbath seasons of refreshing, which once they had given them to find rest and peace in; when the smoke of their tormenting, everlasting burning shall ascend forever and ever, wherein they shall have no rest day nor night; you shall remember and think then, with tears trickling down your dry cheeks, of the Sabbaths, the pleasant Sabbaths that once you had, and shall never see one of those days of the Son of man more; you shall mourn then to see Abraham's bosom afar off, and thousand thousands at rest in it, where you also might have been as well as they, if you had not despised the rest of God here, in the bosom of his Sabbaths.

You shall then mourn, and wring your hands, and tear your

hair, and stamp, and grow mad, and yet weep to think that if you had had a heart to have spent that very time of the Sabbath in seeking God, in drawing near to God, in resting in God, which you dispend in idle talk and idleness, in rioting and wantonness, in sports and foolishness, upon this day, you had then been in God's eternal rest in heaven, and forever blessed in God. It is said Jerusalem remembered, in the day of her affliction, all her pleasant things when the enemy did mock at her Sabbaths; and so will you remember, with sad hearts, the loss of all your precious seasons of grace, especially then, when the devils, and heathens, and damned outcasts, who never had the mercy to enjoy them, shall mock at thee for the loss of thy Sabbaths. Verily I can not think that any men that ever tasted any sweetness in Christ or his Sabbath, and felt the unknown refreshings of this sweet rest, but that they will mourn for their cold affections to them and unfruitful spending of them, before they die; otherwise never go about to blear men's eyes with discourse, and invectives, and disputes against them, or with carnal excuses for your licentious spending of them; for doubtless you taste not, and therefore know not what they are, and you will one day be found to be such as speak evil of the things you know not. Hear, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: is the infinite majesty and glory of God so vile in your eyes that you do not think him worthy of special attendance one day in a week? Doth he call you now to rest in his bosom, and will you now kick his bowels, despise this love, and spit in his face? Doth he call upon you to spend this day in holiness, and will you spend it in mirth, and sports, and pastimes, and in all manner of licentiousness? Hast thou wearied God with thine iniquities, and thyself in thine iniquities all the week long, (for which God might justly cut thee off from seeing any more Sabbath,) and doth the Lord Jesus (instead of recompensing thee thus) call you back again to your resting-place? and will you now weary the Lord again, that he can not have rest or quiet for you one day in a week?

O that we could mourn for these things! and yet walk abroad the face of the whole earth at this day, and then say where shall you find almost God's Sabbaths exactly kept; viz., with meet preparation for them, delight in them, with wonderment and thankfulness to God after the enjoyment of them. All the world knows to whom the barbarous Turks do dedicate their Fridays; the Jews also, how they sanctify their Saturdays, to the Lord Jehovah indeed, but not unto the Lord their God. What account the Papists put upon the Sabbaths, not only their writings, which level it with all other holy days, but also their loose

practice in sports and revelings upon this day, bear sufficient witness; and O that we had no cause to wash off this spot with our tears from the beautiful and pleasant face of the glorious grace and peace, which once shined in the German churches, by whose graves we may stand weeping, and say, This is your misery for this your provoking sin! Scotland knows best her own integrity, whose lights have been burning and shining long in their clearness in this particular; but England hath had the name, and worn this garland of glory, wherewith the Lord hath crowned it above all other churches. But how hath that little flock of slaughter, which hath wept for it, and preached, and printed, and done and suffered for it, been hated and persecuted! Who have been the scorn, and shame, and reproach of men, but a company of poor weaklings, for going out a few miles to hear a faithful, painful preacher, from those idle shepherds, who either could not feed them with knowledge and understanding at home, or else would not do it through gross profaneness, or extreme idleness?

And now, since God hath broken the yoke of their oppressors, and set his people at liberty to return to Sion and her solemn assemblies, as in days of old, and hath given to them the desires of their hearts, that they may now be as holy on the Sabbath as they will, without any to reproach them, at least to countenance such reproaches of them; now, I say, when one would think the precious Sabbaths, (which so many of God's servants in former time have brought down to this generation, swimming in their tears and prayers, and which many in these days have so much looked and longed for,) that every eye should be looking up to heaven with thankfulness for these, and that every heart should embrace God's Sabbaths with tears of joyfulness, and bid this dear and precious friend welcome, and lie and rest in their bosom; and so I doubt not but that England hath yet many a corner full of such precious jewels, to whom God's Sabbaths are yet most precious and glorious, and who can not easily forget such blessed seasons and means in them, whereby (if ever the Lord did good unto them) they have been so oft refreshed, and wherein they have so oft seen God, wherein they so oft met with him, and he with them: but whose heart will it not make to relent and sigh, to hear of late a company, not of ignorant debauched persons, malignants, prelatical, and corrupt and carnal men, but of such who have many of them in former times given great hopes of some fear of God, and much love to God's ordinances and Sabbaths? and now (what hurt the Sabbath's ordinances of the Lord Jesus therein have done them, I know not,

but) it would break one's heart to see what little care there is to sanctify the Sabbath, even by them who think in their judgments that the day is of God. What poor preparation for it, either in themselves or families! what little care to profit by it, or to instruct or catechize their families, and to bring them also in love with it! what secret weariness and deadheartedness (almost wholly unlamented) remain upon them! what earthly thoughts, what liberty in speech about any worldly matter, presently after the most warning sermon is done! that the Lord Jesus hath scarce good carcasses and outsides brought him, which can not but threaten more crows to pick them unless they repent; and yet this is not so sad as to see the looseness of men's judgments in this point of the Sabbath, whereby some think a Sabbath lawful, but not necessary, (in respect of any command of God;) nay, some think it superstition to observe a weekly Sabbath, which should be every day, (as they imagine;) they have allegorized God's Sabbaths and almost all God's ordinances out of the world, and cast such pretended anti-Christian filth and pollution upon them, that spiritual men must not now meddle with them; nay, verily, all duties of the moral law, and fruitful obedience, and holy walking, and sanctification, graces, and humiliation, and such like, are the secret contempt of many, and the base drudgery for a mill horse and legal Christian, rather than for one that is of an evangelical frame; and herein Satan now appears with the ball at his foot, and seems to threaten in time to carry all before him, and to kick and carry God's precious Sabbaths out of the world with him; and then farewell dear Lord Jesus, with all thy sweet love and life, if Sabbaths be once taken from us by the blind and bold disputings of wretched men: authority as yet upholds them, (which is no small mercy,) and the favor of Christ's sweetness in them, and the external brightness of the beauty of them, do still remain on many, with that strength and glory that it is not good policy for the prince of darkness now to employ all his forces against the gates of the Sabbath; but the time hastens wherein the assault will be great and fierce, and I much fear that for the secret contempt of these things, the Lord, in dreadful justice, will strengthen delusions about this day to break forth and prosper; and then pray, you poor saints of God and hidden ones, that "your flight may not be in the winter, nor on the Sabbath day;" but "woe then to them that give suck," woe then to the high ministry that should have kept these gates, woe then to that loose and wanton generation rising up, who think such outward forms and observation of days to be too coarse and too low and mean a work for their ennobled spirits, which are

now raised higher and nearer God than to look much after Sabbaths or ordinances, graces or duties, or any such outward forms; for I doubt not, but if, after all the light and glory shining in England concerning God's Sabbaths, if yet they are not thereby become precious, but that the Lord will make them so by his plagues, if this sin once get head, God will burn up the whole world, and make himself dreadful to all flesh, until he hath made unto himself a holy people, and a humble people, that shall "love the dust, and take pleasure in the very stones of his" house, and love the "place where his honor dwells," and long for the time wherein his presence and blessing shall appear and be poured out upon the Sabbath day.

It is matter of the greatest mourning, that they, above all others, should trouble God's rest, wherein perhaps their souls have found so much rest, or might have done; that in these times, wherein the Lord Jesus was coming out to give unto his house his ordinances, and unto his people his Sabbaths and days of rest every way, that now they, above all others, should offer to pull them out of his hand, tread them under foot, and hereby teach all the profane rout in the world to do the like, with a quiet conscience and without any check by their reasonings; that now when God is wasting the land, and burning down its glory, for the sins against his Sabbaths, that just at this time, more than ever, they should rise up to pollute and profane this day. The Lord grant his poor people to see cause at last to mourn for this sin, that the rest of the Sabbath may be rest to their souls, especially in this weary hour of temptation, which is shaking all things, and threatens yet greater troubles unto all flesh. The Lord Jesus certainly hath great blessings in his hand to pour out upon his people, in giving them better days, and brighter and more beautiful Sabbaths, and glorious appearances; but I fear, and therefore I desire that this unwise and unthankful generation may not stand in their own way, lest the Lord make quick work, and give those things to a remnant to enjoy, which others had no hearts to prize.

SUBJECTION TO CHRIST,

IN ALL HIS

ORDINANCES AND APPOINTMENTS,

THE BEST MEANS TO

PRESERVE OUR LIBERTY.

TOGETHER WITH A

TREATISE

OF

INEFFECTUAL HEARING THE WORD;

HOW WE MAY KNOW WHETHER WE HAVE HEARD THE SAME EFFECTUALLY, AND BY WHAT MEANS IT MAY BECOME EFFECTUAL UNTO US.

WITH SOME REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE.

MATT. xi. 29. — "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

TO THE READER.

One of the sweetest refreshing mercies of God, to his New England people, amidst all their wilderness trials, and straits and sorrows, wherewith they at first conflicted in those ends of the earth, hath been their sanctuary enjoyments, in the beauties of holiness, where they have seen and met with Him whom their souls love, and had familiar and full converse with him, above what they could then enjoy in the land from whence they came. This is that that hath sweetened many a bitter cup to the remnant of Israel. The Lord alone led him, and there was no strange God with him, was said concerning Israel of old; and this was accounted mercy enough when he led them into a land where no man dwelt, and which no man passed through. What God hath done for New England in this respect, and what their sanctuary mercies be, thou hath here a taste, though but a taste. These notes may well be thought to be less accurate than if the author himself had published them, and to want some polishments and trimmings, which it were not fit for any other to add; however, thou wilt find them full of useful truths, and mayest easily discern his spirit, and a spirit above his own breathing in them.

Concerning the author, it were worth the while to write the story of his life.

It is needless to speak in his commendation; his works praise him in the gates. They that know him know he had as real apprehensions of the things of God, and lived as much with God, and with his own heart, and more than the most of Christians do. He had his education at Immanuel College in Cambridge. The conversion and change of his heart was wrought betimes

when he lived in the university, and enjoyed Dr. Preston's ministry, whereby God had the very best and strength of his part and years for himself. When he was first awakened to look after religion, having before swam quietly in the stream of the times, he was utterly at a loss which way to take, being much molested with suggestions of atheism, (in the depths whereof Junius was quite lost for a time,) and moved and tempted to the ways of Familism also; for some advised him in this condition to go to Grindleston and to hear Mr. Brierley, and being informed that the people were wont to find a mighty possessing overpowering presence and work of the Spirit when they heard him, he resolved upon the journey; but God in mercy diverted him, having reserved him for better things. Yet he read what they said, and the books of H. N. amongst the rest, where meeting with this passage, "That a Christian is so swallowed up in the spirit, that what action soever the spirit moves him to, suppose whoredom, he may do it, and it is no sin to him;" this was enough; for being against the light of his natural conscience, it bred in him an utter abhorrency of those loose and vile ways and principles ever after. This advantage also he had, that Dr. Tuckney was then his tutor, whom he acquainted with his condition, and had his direction and help in those miserable fluctuations and straits of his soul. Happy is the man whose doubtings end in establishments; *nil tam certum, quàm quod de dubio certum*; but when men arrive in scepticism, as the last issue and result of all their debates and thoughts of heart about religion, it had been good for such if they had never been born.

After his heart was changed, it was observed of him, that his abilities of mind were also much enlarged, divinity, though it be chiefly the art and rule of the will, yet raising and perfecting the understanding also; which I conceive came to pass chiefly by this means, that the fear of God fixed him, and made him serious, and taught him to meditate, which is the main improvement of the understanding. Therefore such as came to him for direction about their studies, he would often advise them to be much in meditation, professing that, having spent some time

in meditation every day in his beginning times, and written down his thoughts, he saw cause now to bless God for it. He was assigned to the work of the ministry, at a solemn meeting and conference of sundry godly ministers about it; there were to the number of twelve present at the meeting, whose solemn advice was, that he should serve the Lord in the gospel of his Son; wherein they have been the salvation of many a soul; for upon this he addressed himself to the work with that reality and seriousness in wooing and winning souls, that his words made deep impressions, and seldom or never fell to the ground.

He was lecturer a while at Earlescolne, in Essex, (which, I take it, was the first place of his ministry,) where he did much good, and the people there, though now it is long since, and many are gone, yet they have a very precious and deep remembrance of him, of the mighty power of God by him to this day. But W. Laud, then Bishop of London, soon stopped his mouth, and drove him away, as he did many other godly ministers from Essex at the same time. After this he lived at Butterchrome, in Yorkshire, at Sir Richard Darley's house, till the iniquity of those times hunted him thence also. Then he went to Northumberland, till silenced there also; and being thus molested and chased up and down at home, he fled to New England, and after some difficulties and delays, by great storms and disasters at sea upon the sands and coasts of Yarmouth, which retarded his voyage till another year, he arrived there at last, where he was pastor to a precious flock at Cambridge about fourteen years. He was but forty-six or forty-seven years old when he died. His sickness began with a sore throat, and then a quinsy, and then a fever, whereof he died August 25th, 1649. This was one thing he said upon his death bed: "Lord, I am vile, but thou art righteous." And to those that were about him, he bade them love Jesus Christ dearly; "that little part that I have in him is no small comfort to me now."

His manner of preaching was close and searching, and with abundance of affection and compassion to his hearers. He took great pains in his preparations for his public labors, accounting

it a cursed thing to do the work of the Lord negligently; and therefore spending usually two or three whole days in preparing for the work of the Sabbath, had his sermons finished usually on Saturday by two of the clock. He hath sometimes expressed himself thus in public: "God will curse that man's labors that lumbers up and down in the world all the week, and then upon Saturday in the afternoon goes to his study, whenas God knows that time were little enough to pray and weep in, and to get his heart in frame, etc." He affected plainness together with power in preaching, not seeking abstrusities, nor liking to hover and soar aloft in dark expressions, and so shoot his arrows (as many preachers do) over the heads of his hearers.

It is a wretched stumbling block to some, that his sermons are somewhat strict, and (as they term it) legal; some souls can relish none but meal-mouthed preachers, who come with soft, and smooth, and toothless words, *byssina verba byssinis viris;* but these times need humbling ministries, and blessed be God that there are any; for where there are no law sermons, there will be few gospel lives, and were there more law preaching in England by the men of gifts, there would be more gospel walking both by themselves and the people. To preach the law, not in a forced, affected manner, but wisely and powerfully, together with the gospel, as Christ himself was wont to do, (Matt. v. and elsewhere.) is the way to carry on all three together — sense of misery, the application of the remedy, and the returns of thankfulness and duty. Nor is any doctrine more comforting than this humbling way of God, if rightly managed.

It is certain the foundations of after sorrows and ruins to the church have ever been laid in the days of her prosperity, and peace, and rest, when she enjoys all her pleasant things. This the watchmen of Israel should foresee; and therefore what should they do but seek to humble, and awaken, and search, and melt men's hearts, and warn every one night and day with tears, that, in the day of their peace, they may not sin away the things of their peace. There are therefore three requests, which we would desire to beg of God, with bended knees for England, to

perpetuate the present prosperity and peace thereof; and let us commend them to the mourning and praying ones amongst us, that they would be the Lord's remembrancers in these petitions: —

1. A right understanding and sober use of liberty. For when people come first out of bondage, they are apt to be not only somewhat fond of their liberties, but to wax giddy and wanton with liberty, and instead of shaking off the bloody yokes of men, to cast off, at least in part, the government and blessed yoke of Christ also. Hence it comes about that a day of rest from persecution, which should be a day of liberty to the saints to serve God, may become a day of great seduction, and of liberty to seducing spirits to deceive, and damn, and mislead them from the truths and ways of God. But the machinations of men, though in conjunction with the powers and gates of hell, shall certainly fall at last before truth and prayer. And of this is the first treatise which is seasonably published.

To be fast bound to the rule with all the bonds and cords of God and man is the perfection of liberty. Hence there is not a surer corner stone of ruin to a Christian commonwealth, that God will break them with unparalleled destructions by some overflowing scourge, when the day of vengeance is in his heart, than to think that religion is none of their liberties; and yet how many sons of Belial are there void of counsel! neither is there any understanding in them who imagine vain things, and say, "Let us break his bands asunder, and cast away his cords from us." How do men run into extremes, either stretching and paring every one to the giant's bed, and thereby denying liberty to the saints to serve him, according to the measure of their stature in Christ, or else, on the other hand, opening the door so wide as to plead for liberty to all the disguised enemies and sins against Christ, thereby, instead of uniting the saints in one, endeavoring, through a dreadful mistake, to unite Christ and Belial! It is a sad thing when a man is come to this pass, that he is not able to resolve his conscience whether Baal be God, or the Lord be God, and therefore would not have the worshipers of Baal punished, for fear lest Baal should be God. Is liberty nothing but

indifferency and irresolution of spirit in the things of God? Woe to the valley of vision, even to a sinful nation laden with iniquity, and led away from the truth as it is in Jesus, and to the host of the high ones that sit on high, in the day of his visitation, if this be the spirit of these times; for in the day when he visits, God will visit for these things.

2. That his word, especially the word of his gospel, may be precious and powerful, may run and be glorified in England. Alas! as there is much preaching, but few serious, few heart-breaking sermons, so there is much hearing, but little effectual hearing. Men stand like the oaks of Bashan before the words of the God of Israel; no terror of the Lord, no news of everlasting destruction, no evidence of the fierce anger of God upon them, which burns down to the bottom of hell, can take hold upon their spirits, or awaken their consciences, to make inquiries after God in this their day; yea, if the bars of the pit of hell were broken, and if the devils of hell should come flying up amongst us, in our solemn assemblies, from the fiery corners of the pit below, with everlasting burnings about their ears, and with chains of darkness rattling at their heels, they might fright men out of their wits, perhaps, or from the acts of sin, it may be, for a time, but it would not work upon their hearts, their desperate, dead, besotted hearts. The fools in Israel will have their swing in their lusts, and go to hell in a full career, let God do his best. O, the hardness of men's hearts! And the main reason of it is, because they hear but a sound of words, but they do not hear the Lord in that word; they hear words that are spoken by God, but they hear not, they see not, God himself therein. If ever thou wouldest profit by reading or hearing, take every word as a special message to thee from God; and of this fruitless hearing, and the rules of hearing aright, is the other treatise.

3. Conscience of his Sabbaths. Of which there is an elaborate discourse of this author, formerly published by himself; therefore we shall add no more. The blessing of Heaven go with these, to make us a willing people in the day of his power, to submit to his word, and to come under the wing of the govern-

ment of Jesus Christ, as esteeming these spiritual mercies our best mercies, our choicest and dearest liberties. If ever the Lord Jesus (which mercy forbid) should take his doleful and final farewell of the English nation, as when he laid the tombstone upon Jerusalem, such as these will be his mournings over us: "O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets and burnest them that are sent unto thee," as they did in the time of Popery, "how often would I have gathered thy children together," (by my word and spirit therein,) "even as a hen gathereth her chickens under the wings" (of my special government and protection,) "but ye would not; behold, your house is left unto you desolate." But the Lord, who doth not only make the day dark with night, but also turneth the shadow of death into the morning, even the Lord avert these evils, and the Lord make the English nation his Hephsibah, and the land Beulah, which is the prayer of his mourners in Sion, and of

Thy servants in Jesus, and for Jesus' sake,

William Greenhill,
Samuel Mather.

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER.

The precious memory of the author of these ensuing sermons needs no reviving to any gracious heart that had any knowledge of him. Yea, the world knows in part, (though but in a little part,) by some pieces of his formerly printed, (while he was yet with us,) who this author was, what it owes to God for him, and how justly it might sigh over his grave, with that of the apostle, "Of whom the world was not worthy!" His praise throughout all the churches is far above any addition by so mean a pen as writes these lines. But it is not fit that the first page of any thing published after his death (for I doubt not but his death is long ago publicly took notice of) should go without some witness of a mournful remembrance thereof, which, indeed, no tears can sufficiently lament. We who sometimes sat under his shadow, and were fed from God by him, (the poor flock of this shepherd,) among whom he lived, "testifying repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ;" and whom he sometimes "exhorted, comforted, and charged every one of us as a father doth his children;" we can not but carry sorrow in the bottom of our hearts to this day, that we must here see his face no more. Neither do we believe that his loss remains with us alone, or only within the limits of this remote wilderness; the benefit (and consequently the want) of such a burning and shining light is of more general concernment than we easily apprehend, especially in this age, wherein not only many sit in utter darkness, but, which is more, the new light thereof is darkness, and the

love of many waxing cold. But we must all be silent before Him whose judgments are unsearchable. Neither may we presume to say to him, What doest thou?

It is instantly, and not without cause, desired by many that such relics of his labors as do survive him may be (at least some of them) imparted to the public. To effect any thing considerable that way is not an easy or sudden work. But this small piece being at present attained, it seemed not amiss to let it pass the press. These were some of his lecture sermons, preached, most of them, in the year 1641. They are now transcribed by a godly brother, partly from the author's own notes, partly from what he took from his mouth. The subject (in both the texts) is of great use, and needful for these times, wherein there is more liberty than good use of it, and much more common and outward than saving and effectual knowledge of the word of God. These posthumous editions are far short of what the author was wont to do, and of what the sermons were in preaching. But though the sense be not every where so full, nor every thing so thoroughly spoken to, nor the style so good by far as the author's manner was, yet the intelligent reader will find a precious treasure of truth in it, not fit to be buried or neglected. The prophets do not live forever, but their words do. The Lord make them such ever-living words as may take hold of all our hearts, not for judgment, but for mercy; for one of these ways they shall live, yea, rise up at the last day.

March 29, 1652.

A

WHOLESOME CAVEAT

FOR A TIME OF LIBERTY.

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2 Chron. xii. 8, "Nevertheless they shall be his servants, that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms of the country."

THE greatest part of this chapter is spent in setting down that famous war which Shishak, king of Egypt, made against Rehoboam, king of Judah.

The cause of this war in regard of Shishak is not set down; probable conjectures there be: Jeroboam probably might be treacherous, who having a party in Egypt, lest Rehoboam should grow too great, together with some other pretended wrongs, might awaken this bear from his den; but in regard of God, you may see the reason set down, (ver. 2,) "because they had transgressed against the Lord."

The time of this war is set down in the first verse — when he had established the kingdom by wholesome laws, erecting God's worship, and countenancing godly men, (2 Chron. xi. 16, 17,) which continued three years, and strengthened himself by fortified places, and munition fit for war, as in the foregoing chapter appears. Now, when he had most peace and quiet, he and all Israel suddenly forsake the Lord, which was the fourth year; and in the fifth year comes Shishak, and with a mighty host wastes all before him until he comes to the chief city.

Now, in verse the fifth and sixth is set down the repentance of the people, with their princes especially. Shemaiah, who, no doubt, had spoke against their idolatrous courses before, takes his season when they were low and tamed, and tells them the true cause of their misery. (Ver. 5.) Many sins there were in the land, as idolatry, and whoredoms, etc.; yet the venom was, "They had forsaken the Lord." Let the sin be what it will be,

yet let it be such a one as men forsake the Lord by it, that is the provocation; hereupon they humble themselves, some effectually, some hypocritically, yet all outwardly, and say the Lord is righteous; they extenuate not their sin, they lay not the blame on man, no, not on Shishak, but see the Lord, justify his proceedings: The Lord is righteous, we unrighteous, although it were more heavy than it is.

Now, in the seventh verse, and in the words read, is set down the mitigation of God's plague, and the moderation of his chastisement, "I will not pour out all my wrath," yet I think it not fit to show perfect deliverance, "I will make them servants, to let them know," etc.

There are two parts in the words read: —

1. The punishment or chastisement on Judah for forsaking the Lord, and backsliding from him, which is bondage and privation of the liberty they had — they must be Shishak's servants.

2. The Lord's end; it was very gracious — "that they may know my service," etc.

For explication.

1. What is meant by service?

Ans. There are two things in service: 1. Government. 2. Subjection; cheerful obedience to that government. Both the Hebrew word, as also the nature of the thing itself, hath these two.

God sets up his government over a people; his people do or should subject cheerfully to this government. By my service is therefore meant my government, and your subjection wrought by me to this government.

2. "They shall know." 1. Not by the knowledge of the brain, for that they know now, but knowledge of experience, as it is said in Ezek. vi. ult.: "When I shall have made the land desolate in all their habitations, they shall know that I am the Lord." Now, what shall they know of it?

Ans. The difference between them, the sorrow of the one, the sweet of the other; the misery of the one, and blessedness of the other; the bondage of the one, and the liberty of the other.

There might be many things observed from the words, but I note only the general.

Obser. That when any people of God forsake the Lord, and cast off his government over them, they provoke the Lord to put them under the bondage of another government. They that abuse God's liberty must be under bondage; the Lord hath

a kingdom in this world most glorious; hence, when men will not be under it, if they will not be ruled by him, they must be ruled by the whip; and if Christ's laws can not bind, Christ's chains must. Jer. v. 19, "And it shall come to pass when ye shall say, Wherefore doth the Lord all these things unto us? then shalt thou answer them, Like as ye have forsaken me, and served strange gods in your land, so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours." Ps. cvii. 10, 11, "Such as sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, being bound in affliction and iron, because they rebelled against the words of God, and contemned the counsel of the Most High." Ezek. xx. 24, 25, "Because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and polluted my Sabbaths, etc. Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments, whereby they should not live," etc. Zech. xi. 15, 16, "And the Lord said unto me, Take unto thee yet the instruments of a foolish shepherd. For lo, I will raise up a shepherd in the land, which shall not visit those that be cut off, nor seek the young one, nor heal that that is broken, nor feed that that standeth still," etc.

When people break covenant with God, and loathe him, then saith the Lord, I will not feed, and then he sets over them idol shepherds.

This is certain: when the soul will not subject itself to God, he goes about to subject God to him, nay, to his lusts. Is. xliii. 24, "Thou hast made me to serve with thy sins." For one of them must stoop, and a man would have the Lord be merciful, patient, and pitiful to him, when he is in league with his lusts: now, this the Lord will not do. And hence, if he does not destroy him, he withdraws himself from serving of the creature, and hence other evils take hold of it, and bring it under. When Adam stood and was for God, all creatures served him, and the riches of God's goodness preserved him, the Lord communicated the sweet of his government or service to him; but when turned away from the right ways of God, now, if the Lord should serve him by governing of him in goodness, he should serve a lust, and bow to the creature, nay, to a lust, which is a viler thing than for one creature to fall down and worship another. Therefore, now, hence it comes to pass, because the Lord will not be a servant to any man's lust, there must be some other government that must seize upon them. Hence set all the saints in the churches with their faces subjected to the Lord, his good will and righteous ways, and then his goodness shall flow down upon them in and through Christ; for otherwise we have nothing to do

with good, but when we are set right for God. Hos. ii. 19, "I will betroth thee unto me forever, yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, in judgment, in loving kindness, and mercy," etc. The Lord will then command all creatures to be serviceable to his church and people. (Ver 21, 22.) But on the contrary, misery must needs seize upon the soul that doth cast off the government of the Lord Jesus. Thus much for the general explication of the point. Now, in particular, —

1. What is this government or service of God?
2. What is that bondage he captivates his unto?
3. Why doth the Lord do thus?

Ques. 1. What is this government or service of God which being shaken off the Lord gives them over to bondage?

Ans. There is a double government of the Lord over his people.

1. Internal or inward, of which our Saviour speaks. (Luke xvii. 21.) The kingdom of God (saith Christ) comes not by observation and outward pomp; "For behold the kingdom of God is within you." And this is nothing else in general, but when the Lord doth by his Spirit in the word of his grace cause the whole soul willingly to submit and subject itself to the whole will of God so far as it is made known to it; this is the inward kingdom of God and government of Christ in the soul. Rom. viii. 14, "So many as are led by the Spirit are the sons of God." Ps. cx. 2, "The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion," etc. 2 Cor. x. 4, "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." Ver. 5, "Bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." There are mighty boisterous distempers, but the Lord, when he comes in his kingdom, to sit upon the royal throne of the hearts of his people, now they fly; and this is the inward kingdom of Christ, like a poor subject pardoned and received to favor, he is before the face of the prince continually attending on him. Rev. vii. 14, 15, "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." Ver. 15, "Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple," etc. Now, this is meant in part by God's service in these days: do you think the Lord cared for thousands of rams? No, but to walk humbly. (Micah vi.) Did he care for temple and ordinances? No, but, (Is. i. 19,) "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land." Neh. ix. 20, "In these days he gave them his good Spirit to instruct them."

2. External or outward, the end and instigation of which was to set up and help forward the inward; for external ordinances are nothing in themselves, mean things; but as they are appointed and sanctified for this end, they are most glorious; and therefore Christ threatens the Jews (Matt. xxi. 43) that the kingdom should be taken from them. What was that? Surely not inward, for that they had not, but the outward and external means called God's kingdom; all these helps and means shall be taken from you, and all laid ruinous. Now, this external kingdom of Christ is double.

1. The external kingdom or government of God by his church, in the administration, and execution, and subjection to the blessed ordinances of God, wherein the power and kingdom of Christ is seen; and thus, (Dan. ii. 44, 45; vii. 27,) "It shall be given to the saints of the Most High," etc. Not to profane herds of beasts or cages of unclean birds, but to the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all the princes of the world shall subject themselves to this kingdom of Christ.

This outward kingdom Christ administereth amongst his people in this world: and this was part of the Lord's government over his people herein, though various from our form now.

2. Of the commonwealth which may have divers forms, and had in the time of Israel; but it receiving its law from God and governing for God, hence it was the government of God, and subjection hereunto was subjection and service to God himself. And hence, when the people cast off Samuel, (1 Sam. viii. 7,) "They have not rejected thee, but me." Rev. xi. 15, "The kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever." For although the commonwealth of Israel was made up of the church, and hence Josephus calls it a theocracy, where the Lord governed, and yet the same thing had divers ἠσοις, forms and respects, and hence there was a diverse government then, and hence made diverse. 2 Chron. xix. 5, 8, "Jehoshaphat sets judges in the land throughout all the fenced cities." Such is the wildness, boldness, and carelessness of men's hearts, that they do not only need laws, but watchmen over them, to see they be kept; and hence the Lord appointed some chief, some judges in every city, and also some in every village, as by proportion may be gathered, (Ex. xviii.;) every ten men had one over them.

Now, this was the blessed wisdom of God to put all into sweet subordination one unto another for himself.

1. Every one professing his name is made for God, for Christ,

"as Lord of lords, unto whom every knee must bow," and inwardly subject.

2. Hence the Lord (it being not good to leave man to himself) erects a kingdom of the church, with his own power and authority, and government in it for that end.

3. This being poor and shiftless against inward and outward revenge, hence the Lord sets up kingdoms of the world, which either rule for this end, or these ends, or not. If they do not, they are to answer it, and shall one day to Christ, "whom God hath made head over all things to the church." (Eph. i. 22.) If they do, then their government, judgment, and kingdom is the Lord's in a special manner; and hence break the yoke of subjection to any one of these, you cast off Christ, the Lord's government and service; and being so linked together, in truth if you break one you break all, and this will provoke the Lord to make you kiss the clink, and to put your necks under iron bondage that refuse subjection to him.

Ques. 2. What is that bondage or other government to which the Lord gives over his people when they have cast off his government: this will provoke the Lord if the Lord be cast off, and the casting off the government of Christ will bring the most famous kingdoms, churches, and families into bondage: you will say, What is this bondage? When is it that the Lord takes his season for the execution of it?

Ans. 1. The Lord takes his own times to do it; these were a twelvemonth before the Lord sent Shishak. Here he was more quick. Nebuchudnezzar comes at last, and many years it is before the Lord doth it.

2. The Lord is various in working; as he is wonderful and hath divers ways or means of bondage, he hath more prisons and chains than one.

1. Sometimes the Lord opens the door of a kingdom or state for the inroad of some foreign, or it may be barbarous enemy, breaking in sometimes by power, coming in sometimes by craft, and then ruling like lions, which the Lord makes to vex and prick the people of God; thus here their lives were spared, but liberties lost. Thus, Judg. ii. 13, 14, "They forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth;" and in verse 14, "The anger of the Lord waxed hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them." Ver. 15, "Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil." And this the Lord doth many times suddenly, that one would never think that ever the Lord should be so sudden; the Lord can be as quick to punish as man to sin, and that

unexpectedly. Eccl. ix. 12, "Man knows not his time, but is taken like fish in an evil net suddenly." Lam. iv. 12, "The kingdoms of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world, would not have believed." Judg. v. 8, "They set up new gods, and war was in the gate."

2. Sometimes the Lord turns the edge of that lawful authority God hath set over them against themselves, to be a heavy scourge from God upon them. Thus it was with Israel in Egypt, (Ex. i. 8, 9 ;) there arose a king which knew not Joseph, and it is said then they were oppressed. Thus Jeroboam, whom the ten tribes chose, (Hos. v. 11,) he oppressed the people, he will be innovating, and this becomes their oppression. Thus the people under the reign of degenerate Solomon, (though their complaint might be in part unjust.) Such is the venom of sin and unsubduedness to the kingdom of God, that the Lord turns light into darkness, and makes an aching head matter of sorrow to all the state and body of people. Eccl. x. 16, "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child." And one man shall do a world of hurt, one Shebna or Amaziah, and this the Lord doth in justice many times for casting off his government.

3. Sometimes the Lord gives a people up into the hands of one another to be mutual oppressors of each other, that a man's neighbor shall be his oppressor. Zech. xi. 9, "I will pity no more the inhabitants of the land, I will deliver them every one into his neighbor's hands. I will feed you no more ; that which dieth let it die, and that which is cut off let it be cut off, and let the rest eat every one the flesh of another." Sometimes the Lord is pleased to send marvelous straits into a place, that men are forced to imbondage themselves sometimes by words as bitter as death, as sharp as arrows; the Lord is pleased, for the forsaking of his righteous ways, to make a man's self rip his own bowels, the father against the child, the master shall be a scourge to the servant, and the servant shall be a scourge to his master, weary him of his life, the government of the Lord in a man's heart or family being cast off; (Micah vii. 4, 5,) "Trust not in a friend." No greater bondage in the world than for men professing the Lord to be desperately set one against another.

4. By taking from a people all that righteous power of government the Lord hath set over them, when a people despising the Lord and inward government first, (for there all begins,) and so not prizing what they have, nor praying for them, nor subjecting to them, the Lord hereupon sends some sickness, or some other evil, that they are either suddenly taken away, or gradually; and when they are gone, all sink, or else such cross

carriages, that as Moses said, so say they, "I can not bear this people." Thus, (Judg. xxi. 25,) "Men did what was right in their own eyes when there was no king in Israel." No state so miserable as an anarchy, when every one is a slave, because every one will be a master. Thus, (Is. iii. 1, 2, 6,) "Be a ruler to us." No, I will not undertake to rule. So (2 Chron. xv. 3, 5) when without a teaching priest, then no peace at all, men will not be under government of them, you shall not have them, they shall rest in peace, and you shall then know the want of them.

5. By giving them over to Satan's and their own hearts' lusts, that seeing they will not serve the Lord, they shall serve their lusts and their sins, that now the Lord he hath left off chastising of men, and conscience shall check no more, prosper, saith the Lord, and go on in thy sin. Ps. lxxxi. 12, "So I gave them up to their own hearts' lusts, and they walked after their own counsels." Rev. xxii. 11, "Let him that is filthy be filthy still."

When the Lord shall give a man over to Satan, not only to winnow him, to let out the chaff, and so to make the grain the purer, or to buffet them as he did Paul, but to insnare them, and hold them, that he shall not only tempt, but his temptations shall take, and not only take, but holds (2 Tim. ii. ult.) "who are taken captive by him at his will;" taken alive as a snare doth, that now a man is beyond the reach of all means, only peradventure God may give repentance; (Is. i. 5,) "Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt yet more and more." The Lord leaves smiting and says, Go on and prosper in thy sin; and, which is the worst of all, Satan shall so blind him and harden him, fill him with pride, passion, lying, hatred of God's people, caviling against the Lord's ways of grace, slighting of his betters, despising of wholesome counsel from his dearest friends, that he knows not that gray hairs are upon him. And after this, when God hath cast out, it may be the church doth also, a most fearful bondage that the Lord gives such a soul over unto.

There are two reasons of this point which I collect only from the story in this chapter.

Reason 1. In regard of the righteous judgment of God. It is just and equal that he that will not be ruled by this blessed Lord Jesus, he should be ruled by his lusts; he that will not be in subjection to a merciful Christ, he should be in bondage to unmerciful men: this a humbled heart will acknowledge, as these do here. (Ver. 6.) They acknowledged the Lord to be righteous. Man being fallen, it had been righteous with God to have left all men as the angels that fell in chains of darkness forever. But

among his church and people the Lord sends the gospel to proclaim liberty, and with it sends Christ with his Spirit, to come to the prison doors of poor sinners, to give repentance as well as remission of sins; and now, if they will not come out of their bondage, accept of the Lord's liberty, it is exceeding righteous to deal with them as we do with prisoners condemned to die; if the prince comes to the prison doors, and says, I am come to give thee thy life, nay, and here is pardon, nay, favor, and to pull off thy chains also; now, if he says, No, I had rather be in prison, every one will say it is just, and as it was in the year of jubilee, he that would not go free was to be a bondman forever. It is very righteous to give men their own choice; it is no wrong to let them have their own will: if, indeed, the laws of Christ were Draco's laws, hard and heavy, there were something to object; but they are most sweet, and for which of all other blessings men have cause to bless him. (Ps. cxlvii. ult.)

Reason 2. In regard of the mercy or merciful wisdom of the Lord toward his church and people, especially his peculiar ones, that hereby they keep the closer to the Lord, set a higher price upon the rules and government of the Lord, love his kingdom the more, and the liberties thereof, and use them better when they have them again, so here, "that they may know my service," etc.

1. How sweet it is. Experience, we say, is the mistress of fools; such is the foolishness of men's hearts that men are many times never truly taught a truth till they are taught it by sense, (Prov. v. 11,) "and thou mourn at last when thy flesh is consumed:" tell a man of all the glory of the saints, they never understand it till they feel it; tell men of the woe of their ways, they will not believe it till they see it. Ps. xxxii. 9, "Be not as the horse or mule, that hath no understanding, whose mouth must be held in with bit and bridle." Hos. x. 11, "Ephraim is like a heifer that is taught." Like untamed horses that will cast their rider, unless they be held under and backed, and then they are gentle, so it is here; and truly it is long before a man can learn the sweet of Christ's government: hence Israel must be long in Egyptian bondage, and many long miseries, so that, if there be either justice or mercy in the Lord, he will do this, and this point shall be true.

Use 1. Hence, then, see that the greatest liberty and sweetest liberty is to be under the government of Christ Jesus, although men do not think so: hence the Lord tells them here "they shall know my service:" they might have replied, We do know it. No, till they be in bonds they know it not, nor can not learn it. So it is now; and hence, let men observe while they live loosely, and

are guided by their own wisdom, for their own ends, according to their own will, at peradventures, at rovers, as they please, they do think this liberty very sweet; and it is better than to be curbed in. But let the Lord strike an arrow in the heart of these wild bucks that have broke park and pale, send affliction and an iron yoke of sorrow upon them, or distress of conscience, if there be any sense and feeling left, they will bemoan themselves, and say, I did think my liberty sweet, but now I see it is bitter in a sinful way: and the Lord's way was most sweet, by their own confession. Hence, (Ps. ii. 3,) "Let us break their bands," etc. But O, now hence learn this truth, and digest it thoroughly, that the greatest liberty lies here. Do not, in thy judgment, think Christian liberty lies in being freed from the law as a rule of obedience in respect of the matter of it to be done, nor in thy practice; but know though thou didst meet with a thousand sorrows with it and griefs, yet it is sweet. Christ's "yoke (Matt. xi. 30.) is easy, and his burden light." What, when not a hole to hide his head in, when a reproach of men, a worm and no man, when he bore the Father's wrath? Yes, when he was meek under it, ("Not mine, but thy will be done,") it was then most sweet. 1 Kings ix. 21, 22, To be a servant to Solomon is no bondage. Ps. cxix. 32, "I will run, when thou shalt enlarge my heart."

Use 2. Hence see the reason why the Lord hath deprived his churches of their liberty, and his government over them at sundry times, and hath put them under iron yokes and bonds, and sore pressures: the reason is shown; they have either openly or more secretly cast off the government of the Lord; here hath been the very wound, the ail of all churches famous and glorious. Ps. lxxxi. 14, "O that they had hearkened! I should then soon have subdued their enemies." The cause is not so hard to find to a discerning spirit who is privy in any measure to the counsels of God. 1 Kings ix. 8, 9, Solomon hath a promise that "the Lord's eyes and heart shall be to his people" which are under him: but if once they slip the collar, then woe; and why? "Because they forsook the Lord, that brought them out of Egypt;" they had liberty, but they cast it off.

What do you think was the moving cause of all those bloody persecutions, when the blood of dogs was more precious than of Christian churches? Were not they godly? Yes, I do not doubt of it. But as it was here, though humbled they must be in bondage, because they had cast off the government of the Lord Jesus. And hence in the apostle's time evil times were come, sad apostasies from the truth, and because it was long before they

were low enough. And hence, (Rev. vi.) till the fifth seal was opened; no crying, as it was with Israel in bondage, no prayer to purpose, and because the Lord saw they would abuse all liberties if they had them. And hence in Constantine's time, when peace came in, contention came with it, and so abused all, that their peace was their poison. And hence, in the primitive churches, they began to cast off the government of the Lord Jesus; murmurings there were; hence came persecution; but they were a precious people, and made blessed use of it. And the Lord couples their chief persecution with their rest. And it is said, (Acts ix. 31,) "Then had the churches rest," etc.

And what do you think of the reason of the long reign of Antichrist, exalting himself above God and all that is called God, bringing the church under the heaviest bondage for body and soul that ever the earth saw? Men did not love the truth, either speculative to guide their minds, or practical to rule their wills; and hence left to this day.

What is the cause of bleeding Germany's woe? O poor Germany! whence the gospel first brake out in its full strength, that now it is a field of blood, that men in woods like satyrs are afraid of men, and men in cities glad to eat the entrails of beasts, and sometimes the flesh of their own babes, to preserve their lives. What, was there no evil, but the common condition of the church to be under the cross? Ask them, they can not tell what ails them, but curse the emperor and Swedes, etc. O, think of it with sorrow, in secret, for them that know it not themselves, they have secretly, I say, secretly cast off the government of a merciful Christ, and hence are under the hand of unmerciful men.

What is the cause in our native country, notwithstanding all prayers and tears no deliverance? Truly men do not know it, but the Lord sees it, they know not how to use their liberty.

And for ourselves, what shall I say? I can not but bless God, and wonder to see how it is with many, and rejoice to see many precious, holy ones, to whom one day in God's court is sweeter than a thousand elsewhere; but I must profess, and can not but mourn for others, men that were eminent under bondage, but never worse than here; as if the Lord should say, Look, here be your eminent ones; look, and fear, and mourn, you ministers of my house; here be the people you had thought had been converted, and that of all others such a one would never have fallen so; one an opinion takes him, another a lot, another loose company, another his lust, another goes proud, another fierce, another murmuring. What, should I name all? O, that my words might be healing! etc.

Use 3. Hence see what will become of us that are now under the government of the Lord, if ever we cast it off, either inward or outward, or both. We are not dearer to him than his people Israel here, nay, Judah. When old Israel, the great and numerous tribes of Israel, had set up calves, little Judah and Benjamin received the priests; and yet they fell, and were in bondage. I know we are not yet in bondage; yet it is not more unseasonable to speak now than for the Lord to Solomon. (1 Kings ix. 1.)

Quest. But there being much unsubduedness in the hearts of the best, how shall one know when there be such sins for which the Lord will cast from under his government?

Ans. 1. When men do not loathe their own hearts for the unprofitableness, but loathe God's ordinances secretly, and grow weary of them as of their burdens, because of the unprofitableness of them; when a people find not that special good by them which recompenseth all losses, and so prize them, but lay blame on them, because unfruitful to them. (Mal. iii. 13.) He speaks to a people got out of captivity, "Your words have been stout against me;" no, say they, "It is in vain to serve the Lord; what profit is there in this?" You must conceive they had many losses, were very poor, (as ver. 11,) a temptation which a proud heart can not endure above any; here is now no profit in mourning, fasting, etc., and God's own people began to think so; and hence, (ver. 16,) "Then they spake often one to another;" there was good effect of his sermon. Now what follows? Chapter iv. 1, Hence the wicked shall come and cut off branch and root in Antiochus's time; there is a burning day a-comming, that shall burn down house, root and branch; and hence, (Matt. xxi. 43,) "The kingdom shall be given to them that bring forth fruit." You will say, We do; no, thy own mouth shall condemn thee: you do not; you find no good by all the ordinances of God, and hence come those questions; what warrant for such an ordinance? The bottom is, they never felt good of it, and hence grow weary of it. Well, if it be your burden, the Lord will ease you of it.

2. When you see men (professing the fear of God) mutually naturally contentious, and continuing so; I say contentious with saints which they say they love, and which they are by covenant bound to love, either from some conceived wrong, and hence can not forgive as Christ doth them; or from a prejudicate groundless opinion, They care not for me, nor I for them; or from a spirit of scornful censoriousness, what are such and such? or because distasted, because of some reproof in their

sin; or by some opinion, or by some worldly conveniency, or laying out lots, or restraint of some liberty, etc., or because of some sin; now can sit and censure; and I say, when this is mutual; for a godly man may be contended with, but he prays and mourns and pities, unless it be at some time, but when it shall continually abide so fierce and implacable, (Eccles. vii. 9,) "Anger resteth in the bosom of fools." When a man shall be glad of an occasion of difference, that so he may depart and have something to quiet conscience for breach of covenant, that there can be no healing, but bellies of pigs are more dear than bowels of saints, and when quiet, upon the least occasion apt to pick holes and quarrel; now, it is time for the Lord to give over to another government. Zech. xi. 14, 15, When brotherhood is broken, then an idol shepherd is set up. Ex. ii., Moses was sent to deliver Israel, but he finds two Hebrews, oppressed, striving, and must not be checked neither; well then farewell deliverance if you be of that spirit; you shall love one another better if ever the Lord doth that for you. It hath been the wisdom of some princes, when their subjects have been at civil wars, to call them forth to a common enemy, and there they can agree. O brethren, there is no sin like this, and yet none so slighted. You shall know what it is either by being yoked under enemies or sins; the first of these breaking bonds of union to Christ, the other with his members.

Use 4. Hence see the reason why many men are delivered up to the bondage of their own lusts, the most sad bondage and power of Satan, who have seemed to be delivered from it; truly they have cast off the government of the Lord. Men wonder why in this country men are more vile than ever they were, men that gave great hopes: the reason is this; they have seemed to be under Christ's government, but secretly cast it off: and hence filthy and vile lusts are their apparitors and pursuivants, etc.

Object. The saints feel a bondage; how shall one know the difference?

Ans. The first and greatest inthrallment is, when Satan and sin so rule as that they know them not; this is lamentable, that like those, (John viii. 33,) when Christ told them, if they continued in the truth it should make them free, they would not believe that ever they were in bondage. So here a man thinks himself free when he is a slave, thus: (Ps. lxxxi. 13,) "God gave them up to their own hearts' lusts, and they were led by their own counsels." The saints may be much carried away by the power of Satan's temptations, but never so far as to think

their bondage is their freedom, and to have reasons and arguments prevailing against the good ways of God's grace, and to have reasons to maintain their sinful courses, and that is in such as have wit, and parts, and knowledge, which through the righteous judgment of God are left so far to abuse it as to make use of it to maintain their sinful lusts.

2. When men, if they see their bondage, yet have no heart to come out of it, in using all means for that end. When the will is in captivity, no captivity like it, no galley slave like it: a child of God hath a bondage and is led into captivity; but, O miserable man! he cries; but these (Prov. xvii. 10) "have a price in their hand, but no heart to make use of it." Ezra i. 5, "So many whose hearts the Lord stirred, they gat up to go to Jerusalem." But the Lord never stirs the hearts of these poor creatures; they know and fear, yet have no heart to get out of that condition, nay, rather willingly are so. They sell themselves to their lusts, and sins, and Satan. Here is (saith Satan) this gain; neglect prayer for it, tell a lie for it, break covenant for it, lose thy peace for it: here is this honor and credit; look big on it: here is this estate; carry thy countenance high, and thus apparel thyself with these trappings, walk thus with thy boots French-like: here is this pleasure and mirth; keep thou this company, loose thy heart, neglect thy God, give thyself over to it: here is this ease; defer thy repentance, be cold in prayer, neglect thy family; and a man sells himself to his lust, pleasures, and honors; thou art thus provoked, and therefore now thou must fret, and murmur, and rage, and hold thy own, and so ease thy heart: thus men set themselves to sale willingly.

3. When men have some heart to come out of it, but the Lord leaves men to an indifferency, and consequently to apostasy, as it was with Agrippa almost persuaded, and like the Israelites that refused to go into that good land, (Num. xiv.,) and hereupon the Lord was wroth, and said they should not, but they repented and would fain have had some pity showed in regard of their misery, but their enemies fell upon them and destroyed them; all the plea of the Arminians is for this, which is nothing else but men's misery. Luke xiv., Those that were invited made their excuses, and said, "I must needs go and see it;" but found no necessity to come to Christ. Now, the saints, the Lord never leaves them to a spirit of indifferency, but keeps them in a spirit of necessity. I must come out of this miserable condition, saith the poor soul; they say not, Flesh is weak, but, I must have help. (Ps cx.) Because it is "the day of the Lord's power," they must not rest contented without help; and if the

Lord delays them, and hears not, they will follow the Lord so much the harder.

4. If they have any resolution to come out, and think it must not be thus, and purpose never to live thus again, yet notwithstanding all their purposes and resolutions, they fall again, and never get any real conquest, their untamed hearts and wills are never a whit more subdued. Is. lxiii. 7, 8, "For he said, Surely they are my people, children that will not lie. So he was their Saviour; but they soon rebelled, and vexed his Holy Spirit:" their wills were never subdued. But now the saints, either the Lord preserves them from such falls and apostasies; or if they do depart from the Lord by reason of the prevailing power of any temptation, they ever get real conquest by their fall; their sinful corruption thereby gets its deadly wound. (Rom. xi. 10.) Their backs are not always bowed down, but the Lord raiseth their bowed down spirits, (Ps. cxlv. 14,) and upholdeth their spirits for them when they think they shall one day fall by the hand of such Saul-like sins and distempers. A carnal heart may carry a fair profession, and be in subjection to Christ for a time; but his back stands always bowed down under his profession; it is his burden, and hence at last he casts it off as a man doth his wearisome burden; but on the contrary, a child of God being indeed weary of his sin, and carrying that up and down with him as his burden, with his soul bowed down in the sense of his own vileness, by this means, through the help of Christ, at last he comes to get real conquest over his sin, and cast it off.

5. When the Lord in this case lets them alone without inward or outward troubles, this is a fearful sign. Hosea iv. 17, "Ephraim is joined to his idols; let him alone;" the Lord will take no more pains with them; he is wearied out with striving. Is. i. 5, "Why should ye be stricken? ye will revolt yet more and more:" when the Lord sees men the worse for his merciful corrections, he deals like parents that have striven long with their children, and can do no good on them; they then resolve to let them take their own course, and will own them no longer to be of their family: the Lord never deals thus long with his; but if their sin will not waste by words, the Lord will then try what chains will do; and now they shall find good, now they shall remember their backslidings and apostasies from God, and their impenitency in sin, in secret sins, especially in the days of their peace and prosperity; now the Lord will make sin as bitter as ever it was sweet. O, consider this, you that are prosperous; and because the Lord is good to you, therefore you think the Lord likes well of your ways. No greater plague than for the Lord

to give a man peace in his sin; or if the Lord begins to afflict thee in thy name, or estate begin to be blasted, and thou canst see God's hand on thee, and knowest it, and yet thou remainest unhumbled, this is a sign thou art under the bondage of thy sin.

Use 5. For examination, whether we do, or when a people do cast off the government of the Lord and destroy his kingdom, it is needful to know the sin, that we may prevent the misery; and it is certain, let New England be watchful, and make sure here to advance the Prince of Peace, and to keep the right and government in his hand, and you shall have the blessing of God and his ordinances, peace and mercy in your times, and continued to your children; for "his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and of the increase of his kingdom there is no end;" and on the contrary, if New England cast off the government from over them, and refuse his service, the Lord will then take the kingdom from you, and you shall then know the want of what now ye enjoy. Now, because Christ's government or kingdom is, 1, inward; 2, outward in church and in state, —

I shall let you know, 1, when the inward kingdom of Christ is set up, and when it is razed down, which I shall do by giving you a brief view of the nature of it, and wherein it consists, and so you may the better judge of your own hearts in this particular. As Satan hath an inward kingdom in the hearts of those that are without, so the Lord Jesus hath an inward kingdom in the hearts of all his saints. Col. i. 13, "Blessed be God" (saith the apostle) "which hath translated us from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan into the kingdom of his dear Son," which is very spiritual, little seen; a man may be under all outward government, and yet nought here; and therefore attend: this inward kingdom therefore consists in four things, or when the whole soul submits itself to God in these four particulars: —

1. When the whole soul gives entertainment unto the Lord himself to come into it; for if a people shall say they are under such a government, and yet will not admit the prince himself to come amongst them, but keep him out of the kingdom, they cast off his government and his kingdom.

2. When the whole soul closeth with the whole will of the Lord; for if a people shall receive a prince amongst them, but he shall make no wholesome laws to govern them, but he will be led by their own wills and lusts, they pull down his kingdom.

3. When the whole soul thus closeth with the will of Christ by virtue of the power and spirit of Christ; for if a people submit to the will of their prince, but it is not by virtue of his authority over them, command of them, and helps he hath given

them for that end, but it is by reason of some foreign power, that underhand encourageth them to yield, this is poor subjection.

4. When the soul thus submits to Christ's will for the Lord's ends, denying its own wisdom or will, and is led by the Lord to his end; for if a people shall submit to their prince, but it is to set up other princes, he is cast off from his throne. When a man shall serve God, and be under his government because it is profitable or honorable, it suits his own end, this is poor service in the Lord's account.

1. I say, then, the soul is under the inward kingdom or government of Christ, when the whole soul gives entertainment to the Lord of lords, the Lord himself, with all his train, in and by the gospel of grace, the royal sword and scepter of Christ's kingdom; for when Christ himself is thus received, the kingdom of God is come to that soul, and entered into that heart; and hence (Mark i. 14, 15) the gospel is called the gospel of the kingdom, and when John and Christ preached, "Believe and repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand." Under which word is comprehended much, but principally Christ Jesus ready to enter the souls of his people; and hence John preached Christ. Now, it is said those that were effectually wrought upon, (Matt. xi. 12,) that "the kingdom of heaven did suffer violence, and the violent take it by force;" so that the kingdom of God is come into the hearts of all the elect of God, when the soul uses a holy violence, and the Lord does draw the heart to an entertainment of the Lord himself. Many difficulties there be between them and Christ, and yet they break through all.

This is the condition of all men by nature; they are strangers to Christ, and live without God and Christ in the world, and Christ from them, and so Satan takes possession and rules them, and so men are under the kingdom of darkness, so that the devil himself possesses every natural man, as the apostle speaks, "He worketh in the children of disobedience," to run on so, and remain so. Now, the gospel of the kingdom and the means to advance Christ in his kingdom makes a free offer of Christ himself; indeed, it offers pardon, grace, mercy, life, glory, but all these are in Christ himself, and we possess them by possessing and receiving of Christ himself; as a poor woman hath all the wealth of the man by entertaining of the man. So that the gospel firstly and primarily offers Christ himself, and faith doth pitch on Christ himself, and doth "open those everlasting doors that the King of glory may come in." John i. 12, It is said, "So many as received him, he gave power to be the sons of God." 1 John v. 12, "He that hath the Son hath life;" so that now let

a man refuse or reject the Lord himself as he is thus offered in the gospel, he does refuse the kingdom of the Lord, and does refuse to be under the power of the Lord. True, it may be said the kingdom of God hath been nigh to him, when Christ is offered in the gospel, and God says, as it were, Nothing shall please me so much as this, if thou dost receive me. Luke x., "Go and preach to these and these cities, and if they will not receive you, shake off the dust of your feet, and let them know the kingdom of God hath been nigh to them;" then Christ comes into the soul when the whole soul takes the Lord for himself, Christ, and all that Christ hath, Christ in a pardon, and Christ in a promise: at that very day the Lord gave the heart to receive him, then is the kingdom of God come in that heart, and with him all, life, peace, joy, and glory, God, Spirit, and all.

Now, the whole soul receives him, when, 1, the mind sees him in the glory of his grace, that though it had low, mean thoughts of Christ before, for which it mourns, yet the rising of this glorious sun upon him, he esteems all things loss for him that he may win Christ, and be found in Christ, I in him, and he in me, in vocation; and not having my own righteousness, in justification; and to feel the life of Christ and death also, in sanctification; and to attain to the resurrection of the dead, in glorification: and now nothing is dear to the soul but Christ. 2. When the will, after the soul hath had some hopes, the Lord may look toward it in his grace, and having had many heart-breaking tears before the Lord, the Lord is now pleased by the glad tidings of the gospel to give the will power not only to receive and entertain the Lord, but gladly to receive him. The soul wonders that ever the Lord should bow down to him, and offer mercy to him; and whenas together with this, by the sweet favor of his grace that he doth let into the heart, the soul doth receive the Lord with most dear embracings into his soul, that now there is none like to the Lord. Cant. i. 3, "Thy name is like an ointment poured out, where the very feet of the messengers of glad tidings are beautiful." But the Lord himself is the only crown and joy of the soul, when the least look of love to a castaway is more sweet than kingdoms, ay, and much more, that is, love itself. Is. lii. 9, "Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people." When kings shall stop their mouths as vile in themselves, and not able to set forth that glory they never heard of before, and the soul for joy sells away all to buy this pearl, that it says with David, "How do I love thy law!"

Now, beloved, when the soul does thus receive the Lord, the

kingdom of God is come to that soul, and therefore try and examine, is it thus with you? or hath the Lord begun to deal thus with thee, to give himself, the glory of angels, the wonderment of heaven, the mighty God of heaven, to come to thy heart? Thou art then under the government of the kingdom of God. But now, on the contrary, if thou canst be content to receive the ordinances of Christ, or the consolations of Christ, or some of the commands of Christ, and that is all, and the Lord never gave thee a heart to close with Christ himself, it is a strange thing to thee, that which is the main thing, the diamond in the ring of the gospel; thou art yet far enough off from the kingdom of God; I dare not say nor think, for all the world, that ever the kingdom of God came to thy heart. Again, if you have received Christ, but not with thy whole soul; that now the offer, promises, blood, life, grace, glory in the gospel, are grown common things to thee; that the Lord never sent thee home wondering at the glory of God's grace to a poor wretch, never yet saidst, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;" the Lord never yet lay next thy heart, or if thou hast had some liking, and some love and affections in pangs, yet the Lord is not only precious and exceeding dear in thy heart, thy heart breaks not for grief that thou hast so much slighted him, so little borne him of thy heart. It is a sign that the Lord hath begun to reveal himself to thy soul when he gives thee a heart to mourn for thy standing out against him, but this never came to thy soul.

Certainly, here is the wound of many men. The gospel of God never hath its proper effect till the Lord help thee to give thy whole heart thus to a Saviour, to a God, to the Prince of Peace; and till this is done, the gospel is ineffectual, it doth nothing. It was a sweet prayer of him, "Make thy Son dear, very dear, exceeding dear, only dear and precious, or not at all!" If thou hadst a thousand hearts, it was too little for Christ to love him; and dost grudge him one? When thou hast imparted thy heart and esteem to thy lusts and creature, dost thou love the Lord with part of thy heart? but a vile lust, a poor creature must have a share, and the remnant will serve Christ; is he not the only pearl of thy heart? to give him daily communion, know this thou art a stranger to. "Hear, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish; God will work a work in your days." What is that? The infinite God can not express, as it were, the wrath that shall come against such a soul, nor I can not express the wrath that shall come upon such a despiser of the Lord Jesus. Give him all thy heart or none; if thou hast the Lord, thou hast his whole heart: if he had a thousand lives, he would have laid

them all down for thee. He poured out his blood for every one of his; but for the present thou art out of the kingdom of God to this day.

2. When the whole soul closeth with the whole will of Christ, having thus received him; for if a prince be come, and people will not be ruled by him nor any laws that he makes, though never so good, but what they list, the kingdom is cast off; for, beloved, there is a marvelous common deceit in men's hearts, they would not for all the world but have Christ; ay, but the will of Christ is neglected, that is a clog, and the burden of the Lord of hosts. Christ is sweet and his will is bitter, Christ is precious and his will is vile. Why do you make him a king, and ye will make laws for Christ, and you will rule Christ, and his will shall not stand? Here is no king. Such kind of idle libertines were in the apostles' time. 1 John i. 6, "If we say we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and there is no truth in us." But now, when the whole soul does submit to the whole will of the Lord, now his kingdom is come indeed, when his will is thus sweet. Dan. vii. 27, "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all nations shall serve him, and his servants ye are whom ye obey," whether Christ, the devil, or your own hearts.

Now, the whole will of Christ is, 1, directing; 2, correcting.

Now, when the soul submits to both, then Christ rules in his kingdom; sometimes you meet with Christ's directing will; now this is men's frame, naturally they will not see it, "they will not come to the light," (John iii. 20,) they are led by their own counsel, and will not regard the light and counsel of God in his word; they will quarrel with the light when it is cross to their ends, gain, honor, and the like; men have high thoughts against the Lord Jesus, (2 Cor. x. 5,) "Casting down imaginations, and every high thought that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God." And again: if men do see it, yet, like the devil, that has much light, they do not love it, nor out of love, (not unless it be out of fear,) subject to it like Balaam, that had no love to God's command, but only was acted by fear and constraint: now, when the soul continues thus, it casts off Christ's kingdom, but if the whole soul first comes to the light, though it sees little, sets the whole will of Christ before it, (Ps. xviii. 22,) saith David, "I have kept the ways of the Lord, and have not wickedly departed from my God;" and though it hath had many quarrelings against the truth of God, yet now it hath not, nor dares not, but says, Lord, teach me; the Lord gives them hearts to lie down at the feet of any man that shall show them any thing that is amiss in them, and they say with David, "Lord, search me, and try

me;" I have many crooked ways, and therefore, good Lord, find them out, and therefore come to the Lord for that end; and though there be something in them that is desperately contrary to the good will of God, yet there is an inward man that does delight in the law of God, and when the Lord is pleased to give them a heart to submit to the will of God, O, the soul doth wonder at the Lord, that the Lord should show him any thing, and help him against temptations; and though there be a great deal of weariness in the ways of God, yet there is a spirit within him, that it is indeed heaven itself to him to be in the ordinances of God; now, ye stoop to the directing will of Christ, when this is thy way, though thou goest oft out of it, yet comest in it again, as sin is a wicked man's way, although he goeth a thousand times out of it.

Now for the other, the correcting will of Christ. The Lord hath strong trials. Now, here subjection to Christ is required as well as to the directing will of Christ; then the soul submits to this will when the mind objects not, charges not God with folly, as Eli. 1 Sam. iii. 18, "It is the Lord; let him do what seemeth him good." And likewise the will, though it hath had many sad bouts, yet this is his frame in the conclusion, that the will of Christ is better than every thing else; the will of Christ is alone sweet to him. Is. xxxviii., Saith Hezekiah, "Good is the will of the Lord;" and so Lam. iii., "It is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth, and to turn his cheeks to him that smites him." Nay, when there is spiritual evils on the soul, as was on Christ himself, spiritual desertions, nothing but bitterness and sorrow, yet the soul saith, as Christ did, "Not my will, but thine, be done; Father, save me from this hour; yet, Father, glorify thyself," and so the soul does humbly submit itself to the Lord; though the Lord should never pity it, yet it will lie down at the feet of the Lord; now is God's kingdom come.

But if the soul will have Christ, and yet cast off the will of Christ, 1, either in his judgment, that the law of God, as given by Christ, should be no rule to a Christian; suppose you were in England, and were there pressed to bow before an altar, or image; what shall lead you, if that God's will and law must not be your rule? The Lord will one day make you know his blessed will in that blessed law of his, that ye shall never find peace to the end of the world, except the Lord do help ye thus to walk. Again: when men can not endure the will of Christ, can not endure exhortations: What doth the man mean to exhort us thus? I tell thee there goeth forth power with the exhortations of Christ. I say, take heed of casting off the will of Christ here; and so,

when men in their practice shall quarrel against any of God's truths, and are loth to see it, or, if they do, yet not love dearly every truth of God, but it is a burden to them, especially if it cross their own ends and gain, they will not see it to be a truth, lest they should be convinced and turn to the rule of it; if the will and ordinances of Christ be a burden to a man, and a man is not weary of his weariness, but weary of them all the while. Art thou under the government of Christ? If a man forsaken of God, led by his own counsels, be under the kingdom of Christ, then thou art; so long as there is credit for the truth, so long it is entertained; but now suppose it be costly, that it should bring beggary and affliction with it; is it now sweet to you? doth this support thy heart? I am in God's way; canst lie down and subscribe to the equity of Christ's proceedings with thee, though he should never show favor to thee? If it be not thus, I dare not say thou art under the kingdom of Christ. And so for the correcting will of Christ; many sad afflictions the Lord tries thee withal, the Lord tries men marvelously; when thou art under the hand of the Lord, those very things that should make men cry to heaven and wean thee from the world, those very things do harden thee, and make thee grudge and repine. The Lord be merciful to thee, if this be thy frame; the kingdom of Christ never came into that heart; you are begging for mercy, and the Lord says, You mercy? you have abused it; no, saith the Lord, go to your lust, that have despised the day of grace, and so now you cast off the Lord because the Lord will not give you mercy when you would have it. Will you now quarrel with the Lord? No! down, proud heart; pray still, and mourn still, and turn to the Lord, and say, Lord, do with me what thou wilt; I am clay in thine hand; thou mayest make me a vessel of dishonor; I deserve not the least bit of bread: such a one as is above the Lord and his will is not under the Lord; therefore submit thyself to the good will of Christ.

3. When the soul doth thus submit to the will of Christ, by virtue of the power and spirit of Christ, i. e., when the soul doth not submit by virtue of its own power, strength, or ability, for this is foreign power. But as it doth seek to submit to the will of Christ, so it would have Christ himself act it and rule it, and so enable it to submit thereunto. Now is the kingdom of God come near to that heart. And herein Christ's kingdom is different from princes'; they give laws that men may keep them by their own might; hence they command no impossible things; but the will of Christ is so cross to a carnal heart, that it is impossible man of himself should submit to it; but the Lord doth

it for this end, that the soul should then come to Christ in its need, that he would do all the good pleasure of his will, and now the Lord himself reigns, and that gloriously. Rom. viii. 1, 2, "For the law of the spirit of life, which is in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Acts v. 31, "A Prince and Saviour, for to give repentance and remission of sins." It is part of his princely power for to give remission of sins, both in turning from sin, and to God and all the ways of God; and now you exalt him when he is thus set up. 1 Cor. iv. 20, "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." The power of Christ Jesus is come into thy soul, and the soul is under the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, when it doth lie under the mighty power of the Lord Jesus Christ. 2 Thess. i. 11, 12, "We pray always for you, that the Lord would work and fulfill the good pleasure of his will, and the work of faith in power, that Christ may be glorified." Yea, then is Christ glorified, when God omnipotent reigns over sin and unbelief; and when the Lord doth this, not only the kingdom of God is now come, but the kingdom of Christ in glory is come. There is many a poor soul thinks Christ rules him not, because he can not do this nor that, because he finds his heart unable and unwilling for to submit to the will of Christ. I find no strength at all, saith the soul, and I go to Christ, and find not strength conveyed; and now he thinks he is not under the kingdom of Christ. I answer, that is not the question; but hath the Lord made thee willing in the day of his power? When the soul doth lie under the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, when the soul doth lie like wax before the Lord Jesus, when the soul saith, Lord, there was never any change of my nature; the good Lord change it, and if there be any change, the good Lord increase and stir up the graces of thy Spirit in my soul, and do thou lead me and guide me, — brethren, the kingdom of Christ is come to this soul. John v. 40, "You will not come to me for life." He doth not say, You do not quicken yourselves, or, Ye can not come to me, but will not. Here is their wound; they will not come to Christ for life. Rom. vi. 19, "As ye have yielded your members servants to sin and Satan, so now yield up yourselves servants to righteousness and to holiness." Ps. cxix. 5, 6, "Thou hast commanded that we should keep thy precepts continually. O that my heart were directed to keep thy precepts continually! O that my heart were directed to keep thy statutes!" When a Christian is grappling with his own heart, ye will never be able to overcome the unsubduedness thereof; but when ye bring them to the Lord Jesus Christ, that he would take a course with them, 1. Now ye please Christ. 2. Ye take

a sure course to have the will of God done, he being in office for that end; for him hath God exalted to be a Prince and Saviour to Israel; when the soul doth look up to the Lord Jesus, and lie under the power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus. 3. You now make the yoke of Christ sweet, and his name glorious; nothing glorifies Christ so much as this, when Jesus doth work in a Christian; now the kingdom of Christ is come to the soul, and that in power.

But now, when men will not submit thus far to Christ, 1, they can do nothing, but will not come to him, on whom God hath laid salvation; you say you can not understand nor edify by the sermons ye hear, and you can not part with your lusts. Ay, but now this is thy condemnation, thou wilt not go to a Saviour, that he may teach thee and help thee, when men will not have the Lord Jesus to reign over them. Or, 2, if men do come, they will not come to him where he may be found; but say I can do nothing; Christ must do all; and so neglect the means wherein he will be found. Or, 3, will submit and come in means to him, but not then at the special time when he is to be sought and may be found, viz., in time of temptation; but then forget and forsake him, and cry, not Hosanna. Lord, now save, now help me against this lust. When temptation comes, when passion and pride come, do you now go to Jesus Christ? When the world begins to draw thy heart away, dost thou say thus? — Lord, I have prayed this day against this sin; and, Lord, I have no strength against it; now, Lord, help me. But here is the misery of the soul; it doth not go to Christ, and by this means live in complaints all their lifetime. 4. If, lastly, any thing be to be done, they will do it themselves, as Paul. (Gal. i. 12.) Not but that a Christian should put forth himself; a Christian is not a dead-hearted Christian at all times, but the grace of God, which comes from Christ, doth act the soul in a continual dependence on Christ; and where Christ acts not, there Satan doth. Now, I say the kingdom of God is come, when the soul doth thus submit to the stream of the blessed Spirit of the Lord, that the Lord may guide it. O beloved, here is the skill, that poseth the angels how to tell you; so to yield yourselves to Christ, as that Christ may come; so to abide in the stock, that all your fruit may be from him; so to lie under the Lord, as that the stream of the Spirit of life may fall on thee; so to be implanted in the Lord, as to fetch life from him, and bring forth fruit to him. But try this course, submit to the will of the Lord Jesus, be nothing in thy own eyes; and if the Lord do give thee any thing, bless the Lord for it; if any strength against thy sin, be vile in thy own eyes, and try and see if

ye find not the kingdom of God, the glory of heaven, come into thy soul. O the light, life, prayers, you might have, the heavenly conference ye will have together, that it would do a man's heart good to be with such a Christian; that those that are with you might say, Verily God is in this man; verily there is joy in heaven when the saints keep in this frame.

4. When the soul yields thus to the will of Christ for Christ's ends; for such is the subtle wretchedness of men's hearts, that men would have Christ glorify himself, that he may glorify and honor them; like Simon Magus, that would give any money for apostolical gifts, that he might be somebody that way also. Now, if a man shall submit, go to Christ for gifts and parts, that is to set up another king, to advance a man's self; and so, also, sin and the devil, and Christ must be made a servant for this end; he is now no king; like a rebel, that is not content that thousands of the king's subjects should serve him, but he will have the prince serve him also. Every man will say, this doth utterly overthrow the kingdom of such a prince. When a man shall secretly fight against the Lord, and be for himself, and for the devil and sin within; when a man shall make all the creatures serve him, the soldiers of his army, meat, drink, and outward comforts, this is a marvelous thing; ay, but when a man shall make Jesus Christ, and God himself, and profession of Christ, make these to serve him, to raise up his name, this the Lord takes very ill.

Only this I would add: When the soul doth look at Christ with a single eye, that Christ is sweet and precious, and lies under the blessed Spirit of Christ for that end; and now looks up to Christ, that he may submit to him with a single eye, that the name of Christ may be glorified by life and death: true it is, self will be in every duty, and so is contrary to the Lord in all, and not for the Lord. Yet though it be thus, there is another thing in the soul that is wholly for God and Christ; and hence seeks that he may do his work; his heart loves him, and so seeks him; and he begs it with many tears. O that my children might serve and love this God; nay, that all the world might see, and bless, and admire this God, and the Lord enlargeth his heart herein, (Ps. lxxii. 19,) and truly now the kingdom of God is come to thy soul. Rom. v. 17, As sin and Satan do reign by death, so Jesus Christ doth reign by life to eternal life. Matt. xxv. 14, He is the true subject that improves his talents for the king. Christ will subdue all his to himself. Ps. lxvi. 3, "Through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies submit themselves to thee." Rom. xiv. 17, "For the kingdom of

God is not in meat and drink, but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." When a man shall be picking fault with things, and this and that offends him; get ye gone, the kingdom of God consists not in that. But when the soul does go to the Lord, and maintain his peace with God, and love to the people of God, and joy in the Holy Ghost, here is the kingdom of God. He that serves Christ in these things, the kingdom of God is come into his soul.

He that thus submits to the Lord Christ, he must first be a man weary of his own counsels, and must loathe himself. When the Lord hath wearied a man of his own ways, he says, What am I, that the Lord should show me any mercy? And when the Lord calls him to any service, Lord, what am I, that I should now pray to thee? Bless the Lord when the Lord doth keep thy heart in this frame; but now, when men will honor Christ, and yet, Saul-like, have Christ honor them. Many poor creatures they think it a credit to be in church fellowship, and they will seek to know Christ that they may attain church fellowship, and have honor; but know it, till the Lord do pull down thy base ends, and make thee loathe thyself, and so to submit to his blessed will, truly till then the kingdom of God is not come to thy soul. Think of these things, for if the kingdom of God be in our hearts, then look for good days. Brethren, let New England be confident of it: but if this be gone from the souls and hearts of men and women, in their several families and places, though they may have the outward kingdom of Christ, yet the inward kingdom being not set up, I say no more but what he said, Go to Palestina and Bohemia. Certainly, if they had not cast off the Lord's government, they had never seen these lamentable days; they had outward ordinances; O, but here was the thing: the inward kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, and subjection to the will of the Lord Jesus, and to be for the Lord Jesus, this the Lord saw was not in them; therefore the Lord hath left them to be lamentable spectacles. Therefore, dear brethren, I do beseech you, pray and beg for this kingdom. Thou sayest, I fall short of this. Know this kingdom of God is at first like a grain of mustard seed, some little lying under the will of Christ; if it be in truth, blessed be God for it; the kingdom of God is come, and the soul doth weep and mourn after the Lord, that the Lord would bring every thought into subjection.

Know it, the kingdom of God is come to thy soul; and know it, thou hast Jesus Christ at the right hand of God the Father, interceding for thee; therefore go home and bless the Lord, and wonder at his grace, that hath translated thee from the kingdom

of darkness to the kingdom of his dear Son. If the Lord hath let thee find the beginning of these things in truth, go home, and bless the Lord for it.

2. Try when the external kingdom of Christ in his church is cast off, for we told you this was Christ's kingdom. It is called the kingdom of heaven. (Matt. xxv. 1.) And it is it which the Lord gives up at the last day to God the Father. And hence (Matt. viii. 12) the members thereof are "the children of the kingdom;" and hence we read of the rulers and governors of it, and the keys, not only of doctrine, but of power and jurisdiction, committed by Christ Jesus to it, punctually expressed in Scripture.

Now, we know, in the church there is a threefold power of Christ in government: 1. The supreme, monarchical, absolute power of Christ, in and by his ordinances. 2. There is some derivative power of the church from Christ jointly together. 3. There is a ministerial power of the officers of the church itself. Hence the kingdom of Christ is overthrown when these three are, when this threefold cord is, broken by the sons of men; and if whole America cast off these, or any of these, then they fall to bondage; and if particular persons in churches do, the Lord will do the like to them much more. 1 Kings ix. 4, 5, When Solomon had been praying much, the Lord tells him, "If he would walk before him as David his father had done, to keep his statutes and obey his commandments, then he would be a God, making good his promise; but if not, then the Lord would cast off him and that place." So Zech. xiv. 17, "And it shall be, that whoso will not come up of all the families of the earth, to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, even upon them shall be no rain." The Lord is quick in his judgments, and will spare none.

1. There is a supreme power of Jesus Christ in his church and ordinances thereof. Is. ix. 6, "The government is on his shoulders;" it is true this power is on others also, but he is the main; (Heb. iii.,) Moses was only a servant in his house, Christ as a son. The guidance of all things in the church doth lie chiefly on him, or else it would never be carried along. Christ is a Son, and that in his own house, into whose hands the supreme power of guiding and ordering all things in the church of God is put; the experience of God's saints and people doth find another power, which shows that the Lord Jesus hath, and doth exercise, a mighty power in the ordinances of his worship; the supreme and kingly power which he exerciseth in the hearts of his people.

Now, cast off this kingly power, the Lord himself is cast off; I speak not immediately as in the internal kingdom, but mediately. And for this the Lord will bring into bondage. Luke xix. 17,

"Those mine enemies," saith Christ, "which would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither, that I may slay them;" which is meant of the Lord's external administration by his servants.

Quest. When is this done?

Ans. 1. When men impenitently break covenant made with the Lord; especially in his ordinances of cleaving and submitting to him therein, and remain so with impenitency.

This is the main and first original of all the rest. Now, it is manifest, the power of Christ Jesus, the supreme power of Christ, is cast off; for a man does profess by this, that not the will of Christ, but his own will, shall rule him; Christ shall not be Lord, but as they said, (Jer. ii. 31,) "We are lords, we will come no more at thee." When the league and covenant between prince and people are broke, then he is cast off from being king; this is certain, the Lord never did receive any people to himself, from the beginning of the world to this day, but he hath done it by some covenant; nor never any people took the Lord to be their God, but by some covenant they bound themselves to the Lord; whereby they were either made his people, or continued to be his people, and he their God; but I can not now stand to clear this. Now, look, as when the Lord breaks his covenant, he casts them off from being his people, (though this he never doth to the elect,) so when people break covenant with him, they cast him off, as much as in them lies, from being their God; they do, as much as in them lies, make the Lord to be no God. You shall see therefore, (Hos. x. 3,) "They say, We have no king, because we feared not the Lord." It is the speech of conscience, and that at a sad time, wherein they did not fear the Lord; "they have spoken words, swearing falsely, and breaking the covenant." In their time of covenanting with the Lord, there seemed to be much sorrow and humiliation; yet in these very covenants, "hemlock did spring up," and hence captivity came. Many times the covenants that are made, there is such outward seeming reality, that not only men, but the Lord, speaking after the manner of men, he thinks certainly these promises, these covenants will never be broken. Yet they are broken. Is. lxv. 8–10, "I said, Surely," saith the Lord, "this is a people that will not lie." Such professions and such acknowledgments, etc.; so it is said, "In all their afflictions he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence did redeem them;" but afterward "they rebelled, and vexed his Holy Spirit." They cast off the government of the Lord, they would not be under the bonds of the Lord, and "so he was turned to be their enemy;" this is that which brings captivity and bond-

age. Jer. ii. 14, 15, etc., "Is Israel a servant? saith the Lord." Ye shall see the reason why he was so. "I have broken their iron yoke," saith the Lord, "and I have burst thy bonds, and I have planted thee a noble vine, yet hast thou degenerated;" and this is that which doth make them vassals or slaves. And in truth you never see churches laid desolate; but when that time comes, men shall see, and shall profess it. When other nations shall ask, Why hath the Lord dealt thus with his people? the answer shall be clear: They have broken the covenant of the Lord. When many miseries come upon particular persons, what is the cause of it? then remember the covenant thou hast broken with the Lord. Is. xxiv. 5, 6, "They have transgressed the law," speaking of the whole earth, "and they have changed their ordinances, and broken the everlasting covenant." A people that might have had everlasting mercy, they would not submit to the Lord, they have broken this everlasting covenant of the Lord. Now what follows? "The earth is defiled under the inhabitants thereof;" and hence heavy things that are there written shall befall the whole world. It is a sin that defiles the earth men tread on, and the houses men inhabit in, for it is a sin against most light. They which make covenants have a great deal of light, and also most will. And that does aggravate a sin; when the whole heart, as it were, does give itself up to a lust, and breaks hereby all bonds. And it is a sin that men might avoid, if they would be watchful against. For it is a sinful thing to make a covenant of impossible things; therefore it lies heavy on the conscience of men afterward: I might have been better, and might have walked better. Nay, it is a sin that does destroy the law of the Lord: this sin it does destroy the very will of Christ. Hadst thou never been bound in covenant, hadst thou laid by this covenant, the will of God had been kept whole. As cords not used are kept whole, but when broke are utterly spoiled, when a man does bind himself by a covenant to the Lord, and then break it, he does as much as in him lies to destroy the Lord from being King.

It is true the saints and people of God may be said in some case to break covenant, but yet they never impenitently break covenant with the Lord; they may break covenant with the Lord very often, but yet it is with them as those in Judges ii. 1, 4. When the angel of the Lord came to them, and they were under grievous sad bondage, saith he to them from the Lord, "I have brought you up out of the land of Egypt, and I have broken your bonds; and I have said I would never break covenant with you: and I said you should make no league with the Canaanites,

but ye have not obeyed my voice; why have ye done this?" And all the people heard this; and it is said, "All the people wept." Doubtless some were sincere, though haply many were full of hypocrisy; and so the sincere heart laments it, and renews his covenant. The poor soul hath nothing to say many times, though the Lord should bring never so much misery on it; yet the soul stands weeping before the Lord, that it hath broke the covenant of the Lord, and made void the covenant of the Lord; yet the saints they never break it wholly, they never depart wholly from the Lord.

Now, when a people shall impenitently break covenant, as hath been said, that men can study arguments, how to nullify Christ's covenant; nay, worse, when in covenant, than ever before; and the business is, they are loth to be in bonds; when men shall grudge the truth of the Lord, others, if their judgment be not set against it, yet notwithstanding, in deed and practice, they live as if they never had been in covenant. Once they were a pleasant plant, but now they are degenerated, as the Lord doth there complain. Beloved, when it is thus, the league between the Prince of Peace and the church is broken; they do, as much as in them lies, seek to cast off the Lord from ruling over them.

2. When there be additions made to the ordinances of Christ, by human ordinances and inventions of men; let any set up new ordinances, new invention of men, they set up new gods; and they do as subjects set up new kings, which is indeed to pull down him that was, and so they do to Jesus Christ; they do deny the supreme headship of Christ, and his authority over them; though it may seem a small thing, yet thus it is; and hence ye shall observe Jeroboam's calves, though they worshiped the same God which was at Jerusalem, varying only in circumstance; yet the Lord professeth that they had set up new gods, and so indeed did pull down the true God and his government from over them, and this brought bondage. And hence, (Col. ii. 18, 16,) "Let no man beguile you of your reward with a voluntary humility," saith the apostle, "and worshiping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen," etc.

Whatsoever pretense be upon the inventions of men, take heed of that; if it be the inventions of men, (in ver. 19,) and not holding the head; the very headship of Christ is denied, and the ground is this: to say that Christ is not a sufficient means of salvation, of saving his people and ruling his people, it is to deny the headship of Christ; and likewise to say, that Christ hath not appointed for his people sufficient means for that end, is to say that Christ is not a sufficient means to rule his people; and he that shall say Jesus Christ is not a sufficient means, he does deny

the headship of Christ. Now, to set up any inventions of men in the worship of God, to be a means to carry the heart to God, is to say that Jesus Christ hath not appointed sufficient means for that end; and therefore he is not a sufficient means of guiding, and saving, and ruling his people. Nay, this I will add: let there be any invention added to the worship of God, that is merely the will of man; nothing else, but only this I would have ye do it; they are such things as do neither make a man better nor worse, but only use them, and ye are commanded to use them, and nothing but the will of man. This is to set up a new Christ, and to pull down the power of Christ Jesus, to submit herein to the authority of man, merely because of the will of man, that there is nothing seen but his will. There is (it may be) neither good nor hurt in it; it is to make that man a God and Christ; it is peculiar to Christ to do it, and this does pull down the Lord Jesus Christ from his throne; when there is adding to the worship of the Lord. I need not, I suppose, speak any thing this way; only remember to be watchful against this: when the Lord doth send temptations this way into churches, or into any place, be watchful against new inventions of men to be added or made; they are very sinful; and if ye ask me when we shall look for such times, I need not go far from my text.

It is said that "Rehoboam and all the people walked in the worship of the Lord three years;" but in one year Rehoboam and all the people fell off from the worship of the Lord. O, therefore take heed of this when the temptation comes. 1. When the Lord bows the hearts of those in authority, men of eminency to fall this way, then multitudes follow; as ver. 1, Rehoboam sinned and Israel with him. 2. When persecution ariseth for the truth, (Gal. v. 12,) "They must be circumcised to avoid persecution." 3. When men's hearts are surfeited with the ordinances of God, and weary of them, when the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ, men find no benefit by them, the heart of man will then be making out after something of its own; then we must look for apostles, prophets, and evangelists, and this curiosity, and the other nicety; then a conceit and imaginary picture of a man's own is more beautiful than all God's ordinances besides, and all religion is placed there; it may be in extending too far any ordinance itself, though it may seem little at first; yet when it is thus, then look for evil times.

3. Whenas a people seek to abolish and destroy any ordinance of Christ, but especially if on this ground, either because of some outward evil they bring with them, in the fruition of them,

or hope of some outward good they shall receive by casting them off, or because of no good they reap by the enjoyment of them; whensoever ye see this, that they are cast off on this ground, then look for bondage; for it will come on whole countries in general, and no particular persons; for Jesus Christ is in his ordinances, and his throne is not only in heaven, among the angels, but, (Is. ix. 7–9,) "He sits on the throne of David," among his church and people; and pull these down, you pull down Christ's throne, the Prince of Peace, when ye pull down his ordinances. 1 John ii. 19, There were many that did seem to be for Christ, and yet against Christ: this is one sign by which he notes them: "They went out from us, for they were not of us; that it might be made manifest they were not of us." Now, I say, when men shall pull down the ordinances of Christ, and withdraw themselves from the communion of saints, and when it is for one of these ends, in regard of some outward evil that the ordinances do bring with them, or some outward good they shall get by calling them off, then certainly look for bondage. As a prince that hath one near him, he may attempt change of things in state; but when he is set a-work by a foreign state, and is a prisoner to the pope or Spaniard, now he is real to root out the prince; and this provokes.

So here many times a Christian, he may in conscience speak against some of the ways of the Lord, and this may be the condition of the saints and people of God, and they may speak it in conscience; and this may be tolerated, when it is for want of light; nay, they may, through stubbornness of spirit, cast off ordinances; but when now it is for this reason, though he hath indeed his colors for it, you shall, saith Satan, have this gain, and this ease, and these conveniences; and what do you do with ordinances? And now a man begins to find out arguments; and saith Satan, If ye attend to the enjoyment of ordinances, here be these miseries; therefore away with some of God's ordinances, at least. O brethren, when it is thus, that there is this secret pension from the world, that now had the Lord Jesus the honors of the world attending on them, then they could make much of them; but because they come with poverty, therefore they can plot and speak against them, and in time come to cast off the ordinances of the Lord Jesus. It is certain the Lord hath bondage for such souls, and you will certainly find this true one day. Mal. iii. 14, 15, The people, they say, "What profit is it that we have served the Lord, and that we have walked mournfully before him?" And hence they forsook the Lord; hence (chap. iv. 1) the Lord threatens that "he will burn them up, both root and branch." The Lord hath consuming fire for such one day.

The ordinances of the Lord were too costly for you. Mark xii. 7, 8, The Lord hath his vineyard; he lets it out to husbandmen, and he sends for the fruit; and at last the Son himself comes to call for fruit. Now say they, "Here is the son; let us kill him." Why, what is the matter? out of gain, that is the business; "that the inheritance may be ours." Here is this gain to be without them, and therefore to cast off Christ: "What will the Lord do to these husbandmen? he will take away his vineyard from them," etc.

It is the speech of Luther, *Venter in omni religione potentissimum idolum*, (When the belly is served, Christ must be destroyed.) Men may have this quiet life without these ordinances; and hence men bear a privy grudge against the ordinances of the Lord, because the belly is not served. Look as it was with the Jews; they looked for a glorious king to come to them, and Christ came; and though they were told of it before, when he came he had nothing but his cross; and he tells them, if they will be his disciples, they must take his cross. But now, because he came not with pomp, but only with his cross, this is the great reason why, to this day, the Jews do set themselves against the Lord Jesus Christ: the cross came with Christ, that is the cause of it. So when men shall look for great things from the ordinances of Christ, and when they come to enjoy them, they meet with nothing else but Christ and his cross, and disappointments, and desertions; when they meet with this, then Christ is cast off, and they profess he is no king, and Cæsar is our king; and if we take this man to be our king, the Romans will ruin us.

I know it is a hard trial for a man to be put to such a strait; for the Lord to advance the price of his ordinances at that high rate, that all must be parted with for the enjoyment of them. But yet, notwithstanding, he is forever unworthy to have the Lord Jesus to rule him, that shall therefore make him a king as they did. (John vi.) He was their cook; therefore they made him king. Therefore this I say, Take heed of disputing against, or denying, or nullifying, not only outwardly, but in thy very heart, secretly, any of God's ordinances; for that the Lord complains of his people, that "their hearts went after their wickedness." O, take heed of doing thus against any one of God's ordinances, because straits do attend on them. It was the speech of David, (Ps. cxix.,) "Thy law is pure; therefore thy servant loveth it." Suppose thou shouldest never get any good by any of God's ordinances; yet "thy law is pure;" the fault is in thy own heart; and certainly the Lord he will remember, as there he speaketh, (Jer. ii. 2,) "I remember the love of thine espousals, when thou

didst follow me in a land of barrenness, in a land where there was no water." Thy life shall be precious to the Lord, that shall follow the Lord in all afflictions; yet thy heart doth cleave to the Lord, and follow the Lord in all his ordinances; therefore this is that I would say, there are many wants now in the country. But yet, notwithstanding, let the people of God get near to Christ; speak often one to another, and find out ways and means to pay your debts, and lie down at the feet of the Lord Jesus, and be content, if the Lord will have it so, to be nothing, be content thus; and though thou dost not find any benefit from the ordinance of the Lord as yet, yet, notwithstanding, loathe thy own heart, but love them; yet seek after the Lord, and look to the Lord in them. And this is certain, the Lord hath blessings for his people; not only in this life, but as he there speaketh to his disciples, when they say to him, Lord, what shall we have? saith the Lord to them, You that have followed me, you shall sit on thrones. But take heed of this, if once ye come to slight ordinances, and cast off ordinances, because of these straits and wants, and so forth. And what are your ordinances, etc.? and a generation of men risen up (I think Christians should send forth their groanings to the Lord, that the terror of the Lord may fall upon them) they deny all the ordinances of the Lord, and the Spirit must teach us only. It is true the Spirit must do it, but will ye therefore take away the means? and hence the very Scripture is made an alphabet for children, and so they do destroy the ordinances of the Lord. Beloved, if it be from this principle, take heed of it; for if it be, ye will certainly find bondage.

4. When men do not thus pull down the ordinances, the throne of Christ, but drive the Lord Jesus away out of his ordinances (though they have his ordinances with them) by their secret defilings, pollutions, spiritual pollutions of the glorious ordinances of Christ; this the Lord frequently complaineth of in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The very great reason why the Lord did leave his temple, where their fathers did praise the Lord, they had polluted and defiled it; that was the reason of it. They had driven the Lord away from his throne, and this doth pull down the princely power of the Lord in his churches. I know there be many sins and defilements; and the sons of men have hidden ways of polluting the ordinances of the Lord, that a man shall sit under all the ordinances of the Lord; and as it is said of Mount Gilboah, not any dew fall upon him; never see good when good comes; the Lord is not dear, that is the reason of it. O, thy secret defilements of the ordinances of the Lord have driven the Lord far from you. There are many; I shall only name three principally, that there may be a little heed taken of them.

First. When there is a secret contempt, grown upon a man's spirit, of the ordinances of Christ, attended with a secret weariness of them, this doth now pollute the ordinances of the Lord, and this doth drive the Lord from his ordinances. Mal. i. 7, "Ye have offered polluted bread; wherein have we done it?" say they. This was the cause of it: "Ye say that the table of the Lord is contemptible;" the meaning is, you do despise my table and ordinances, and so now do despise me too, and so ye do vilify and contemn the ordinances of the Lord. Therefore saith the Lord, in the conclusion of that chapter, (ver. 11,) "From the rising of the sun, my name it shall be known." As if he should say, I am not bound to you; I can have a people among whom my name shall be great; for saith the Lord, "I am a great King." If one should have asked men in those days, What good is in your sacrifices? what great glory can ye see in them? the saints can see a great deal of glory in mean outsides. Now, when this is wanting, the name of the Lord is polluted, and so the Lord driven from his ordinances. Heb. xii. 15, "Take heed lest there be in any of you an evil root of bitterness springing up, and many thereby be defiled." When men do live in secret lusts, or open profaneness, a man that hath a profane heart, such a heart as doth contemn the portion of mercy the Lord doth offer to him, who, like Esau, did sell his birthright for a mess of pottage.

Secondly. Unbrokenness of heart in the enjoyment of ordinances, when men live not in a daily sense of the extreme need they stand in of mercy. Is. lxvi. 1, 2, "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool." Now, observe what the Lord doth there speak: To him will I look that is poor in spirit, etc., contrite; such a poor soul, saith the Lord, will I look to. And to these are opposed such as have not such hearts, but do look only to the ordinances of the Lord. Now saith the Lord to such, "He that offereth a lamb is as if he cut off a dog's neck; and he that offereth incense, as he that blesseth an idol." These were a people that did plead for the temple of the Lord, and had the ordinances of the Lord according to his command; but here was their wound, they were not broken under the ordinances of the Lord. This you shall find, the saints have many sins and wants under the ordinances of the Lord; but little does the world know their groanings before the Lord; and the Lord hath mercy for such souls as are sensible of their need they stand in of the ordinances of the Lord.

But now, when men have found the Lord in an ordinance subduing some particular sin, there are other sins remaining in their hearts, and they stand unremovable in their hearts, and hence

are the strongest and dearest of all the rest. Now, I say, when men having these sins, and knowing these sins in their hearts and spirits; whenas, because I can not subdue these sins; and they have attended on the Lord in the use of means, and the Lord helps them not; and because they hope to be saved at last for all these; hence they come to a truce with their sin, and never go mourning to the Lord; nor say, the Lord hath begun to subdue some of their lusts. Now, Lord, go on, but the soul is at truce with his sins. Beloved, if there be any pollution of the ordinances of the Lord, here it is: that men come with unbroken hearts to the ordinances of the Lord; that never feel your need of them, and wounds and sores that are in your hearts, that men do stand with those very sins, that they think they can not subdue: and because they can not ease themselves of them, therefore they give way to them. When men keep these sins with unsensible hearts of them, ye do resist the Holy Ghost, ye feel not your need of the Lord; therefore ye keep your sins, and your woes you shall have for them.

Thirdly. Where there is a spirit of unbelief, that there is not a seeking to Christ Jesus, to wash away the pollutions of his heart and life, in his attending upon the Lord in his ordinances. Tit. i. 15, "To the unbelieving nothing is pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled." Exod. xxx. 29, it is said, "Every thing that touched the altar was clean," and hence, without this, all is unclean. When a poor soul shall come to the Lord's ordinances, and prepare himself before he come, and in all it hath many weaknesses, yet it doth leave itself with Jesus Christ, every thing that doth touch this altar is sanctified, and is not polluted. But now, when men shall enjoy ordinances, and make no great matter of sins in ordinances, especially if secret, such is the venomous nature of sin, it doth defile the earth a man doth tread on. Now, when men shall have these sins, and know them, and yet never leave themselves with Christ, and lay themselves on this blessed altar by faith, they do pollute the ordinances of the Lord.

Fourthly. When the soul doth not so openly, manifestly drive away the Lord, but when men shall come to the ordinances, and never come to the Lord Jesus in them, now the Lord is cast off. A great prince that comes to a man's house, though he be not driven out of doors, yet if not attended on, he accounts himself cast off. The Lord Jesus Christ is in his ordinances; (Ezek. xlviii. 35,) "The Lord is there;" the saints, they come to God in them, and are carried to him by them. Therefore it is said, (Acts x. 33, 34,) "Now, therefore, we are all present

before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God," and, (Ps. lxxxiv. 7,) "Every one of them in Zion appeareth before God." Now, the saints and people of God, when they do thus come to the Lord, they find many difficulties to break through, "a valley of Baca." Sometimes their heart is turned from the Lord, and sometimes God is turned from them; so that now, the saints, when they do come to the Lord in his ordinances, "they go through the valley of Baca," that they may see God in Zion. But now, when men do never break through difficulties, but give way to a sluggish heart, when it is thus with a people, it is certain the Lord is now cast off, and ye do as good now as live without Christ in the world. (Amos v. 21.) Saith the Lord, "I hate your new moons and Sabbaths; for these forty years ye never sacrificed to me." (Ver. 25.) Did they not sacrifice those forty years to the Lord in the wilderness? It was the very thing they came out of Egypt for, that they might sacrifice to the Lord; yet saith the Lord, Ye did not sacrifice to me; truly here was the thing, they did sacrifice, but to enjoy communion with a God, that they did not; the Lord he saw none of that; and this is the frame of many a man, ye never heard a sermon; ye never broke through your difficulties to come to a God in ordinances; therefore, in truth, though you had them, yet it is as if you never had them, because ye never did enjoy the Lord in them.

Therefore this is that I would say: O brethren, let the saints, let it be the care of all the faithful and people of God; the first thing that ye do, before ye come to hear a sermon, or receive a sacrament, or to any Christian communion, or other ordinance of God; before thou dost come, endeavor it at least to bring thy soul to a God, to Christ, above all ordinances, and break through the difficulties; heart is dead, and mind is blind, and God is gone; but yet break through difficulties, and wrestle with the Lord in prayer, and then ye will find the blessing of the Lord. The great reason why we enjoy not that mighty presence of the Lord in his ordinances, it is this; men come to ordinances, and would enjoy ordinances, but they never broke through difficulties, to come to a God. When men shall come to ordinances only, (and blessed be God we have the temple of the Lord,) truly this will do you no good in the world.

The fifth degree of casting off the supreme power of Christ in his ordinances; many times when the soul can not come to Christ, the Lord comes to it. Now, then, the supreme power of Christ is cast off, when the soul is unwilling or careless, to receive the stroke of the eternal power of the life of Jesus into

his heart; but contents himself with some beginnings, some sips and tastes, and doth not lie under the stroke of the eternal spirit of the life of Christ.

Look as it is with a company of subjects; they are in some great town, that stands it out against a prince; if the prince send to them, and they parley with him, and they are thankful for his gifts, and glad of his parley; but yet, notwithstanding, they are unwilling to receive the prince, with all his power to come into the town; if they be unwilling to do that, and are loth to join sides against the other party, they cast him off from being king. So it is here; when men come to the Lord in ordinances, the Lord he parleys with them, the Lord he sends promises, and they are marvelous precious things; and they have some taste of what the Lord does send, and it is sweet to them; but now, because they have lusts in their hearts, the Lord saith, Make war against thy lust, and open the gates that I may come in. If so be, a man, now out of secret love to his sin, he content himself with the promises of Christ; but the life of Christ, he cares not for that, he uses not all means that he may find that, the supreme power of the Lord Jesus is now cast off, and I know no difference between such a people and Capernaum; they did enjoy the gospel of God, but now to entertain the Lord Jesus in his spiritual power, this they were loth to come to; therefore saith the Lord, "Woe to thee, Capernaum; the mighty work of Jesus Christ in their hearts, this they never cared for. Saith the apostle, (2 Cor. x. 5,) "The weapons of our warfare, they are mighty through God." As poor things as you think the ordinances of the Lord to be, they are mighty through the Lord. When Christians shall not be willing to receive this mighty power of the Lord Jesus Christ truly, now the kingdom of Christ is cast off. John vi. 49, "Your fathers ate manna in the wilderness, and are dead;" that was outward manna; but he that eateth me shall live forever.

In one word thus: this is certain, a man never gets good by any ordinance, nor the Lord Jesus doth never attain his end in any ordinance, till there be an everlasting power and life of Christ Jesus communicated by the ordinance. "There," saith he, "God commandeth his blessing, life forevermore," (Ps. cxxxiii.;) mercy forever teaching; and humbling forever continuing; and a man will never think he doth receive any good till he doth it. For if a man be healed of his blindness, and be blind presently again, what is he the better? So, if a man hath some flash of light in the ordinance, bless the Lord for it. The Lord quickens up the heart to walk with the Lord, blessed be the

Lord for it; ay, but when the heart now shall lose that life, and strength which it had, (not but that a Christian does lose to his feeling, but it will return again.) When he is a-hearing, some affection, but he goes away dead as he came; no, but when the Lord comes by his everlasting power and mercy, and life in any ordinance, now Christ comes in his power, and now ye receive the King in his power, and Christ attains his end in the ordinance. This is all that I would say, I do beseech you brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ: O, seek for this blessed life, everlasting life Lord, everlasting power Lord; beg for that, and seek for that, and pray for that, and weep for that; do not content thyself with sippings and tastings; look for everlasting life and power to come with the ordinance; though means be weak in themselves, do not, therefore, vilify them. Look upon the brazen serpent; what a poor thing was that to heal the people that were stung! Yet the institution of Christ did put virtue into it: so do thou attend on the ordinances, and never be content till thou doest find the Lord, and feel the Lord, and say as some have said, Though I feel not the Lord now as I have done, yet I think I shall forever bless the Lord. Never be content till ye find the Lord bringing your heart to this pass, and then the King of glory, the Prince of Peace is come; though ye find not the same power at all times, yet if ye find that power which does inure your heart forever to bless the Lord, here is everlasting power. Jesus is now come to thy soul; ay, but when ye content yourselves with some movings and beginnings, and sin and Satan as strong again as ever, and ye find not your sin wasting and consuming, in truth the Lord Jesus is cast off, and ye have not the end for which ye come to the ordinances of the Lord. But then ye are blessed forever when ye find this.

2. There is a derivative power of Christ to the church, jointly considered together. Matt. xviii. 17, "Go and tell the church," is the highest tribunal Christ hath on earth in the kingdom of saints. It is Christ's high court of parliament, beyond which there is no appeal to any higher power than the church; and it can not be meant of the officers of the church (which is the fairest interpretation.) For the case may be that there is but one officer; and is he the church? as also that he may sin, and not hear of his sin; and must they leave him to himself, at least to judge of his sin? The power of keys was given to Peter, *quia fidelis*, and the power to bind and loose to "two or three gathered together in Christ's name," (Matt. xviii.;) but these things are known.

For the clearing up of this, know that there is a threefold derivative power, which the Lord hath given to the church

jointly, and not to elders only; which may be miserably abused, and so provoke the Lord to take it away from their hands till they know better how to use it; yet when it is used according to Christ, now not to be under the power of it, which is Christ, power delegated to it, is to cast off Christ's government. And I am confident the bondage of all the churches in Christendom, if ye examine the churches, is continued, because the Lord sees hearts unwilling to submit to him in the government of churches, and will continue it till churches know how to use it, and men lie down to the power of it.

1. They have a power given them from Christ of opening and shutting the doors of the church, the kingdom of God on earth; i. e., of letting in sin and keeping out any, according to Christ, into, or out of, their communion: and this I conceive to be one part of the power of the keys, committed to the church; the chief office of which is to open and shut; to receive in, and keep out, according to Christ; and hence the three thousand were added to the church, though the apostles were guides therein; and Acts ix. 26, Paul would have joined himself, but they would not accept of him, because they were afraid of him. No body, natural or politic, but they have power to receive to them the useful, and keep from them the hurtful; so much more Christ's spiritual body. And hence the church of Ephesus is commended, (Rev. ii. 2,) together with their angel, "for trying those that seemed good, and were not."

Now, it is true this power may be miserably abused in opening doors too wide, or locking them up too long, or too fast; and in many sad disorders this way, yet there is this power. Now, when men shall refuse church trial, and so communion with the church, and that not from sense of their unfitness and unworthiness, or some other reason, which is in the sight of God of great weight, but from a careless contempt of God's ordinances, or God's people, a man says, What care I for the one? and what are the other? And from a resolution never to grow better, they know they are not like to be accepted of them, and they are resolved they will grow no better; they think themselves as good as they, and from a secret unwillingness to come to the light, they know things are amiss, and will not be known of it; they appear better than they are, and hence they are loth to be seen and judged as they are: certainly this is to cast Christ's power; and if continued in, the salvation of your souls is also cast off. Acts ii. ult., "The Lord added to the church daily, such as should be saved." To the church, i. e., not the universal church, but visible church, where it may be had, "such as should be saved." Is. lx. 14, 15,

"For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall utterly perish." Lamentable is the condition of many; not so much for not joining themselves to the church, as not seeking of the Lord for that mercy, that they may be first joined to the Lord, and so to his people for the Lord's sake.

There are great heaps of people amongst the churches here that do stand guilty of this, — the Lord humble us for it, — that content themselves to stand aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, (Eph. ii. 12,) "strangers from the covenant of promise; having no hope, and without God in the world." The Lord is slow to wrath; but there is a threefold bondage: 1. Of sin and Satan. Rev. xxii. 14, 15, "Let him that is filthy be filthy still." Nay, though there be some beginnings, yet apt to fall back, because not "planted in the courts of the Lord." And hence, (Col. ii. 5,) "joying and beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ:" order and steadfastness are joined together. 2. Of misery. Zech. xiv. 17, "And it shall be that whosoever will not come up of all the families of the earth unto Jerusalem, to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, even upon them shall be no rain." 3. Sadness: hence, (Is. lvi. 7,) "Even them I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer." To be joyful in the house of prayer is promised to such as join themselves to God's covenant.

2. They have a power given them of binding and loosing; by admonition of any one, that being received in, shall sin against their communion, and the Lord in it; thereby to defile the whole body, and to provoke the wrath of the Lord against the same; and this is mentioned Matt. xviii., and by the apostle, 1 Cor. v. 1, 4; and this is given to them, to use against whatever sinner or offender it be, be he great or small, prince or peer: if he be a brother, he is to lie down here: an admonition is an arrest and message from God, from Christ Jesus, the King of kings. Eglon must come down from his throne, when this is brought.

Now, I grant again, this power may be abused miserably; as to admonish without conviction, or without compassion and love, but in heat and passion, etc. Yet this is part of Christ's binding power in his church; which when it is done, it is bound in heaven.

Now, when men come to that pass, that they do not only sin, (for that the Lord pardons,) but are grown to that height, that they cast off all reproofs and Christ-like admonitions for sin, steeped, it may be, in many tears and prayers before they came, and sweetened with the spirit of mercy and terror of Christ Jesus in

the mouths of his servants ; this brings under bondage. It is not sin so much, for this will be ; but when they can not abide reproofs, they are iron morsels, can not be digested ; and hence sometimes hide it, and twenty shifts, and half as many lies ; or if it be found out, defend it, and fall a-fencing and thrusting, and try it out to the last, or extenuate it twenty ways, that a beam is a mote ; and which is worse, their hearts rise and swell, and they bear a privy grudge against them, as if they were their enemies, because they tell them the truth ; when they should say, "Let the righteous smite me." Ex. ii. 14, "Who made thee a prince and judge over us ?" When Moses, the Israelites' deliverer, was raised up, he thereupon departs, and they lie under heavy bondage, when they cast off his reproof. It is true, a saint may not for a time submit ; but yet it argues a height of spirit for the present unfit for communion with God, and the Lord will bring them off, and humble them for their pride. 2 Sam. xxiii. 6, 7, "But the sons of Belial shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, because they can not be taken with hands."

A child of God may have many weaknesses, a hypocrite many excellences ; but the trial of them is, when they come to be arrested with a sad reproof, how they yield there, and that as unto God ; especially when confession shall either discredit their person, or make others question their grace. Snakes will not hiss nor sting till touched ; a sheep will be led to the slaughter, and turn the cheek to him that smites : so should one poor brother do to another, when he comes to him in the name of the Lord ; but not many that will so do, but resist and oppose against all reason.

3. They have a power of communication of good one to another, in way of edification, according to their places in this their communion : so that now, it is not only left in the hands of the officers, but of the whole church, and each member in the church, according to his place and ability, to edify the whole. Eph. iv. 16, "From whom the whole body, fitly joined and compacted together, by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, making increase of the body, unto the edifying itself in love."

Members are not to stand like beautiful pictures in church windows, and as costly images in churches, that have eyes, and see not, ears, and hear not ; but they are to be living stones in God's building ; not only to build up themselves, but one another also, that so a man may not only get no hurt from communion of churches, but he may get good indeed from the same. And if I mistake not, here is the wound of churches : when members seek not, and endeavor not the good one of another, and so have

ordinances and means of doing one another good, but exercise them not; or if they do, receive not the good they might hereby, but may say, and shall say at last, as he, Prov. v. 14, "I was almost in all evil in the midst of the congregation;" sin prevailing, and sorrows by little and little, like water in a leaking ship, sinking the poor bark.

Quest. What are those means that are left to the saints themselves, even private members, to exercise in Christian communion for men and women; and so you may see, when these are neglected, or not improved, the power of Christ in his church is cast off so far forth?

Ans. 1. The first is, a spirit of dear Christ-like love one to another, every one to all, and all to that again; being ready to express itself, in procuring the good of others as well as its own: this doth sweeten communion very much, and edifies, quickens, and encourageth a Christian in his whole course marvelously. Eph. iv. 16, "Making increase of the body, unto the edifying itself in love." Love edifieth. 1 Cor. viii. 1, "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth." It is the joy of the saints, and that which makes the saints to bless God in heaven; where, take any one singly, all jointly besides honor it, tender it, and seek the good of it; and that one blesseth God, and seeks their good more than its own again; and this is prophesied, (Zeph. iii. 9,) "That they may call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent, to serve the Lord with one shoulder;" to help one another spiritually and outwardly, where there be many griefs and burdens which depress the spirits, and make it unserviceable, is removed; as, what is there that doth alienate the hearts of men more from God and his church but want of love? Now, when men's love grows cold, that a godly man is not esteemed while he lives, nor his death lamented so much as the loss of a swine; when people grow strange one to another, and take distastes and prejudices; when they can sit by the fireside, and censure, and whisper, and make offenses, and take offenses; and minds divide, and hearts divide; that, if you ask what such a one is good for, the answer is, He is good for himself, and good to breed brawls, and divide a church; "A kingdom divided against itself can not stand;" and therefore hereby you cast off this kingdom. O, Christians should pray for this, and mourn for want of this; and study peace, and follow it. It should be death to differ, or side, or make a party, one against another.

2. Earnest prayer for the church, and all in it besides thyself; and that with striving with God, till an answer is given; (Acts v. 12,) "stretched-out prayers," as they made for Peter.

James v. 16, "Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed." And so, (Jude xx.,) "But, ye beloved, building up yourselves in your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost." This is a means to edify one another, when there is enlargedness of heart to pray one for another. Ps. cxxii. 8, "For my brethren's sake I will wish thy peace." Sometimes a Christian can do others little good; yet he will wrestle for him in his prayers to God. One knows not the good comes hereby, if withal a man keeps a good conscience, making conscience of his ways. And it is one of the greatest privileges that a man hath, when once he hath a share in all the prayers of the saints as his own; and it answers that query. What is a Christian the better for the liberties of the church? Matt. xviii. 19, "Again I say unto you, That if two of you shall agree on earth, as touching any thing they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven." Ver. 20, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them."

Now, when people are false herein to their brethren, and to their covenant; to their God, and to their own souls; (for their is no one prayer thou makest that shall be lost; but if it attain not a blessing for others, it shall return again into thy bosom;) when there shall be no heart to spend prayer or shed tears for them whom Christ hath shed his blood for, now you cast off the kingdom of Christ.

O brethren, consider of it, when there shall be many a soul in a church taken by Satan's temptations, and held in temptations, and ready to be overcome by temptations; and it may be, would not be so, but because thou dost not pray; public ordinances, the ministry of the word, little good done thereby, because thou hast no heart to pray. Acts iv. 31, "And when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were met together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost." This is the reason: the hearts of thy children, servants, and fellow-brethren remain secure and unshaken by all the sermons they hear; nothing doth them good, nothing will pierce or penetrate their adamant-like hearts, because thou hast no heart to pray for them, or at least not to purpose.

3. Timely exhortation; when brethren are dead hearted, and heartless in their Christian course. Heb. iii. 12, 13, "Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God; but exhort one another while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin." Brotherly exhortation is a remedy against

apostasy of heart; for though a man can not convince another, yet he may exhort him; and it is to be done in season, while it is called to-day, with due respect, and taking notice of what good there is, with much wisdom, and a spirit of humility, or else thou spoilest all thou meddlest withal; putting yourselves in their estate, and with hearty unfeigned prayer, that the Lord would accompany the same with his blessing. Heb. x. 24, "Consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works." Look over the congregation, and consider such a brother's or sister's estate; one is poor and low, another falling, another very much altered. Now, in some cases, a private brother may do more than a minister; the Lord help us, and stir us up to this work; now, when this is neglected, many souls are hardened.

4. Instructing and teaching one another, as occasion serves. Rom. xv. 14, "And I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that you also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able to admonish one another." They were able for to instruct and teach one another. Is. liv. 13, "They shall be all taught of God." What God teacheth thee, that do thou teach others; what thou gainest by hearing, or by praying, or meditation; by putting questions to others, sometimes to teach, and sometimes to be taught; and this do, if possible, in all occasional meetings and worldly discourses; mix with it some sweet truth that God hath taught thee. But now, on the other side, when Christians shall meet, and a man is the worse for their fruitless discourse, no savor of any thing of God; let them meet never so long or often, walking or sitting, this is sad.

5. In comforting those that be sad. 1 Thess. v. 14, and iv. ult., "Comfort the feeble minded, and support the weak; wherefore comfort one another with these words." There are many sad hearts in God's church, and sad things are as wounds to a man's limbs, that make him halt or fall. O brethren, be much in this work. 2 Cor. i. 4, "Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God;" that a soul may say, Such a one came to me, and spake some few words to me; but they were as seasonable as though the Lord had sent an angel from heaven to speak to me, and of more worth than if he had given me many pounds. But now, when this also is neglected, that one Christian hath not a word of encouragement to another, but dry and savorless discourse; this the Lord takes very ill at the hands of his people, that have received comfort from himself in the day of their sorrow and distress.

6. Restoring a brother fallen with a spirit of meekness. Gal. vi. 1, 2, "Brethren, if any be overtaken with a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one with a spirit of meekness." O, how will a poor soul bless the Lord for such a brother's prayers, admonitions, and exhortations, when the Lord shall have brought his heart back again to himself, although before he did most of all disesteem and vilify him!

Now, when these are not used, or not with a spirit of meekness improved, that a man never blesseth God for these; the Lord Jesus is pulled down from his throne, when not done according to the ability, time, and place that the Lord affords. And this I wish, the churches mourn not for another day: for my own part, I do adjudge myself, before God and men, as most guilty of this, that I enjoy many sweet ordinances, and we improve them not; and hence the glory of the Lord fills not his tabernacle, abides not on his churches, either to draw others to them, or to make others abundantly bless God for them.

Now, here I will show you the causes of this:—

1. Not gaining much in private duties, in prayer, meditation, reading, and daily examination of a man's own heart. And hence they can not do good, because they receive none, or very little, themselves: they have not a treasure within; hence they can spend little, have no heart or ability to exhort, instruct, comfort: he that keeps not his shop, his shop will never keep him. As Ps. xli. 6, "His heart gathereth iniquity to itself; when he goeth abroad, he telleth it."

2. A low spirit, which makes a man to have low thoughts and endeavors; I mean not a humble, but a narrow spirit, not enlarged to hold much, or to do much; hence it doth little. As, take a plain countryman: he neither seeks nor regards the affairs of the state in public, because his spirit and condition are low; but princes do mind and attend to the affairs of the kingdom, to advance it, because their condition is high, and they know it. Moses, "he suffered reproach with the people of God;" loss of all the honor and pleasure of Pharaoh's court; feared not Pharaoh, nor loss of life, for their sakes; for "he saw that God which is invisible:" like Saul, when once a kingdom comes to be in his eye, he leaves off to seek the asses.

3. Sloth. There are thorns (Prov. xv. 19) and lions (Prov. xxvi. 13) in a sluggard's way. There be many difficulties, businesses, occasions, and objections, whenas if once he were resolved to break through them, then the work would go on: like a man, when he is in his warm bed, he is loth to rise; but when he is up, he would not be in his bed again, if he might be

hired again to put off his clothes: I shall get no good, saith one; nor do none, saith another; and when these businesses are past, and occasions over, and at another time, I will seek God, and go about God's work; and thus a slothful spirit hinders.

4. Want of faith. 2 Cor. iv. 13, "We believe, and hence we speak." Faith empties us most, and hence fills us with spirit and life of Christ Jesus; hence Stephen, "full of faith and the Holy Ghost." A lively Christian, when he comes in another Christian's company, it may be he knows not what to speak; but he looks up to Christ, and says, Now, Lord, here is an opportunity in doing or receiving some good; and therefore now, Lord, help.

5. Want of fear of God, and consolation of the Spirit of God, from the sense of God's love. Acts ix. 31, "They walked in the fear of the Lord and cónsolations of the Holy Ghost;" the church was edified by the consolations of the Holy Ghost. A man that is wounded keeps within, and stirs not; but when he is in health and strength, now hard work is his meat; he can not live except he work. (1 Cor. xv. ult.)

6. Not considering the shortness of our time of sowing. (Heb. x. 25.) Whereas, if men were on their death bed, they would wish, O that I had walked more blamelessly and fruitfully! Men care not for a comfortable reckoning as yet.

There are two causes why they receive no good:—

1. From a mean esteem of the saints; looking on them as men, and not as an ordinance of Christ; their persons, prayers, and speeches. And this is a rule: men never gain any good by that ordinance which they despise: if all were scholars, ministers, or saints glorified, they could then esteem them. Hence (Eph. iv. 16) edifying is by love, "making increase of the body, edifying itself in love."

2. From want of being poor in spirit, and sensible of their extreme need of Christ, continually, in all means. Beggars will pick up crums, and watch for a word of encouragement. Is. xi. 16, "A little child shall lead the wolf and the lion;" that is, when the Lord hath humbled the heart of a man. O, when a Christian thinks, None so poor, and shallow, and heartless as I, and every one is better than I, however I need more than any, this soul will be glad to suck the breast; and the Lord will fill others with light and life, and his own bowels, to do such a one good. Whereas, else they are shut up, and they find no good conveyed to them by any of the ordinances of the Lord, nor any presence of God in them.

3. There is a ministerial power, committed from Christ by the church to the ruling officers thereof. I say, by the church, for

all power in the church is properly Christ's; yet he nextly communicates it ordinarily to his church, or multitude of believers, to whom is committed the supreme power of the keys in his word, and a binding and loosing, as hath been shown; and by this church, this power hath been by Christ's appointment, and still is, to be communicated to those that are chosen out of themselves, to be officers and rulers over them in the Lord, to exercise the power of Christ over them according to his will. Hence the very power of binding and loosing, opening and shutting, given to the church, is also given to Peter and the rest of the apostles, and the successors of Christ's apostles in doctrine, sent of Christ. John xx. 23, "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted," etc. Because, though the power of communication of it is in the church's hand, yet the power of usual administration of it is in their hand, while they exercise it according to Christ, yet by the church. And hence Paul puts a difference between this extraordinary ministry, as apostleship, and ordinary. Gal. i. 1, "An apostle, not of men, nor by the will of men, but by Christ;" for the church, not by it: now, this, I say, is by the church from Christ. Hence, (Acts xx. 28,) "The Holy Ghost hath made them overseers;" for that it is no invention of man, or act of man, or the power of man, but of Christ; and hence refuse to be under this power; men cast off the yoke and power of Christ Jesus.

For though the estate of the church be democratical and popular, and hence no public administrations or ordinances are to be administrated publicly, without notice and consent of the church, yet the government of it under Christ, the Mediator and Monarch of his church, it is aristocratical, and by some chief, gifted by Christ, chosen by the people to rule them in the name of Christ, who are unable and unfit to be all rulers themselves; and to cast off these, or not to be ruled by these, is to cast off Christ. Luke x. 16, "He that rejecteth you rejecteth me." Num. xvi. 3, "You are gathered together against the Lord;" the Lord accounts himself opposed and resisted when the officers of his church are slighted, and their government despised.

Quest. What is this power?

Ans. 1. Negatively. 1. It is not any lordly, pompous power, to bear the bell of great smoky titles, to govern in worldly pomp, or by worldly rewards and civil punishments. 2 Cor. x. 4, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strongholds." "It shall not be so with you," saith Christ, but as I have been without all worldly

state, so must you be one to another. And hence, (1 Pet. v. 4,) "Not being lords over God's heritage." Christ never gave his ministers power of opening and shutting the doors of Newgate, and Bonner's coal house, if they would not subscribe, or to confute men's opinions with their own laws, and bind consciences with chains of iron, or to promote his servants by spiritual livings. Christ himself refused to be a judge in civil causes; hence some of our divines, when they would grant that Peter was Christ's successor, and the Bishop of Rome Peter's and Christ's vicar, yet, as Christ, being on earth, exercised no civil power, so much less may these.

2. It is not any anti-Christian illimited power, viz., to have power over many churches, (for that is the main spiritual anti-Christian external power,) and the ministers thereof; for we read in Scripture of many elders and bishops in the same church, (Acts xx. 28,) but never of any one ordinary minister, or officer over many churches, either to govern or to baptize, as the Anabaptists would among them, as many godly plead for now in the misty confusion of England. And look, as we cry out of one minister non-resident that shall have six or ten livings, though he give never so good a stipend, not only because of his pride and covetousness, but because of his unconscionableness, etc., so here much more of one man, overseer over many congregations, it may be a hundred, at least.

3. It is not any magisterial power, Diotrephes-like, either to do what they will, (Matt. xxiii. 8,) and their wills to be their law. No. Matt. xxviii. 20, "Teach all that I command you." If they do sin, their persons are under the censure of the church, in case of manifest offense and scandal by the mouths of two or three witnesses, who, being members of the whole church, and under it, and being sinful members, may, if the case need it, be proceeded against by the whole. Neither have they any power to act any public ordinance which concerns the whole church, and where it is bound by Christ to judge, without the privity and consent of the church, as to elect officers, admit members, cast out offenders in the vestry without the knowledge of the church, one of the blames of the reformed churches, which the apostles, with their extraordinary power, never did themselves; much less should these. (1 Cor. v.)

4. They have no immediate power of rule immediately given by Christ, over any one particular church, but mediate by that church where they are: their gifts of teaching and ruling are immediately from Christ, but their actual power to exercise it over this or that particular congregation is by that church only.

Hence deacons that were only to take care for the outward estate of the church, (Acts vi. 3, 4,) they were ordained by lifting up their hands. This is apostolical power, and an intrusion, and cuts asunder the force of the argument of Master Ball's book of power for Presbytery, etc.

2. What is their power affirmatively?

Ans. 1. They have a power given them of ruling and governing from Christ by the people; hence they are called rulers, and such as rule, and are over God's church; hence they have strict charge and command from the Lord to do it. Hence Paul at Ephesus, when he was with them three years, yet had rulers there; and ver. 28, "Feed God's flock bought by blood, over which (not men, but) the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers." Christ's church being like sheep, apt to stray and perish, unless these watch against wolves, and these the apostle at his last parting left; hence, also, they are to give an account of it at the last day. (Heb. xiii.) Hence these cast off the Lord's government over them, who will have no rulers or governors in churches, who shall either speak it or think it, but leave all to themselves and their liberty; to teach, baptize, to order things in church, and so by this means they are not only single members or officers, but pastor, and teacher, and elder, and all. This generation of men, sons of Korah, are risen up in these latter times; especially amongst Anabaptists, Familists, and rigid Separatists, and who are privily crept into New England churches; whose condemnation sleeps not, Satan carrying them to extremes, and pride lifting them up above themselves, above men, above officers, above ordinances, and above God. That look, as commonwealths are under greatest bondage where there is an anarchy, where every one must be a slave, because every one must be a master, so, in the churches, no greater bondage can come than this, the foundation of all confusion, and the scandal of the ways of God, which, through mercy, his people here enjoy.

2. This power is more than any one private member hath in the church, who is not an officer. It would be a most simple ridiculous thing, if there should be election, ordination, many prayers, much trial of men, for to rule, and guide, and govern, separation from the rest, and yet not to have any more power than one private member. Hence the apostle says, "Submit to them that are over you," (1 Thess. v. 12,) and, (Heb. xiii. 17,) "Obey them that guide you, or rule over you." Hence those that do acknowledge governors in the church for names' sake; but they are such as have no more power than a private brother; they do but allow the name, but deny the thing. Hence, say they, they are to

watch; so are private members: they are to admonish; so is every private member: they are to rule; the word signifies to guide and go before another.

Ans. 1. The word to *rule*, in 1 Thess. v. 12, is the same word with 1 Tim. iii. 4, 5. He that rules his own house, which is a little more than they that are besides him in the family, though this be not such a paternal power, yet it is somewhat more than that of private members. And that Heb. xiii. 17 is a word which is the same with that in Matt. ii. 6 — governor, particularly spoken of Christ's government, to feed otherwise than private members.

2. It is true, they are to watch and admonish in way of Christian duty; but others in way of Christ's authority, as being his ambassadors, and sent of him, as in a family one servant should watch over another; but the chief steward, he is to do it with authority in the absence of his Lord; and hence doth it with more majesty and power, and it takes, or should take, deeper impression; so it is in elders of a church.

Hence, also, when men shall cry for liberty to speak, an elder forbids it. What, may not the church have liberty? True, but you are not a church. An elder reproves, and they will reprove again. What, shall not the church have liberty? An elder gives reasons strong and unanswerable for something to be done: a young fellow shall step up, and say, without ground or show of it, That is your light, and mine is otherwise. What, may not the church have liberty? Yes, but you are not the church. This is very sad, and hath been a root of greatest scandal that ever God's ways had. If elders sin openly, it is another case, and somewhat, also, is there to be done: "Submit yourselves one to another," much more to an elder, etc.

3. In the execution of their office according to Christ, they are over the whole church. Their persons indeed are under them; in case they sin, and sin in the execution of their office, they are to be subject, not only to the whole, but to the last member of the church. Suppose the sin be not only suspected, or reported, or apprehended by one, but two or three witnesses, at least, as 1 Tim. v. 19; but while they execute it according to Christ, they are therein above the church, and it is bound to be subject therein; and not to be subject is to refuse to be under Christ's government. Hence, (Heb. xiii.,) "Obey them that rule you;" he speaks to the whole church, which was not in evil, but in good things, according to God; and yet in evil things, look on them as those over them. *Exempli gratia*, a minister in the execution of his office, let him preach Christ's eternal truth, deliver

it, and prove it. Whatever human weaknesses there be in him, whatever darkness there is in others, yet he is therein above churches, kings, or angels; and they shall answer it at the great day, that do not submit. "In regard of my person," said Luther, "I will fall down before any; but in regard of the truth I administer, I look on the kings of the earth as nits, nay, dust," etc. *Ad Regem Angl.*

So in the power of the keys in opening and shutting out members; they have tried and proved such a one: if they sin, as they may, then give them reasons; but if not, they are bound to submit. And that not as unto other Christians, but as unto an ordinance, stamped with an authority of God upon them: indeed, they are not to do any such thing without the presence, consent, and judiciary power of the church; and the church may not submit to what elders propose to be Christ's mind; but then they cast off the Lord's power, which they are to answer for another day. 1 Cor. xii. 28, they are called governors. Now, as a ruler of a ship is to order it, though a king be in it, over him in that respect, and the king is to be guided by him while he guides it right; but if not, the king hath power over him to command others to take the place or cast him overboard.

It is true, they are but servants to the church, because they are by the church, for the church, and to help the church, (2 Cor. i. 24,) and are subject to them if they sin; but yet they are servants unto Christ, and in exercising his power according to him, above the church. 2 Cor. iv. 5, "We preach Christ, and ourselves your servants for Christ;" yet therein above them. Hence, being their servants, if they sin, they are under the censure of the church, and the church may cast them by. So, being Christ's servants, if not submitted to, the Lord doth account himself cast off.

1. Because their power, thus rightly executed, is the power of Christ Jesus. Hence, refuse it, you refuse to be subject to him. If men will not be ruled by God's ordinances, but will rule ordinances, they go about to rule Christ.

2. Because, if there shall be no subjection here, it is professed licentiousness, and not liberty in churches. You have liberty, but what liberty? to be subject to Christ's power in pure liberty, and that in his servants. Now, when men will not, and shall refuse without showing reason, or convicting elders of sin, this is to cast off the government of Christ.

3. Elders are helpers of people, and there is no people but will stand in need of such helps, if humble, and able to discern, to attend the public good, to teach, and convince, etc. Hence,

when there is no sin appearing in the execution of their office, they should with a holy fear submit, and say, If ye be faithful watchmen, what am I that I should be unsatisfied? My ignorance may mislead others, etc.

4. They have power to oversee, when they see cause, (Acts xx. 28,) and to see into and inquire into the estate of the flock of God; to know their spiritual condition, so far as is fit to be known, that so they may be comforted in the work of Christ, though there be no sin break out, nor they come to them. (1 Thess. iii. 5, 6.) The apostle inquired into their faith, charity, and prayer, (ver. 7,) and hence was comforted, etc. And this Paul doth not as an extraordinary man, but leaves his example as a precedent to the elders of Ephesus, to go from house to house, and inquire, to teach and exhort, (Acts xx.,) for elders are to prevent scandals as well as to remove them, lest when they come they say, O that I had known this before, especially where they see need. Now, hence it is that men cast off the government of Christ, when they will not have their spiritual condition searched into; the elder's foot is now too great for his shoe; I am to give an account to God; so are they, also, of thee; now thou canst not give it if thou inquirest not how thy condition stands, neither can they with comfort unless thou tellest them how it stands with thee. It is true there are many secret things they can never find out; yet they are to attend their duty.

The minister's charge is to cast the seed, the elder's duty is to inquire after the fruit in the husbandry of Christ: it is a sad condition when a man hath such a wound that he will not go to the Lord for help, because he loves it, and will not have man to know it, because he is ashamed of it. But you shall know it at the last day, that the Lord would have healed you, and you would not, but can quarrel and snap at the elders when they come to inquire of your condition; and why do ye inquire? you take too much on you.

5. They have power to guide, and counsel, and warn the church, at least in all weighty affairs which may concern them and their common good; hence they are called guides and leaders to the people. (Heb. xiii. 17. Mal. ii. 7.) I do not mean in all personal things. Acts xx. 31, "I warned you of wolves," etc. Hence, —

1. For members in matters of great and weighty affairs which concern the good of the whole church, nay, all churches, never to inquire at Abel is casting off the Lord, as in election of officers in church, and magistrates in the commonwealth, etc.

2. Hence to receive any opinion different from all the elders

in the church, and never so much as speak, much less come to a sad debate about it, is to cast off this yoke, and contrary to covenant; and elders would never have undertaken the care of the church without it; and it sads their hearts that they do their work feebly.

3. Hence to propose a doubtful question to the church, which may trouble, or bring an offender's sin to the church without counsel of the elders, who may encourage them if of God, and ripen it for the church, or discourage it if not of God. Christ, when he writes to the churches, he superscribes his epistles to the angels; and if one man may propose a doubtful opinion, another may, and a third, and one may side with another, and so much confusion will follow.

4. Hence, when men shall not take warning of evils to come upon evident grounds, it is casting off the Lord's yoke; and when they come on thee, thou mayest say, It is because I have refused to hearken to my watchers: they warned me of this; and it may be you will find else such evils which the Scripture notes, "according to the word of the Lord by his servant" Elisha, so will the Lord make good the words and threatenings of his faithful servants.

5. They have power of public reproof of any member of the church, in case of plain, open, and public offenses; others without leave can not, nor ought not, although others may tell them. Reproofs are part of the power peculiar to the governors in any society, where governors are present especially, and at hand; as now, in a family, no wise man will suffer brawls amongst his children or servants, but says he, Tell me. (1 Tim. v. 20.) Now, this is sad when a man can not forbear reproof of others, nor hear reproofs of elders, but turns again, and will be judge in his own cause, though never so gross; a sign of an extreme froward high spirit, (Hos. iv. 4,) which makes the Lord to take away elders as soon as any sin is committed, and stop their mouths. Ex. ii., "Who made thee a judge," etc. And when afflictions come, and you then inquire, What is the cause of it? you may be sure this is one, even by the confession of the blindest deboist ones. Prov. v. 12, "How have I hated instruction, and not obeyed the voice of my teachers!"

6. They are to feed with power, as the word ποιμαινειν signifieth, every one in their places, publicly instructing, exhorting, comforting, and privately also; which though private men may do, yet here is the stamp of authority also, and so the more power the more blessing usually, if God be acknowledged therein. (Acts xx. 28.) Hence, —

1. When men despise their food, they are poor things ; they speak, and they can see no matter in them ; and that after study, prayers and tears, etc., and so cast it by : this is to cast off the Lord.

2. When men grow glutted and full, (Mal. i. ult.,) although they eat not a bit, and hence thrive not, but a spirit of slumber and a deep sleep grows on them, that they can not be awakened by all the ordinances of God. These things call for chains. Amos viii. 12, "When will these Sabbaths be ended?" for which the Lord threatens a famine, and then you shall know the worth of them in the want of them.

These things I speak, 1. Because I see the apostle, in many of his Epistles, lays this charge on the people, (Heb. xiii. 7, 17 ;) it is twice repeated. 1. Lest officers be sadded in their work that is heavy. 2. Lest it be unprofitable for you ; you think to get this and that good by it, but it will be nothing in the conclusion.

2. Because we lie under slander of many, and that godly, as if elders in churches were but only ciphers.

3. Because people begin to run to extremes, elders taking all to themselves, and people taking all for themselves.

4. Because, if here be not attendance, you quickly see the miserable ruin and fall of churches, more sad than the burning of Solomon's temple. It is observed of Jeroboam, when he was sacrificing he had no leprosy, but when he stretched out his hand against the prophet it was withered ; for the Lord will not bear here ; they may be despised, and you may think "yourselves kings without them," (1 Cor. iv. 8,) and they will say so, they may rule as they will, but you will do as you list. But the Lord will be provoked for this ; all Satan's subtlety lies here : Disgrace the elders, says one : Divide them, says another : Pull them down, says the third, that there may be no king in Israel, no, nor in Sion, that we may do what is right in our own eyes.

3. Try when the external kingdom of Christ in a commonwealth is cast off; for when any commonwealth is ordered according to the sacred will of Christ, by such persons especially whose aim is to advance the kingdom of Christ by their rule and power, it is then become the kingdom of Christ Jesus. And hence, (Rev. xi. 15,) when the seventh trumpet is blown, and the Lord's last woe is come upon the world and the kingdoms thereof which have opposed Christ, and those kingdoms are turned to embrace the gospel, and submit to the power of Christ in the same, then it is said, "The kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of Christ;" it is not said, Christ's kingdom is become the kingdom of the word, as if Christ should put down

civil authority, and exercise rule by it himself; but the kingdoms of the world, i. e., the various kingdoms are become Christ's, i. e., to advance it, and debase themselves at his feet. Eph. i. 21, it is said, "All things are put under Christ's feet, and he is head over all things to the church," (that is, universally, chiefly, nextly, particularly;) so then earth's kingdoms, when they are subject to Christ, for his ends, now they exercise the kingdom of Christ, in a manner; and hence to cast off this is to cast off the kingdom of Christ, and so to provoke the Lord to put us under bondage.

Quest. When is Christ's power and kingdom cast off here?

Ans. There is a double power in the kingdoms of the world, which, I suppose, when they become Christ's kingdoms, they will retain.

First. There is some supreme or higher power in the chief magistrates, princes, or chief court of justice.

Secondly. There is some inferior power, by some superior power, set over particular persons, cities, and towns, for the well ordering of them. The ground of this is, that natural necessity which Jethro propounded from God to Moses, (Ex. xviii. 17, 18,) "It is not good for thee to be alone, but thou wilt both wear out thyself and thy people." Public authority must have many eyes and many hands; and like a river that is to water a country, it must have many streams: and hence they had in the commonwealth of Israel, which was for God, in every city judges, and in towns such as were over fifties and tens, (Ex. xviii. 25,) which, it seems, continued long, till all fit men for government were taken away; and then (Is. iii. 3) their condition is lamented.

Now, the form of this government is not in all commonwealths alike, the Lord not binding to any; and hence called ανθρωπινη κτισις, an ordinance of men. Hence it is a foolish vanity to ask a warrant in Scripture for such a form of government; for human wisdom may teach this, though not in church government. Yet this supreme and inferior government hath been in all kingdoms, (1 Pet. ii. 13, 14,) to both which subjection is required; to refuse to give it is to cast off the Lord's government; and there are couched four reasons in that place to prove this.

1. Do it for the Lord's sake, for the name of Christ; and that honor and majesty of Christ stamped on them, submit; hence cast them off, you cast by respect unto; nay, the name of Christ Jesus.

2. Because they are in the room of the Lord, to do the work of the Lord; "in punishing evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well." It is true, they may abuse their power otherwise; but yet their power is one thing, and their abuse of it another.

3. Because "this is the will of Christ, and you do well in it; and so you shall stop the mouths of foolish men, apt to speak against you for sin."

4. Because this is the liberty of Christ, (ver. 6,) and you are servants to Christ in it; and to do otherwise is licentiousness; and their liberty to exempt themselves from the power of lawful authority was but a cloak of it. For so it seems, in those days, some held it part of their Christian liberty to be free from all bonds, and said that Christ had made them kings on earth, etc. So that if they did cast off subjection, they did cast off the name of Christ, power of Christ, will of Christ, liberty of Christ Jesus, even under heathen magistrates; what then do they that cast it off under others?

Quest. When is Christ's government cast off in respect of the supreme power?

Ans. Those that know the questions about the power of princes and people, especially revived in these last days, can not but know the field is large, where now I am. I shall be wholly silent, unless I saw greater cause of speaking than I do, and only point out two or three particulars to prevent such sins as stand next to the door, to break in upon this power.

1. When men cast off secretly dread, and fear, and reverence of the majesty, dominion, and sovereignty that God stamps upon authority, and so come to have low, mean thoughts of them, and contempt of them. It is true, none should be elected but such as men can honor for some eminency or other, and that of God, seen in them. "Able men, fearing God, chief amongst the people," was the counsel of God by Jethro and Moses; but when they be elected, now to despise them, and hence not to bow the knee, or stir the hat, and speak rudely before them, it is casting off, not only their power in sight of God, but the very root of it, which is honor; and hence, in the fifth commandment, all duties to them are comprehended under the word *honor*. And who sees not but this is a sin, which is apt to attend the spirits of men in a place of liberty, and in our weak beginning, and day of small things? Reports are abroad that no men of worth are respected, and hence the country is neglected. I can not say so after many thoughts, for I am persuaded no place in Europe more ready to honor men of public spirits, and of eminency in piety and humility, without the seeing of which no country more apt to vilify, because grace is the glory in the eye of a country led by religion. But take heed lest such a spirit befall us; lest the Lord put out our lamps, "and cast our crown down to the ground."

2. When men seek to pluck the sword of revenge, for sin hurting the commonwealth, out of their hands; without which the greatest power in a commonwealth is but a pageant and a mere vanity, almost a nullity. Hence, (Rom. xiii. 4,) "He is God's minister;" yes, when he gives good counsel, and "when he is a revenger, to execute wrath on him that doeth evil." So that, be the evil what it will be, if it hurt the commonwealth, or be against any wholesome law thereof, he is God's minister to punish it civilly. In the first reformation of Geneva, there were as many heresies and errors almost as truths of God; Servetus, he denied the deity of Christ; whereupon the magistrate put him to death, who died with extreme horror. Whereupon heresies being begun to be snibbed and blasted, Bellius writes a book: 1. That men should punish no heresy at all, but be merciful and meek, as Christ was to the adulterous woman. 2. If they did, yet that magistrates they should not punish for errors or heresies. 3. If they did, yet not with such severity as they began. To all which Beza hath given a most learned and solid answer, detesting the hypocrisy of the man, and the sad consequences of such opinions, if their power should be diminished.

I conceive it is casting off Christ's power to take away power from magistrates to punish sins against the first table, of which errors and heresies in religion are part. It is as clear as the sun, that the kings of Judah that were godly did it, and were commended for it; and it is as clear they were commended for it, not as types of Christ, but because they did therein that which was right in God's eyes, and according to the commandment of the Lord, which judicial commandments, concerning the punishing of Sabbath breakers, false prophets, heretics, etc., God's fence to preserve moral laws, they are of moral equity, and so to be observed to this day of Christian magistrates, etc. To exempt clergymen in matters of religion from the power of the civil sword is flat Popery; by means of which Antichrist hath risen, and hath continued in his pomp and power so long together. The indulgence of princes towards the Papal function in matters of religion hath undone Christendom.

It is true, every error is not to be immediately committed; but when it is like a gangrene, of a spreading nature, then the magistrate in due time must cut it off speedily.

Object. Leave them to the church.

Ans. True, leave them, 1, there. But, 2, sometimes the church will not, sometimes they are not of any church. A Papist, an Arminian, may come in and leaven and damn many a soul, for which they had better never been. If it were but one, and if

he says, I do it with a meek spirit, (their trick, of late,) and none must meddle, because mercy must be shown to these wolves. A wise shepherd had rather let a hunter come in and kill one of his sheep than let a wolf or fox escape, (Acts xx. 29,) and see his people persecuted than their souls worried.

Heresy and error hath this property; it ever dies by severe opposition, and truth ever riseth the more; because Christ is against the one, hence it must fall; but for the other, hence it shall rise by its fall. Hence, set yourselves against this, it is to oppose the power of Christ Jesus. And hence in Henry VIII.'s time, the abbeys fell, and never could rise to this day; but the six articles against the saints pursued with blood made them increase the more.

3. When men will not submit to the wholesome laws of magistrates, which are either fundamental and continuing, or orders that have their date and time of expiring, made for common good. When men will either have no laws, or as good as none, or submit to none but what they please, (Deut. xvii. 11,) "He that will not hearken, but do presumptuously, shall die;" he being the minister of the Lord; and indeed, it is to cast off the Lord. I go not about here to establish a sovereign power in magistrates, which is proper to God, to make what laws they will about civil, religious, or indifferent things, and then people to submit to them for no other reason but because of their will; under which notion superstition in churches hath been ushered and maintained, you must obey authority; in that case it is better to suffer than to sin, and not to do than do. But I suppose the laws just, righteous, holy, and for public good, and that apparently so, and not in saying so only. Now, here to cast off laws is to cast off Christ.

There are two things, especially, which are the cause and occasion of the breach of all other laws, and the strongest sins and sweetest, which men, young men especially, the hopes of the commonwealth, are caught with. (Prov. ii. 13, 16.)

1. Whoredom, secret lusts, and wantonness, and other strange lusts which I cease and dare not name. (1 Kings xiv. 24.) The sin before Shishak came, a sin which many times Solomon can not see through his window, nor the eye of authority discern; but "God will judge for it," (Heb. xiii. 5;) and if he be judge, who shall be thy jailer, but Satan? and what shall be thy sentence, but death? and what thy chains, but a hard heart for the present, and horror afterward? A sin which pollutes the very earth, the land, the very dust of the ground, and the cause of all sin almost in a place, as drunkenness, idleness, corrupt opinions,

scoffing at the ministers of God and ways of God; for I seldom knew a persecutor but he was an adulterer, though it is not always true, and in the end, poverty and ruin. And know it, though no man's eye has seen thee, no power of magistrate can reach thee, this word shall be fire to consume thee, unless thou repent, for thy looks, thy lusts, thy dalliances, thy thoughts, thy speeches, thy endeavors this way, much more for the thing. Man's law shall not bind you here, because it can not reach you; but know that Christ is cast off by you.

2. Loose company, vain men. (Prov. xxv. 3, 4.) A commonwealth is a refined vessel of use for God, and judgment is established; when these are taken away, your knots of loose company. Take a poor soldier alone, he is as other men; but when they are got into a knot together, now they grow strong against all laws of God or men. So here the knot of good fellowship hath been the bane of the flourishing state of England, meeting in taverns and such places; and the cause of whoredom, and of all evil, commonly in a nation. For hence, 1. Much precious time is lost, which if spent in praying, as in sporting with them, many a young man's soul had been blessed. Hence sometimes dicing, feasting, excessive drinking, merry tales, which take off all spiritual joy. Hence filthy songs, and lascivious speeches, by which hopeful young men are insnared, and taught to do wickedly, and so knit to them, that it is death to part with them; and it is better to burn a whole town, than to poison one hopeful young man.

Next to communion with wanton women, I have ever looked on unnecessary fellowship with graceless men as the next. Well, know it, you cast off the Lord's government from you by his servants, which will be sad to answer for another day. And as the prophet said to Jehoshaphat, "Shouldest thou love them that hate the Lord? his wrath is against thee for this," so say I to thee.

Quest. 3. Inferior power, when is that cast off, viz., in particular cities or towns, by meaner persons?

Ans. I shall express it in three things chiefly.

1. When soldiers in particular towns cast off respect, care, conscience, to the commands of their leaders set over them of God, and who, under God, are the walls of outward safety for the country; it is not now an artillery day, only I must speak a word because it is a thing of moment, and matter of great conscience with me. I suppose, in such a place, at least, according to the centurion's example amongst heathens, (Matt. viii. 9,) a word of a commander to any of them should be a law. "I say to one, Go, and he goes." Now, for men to come when they list

to those meetings, and so time is lost, and when they do come, no care, I had almost said conscience, to mind their work in hand, and do it with all their might, as it to which they are called; but officers may speak, charge, cry, yea, strike sometimes, yet heed not, it is intolerable; but that members of churches, which should be examples to others, should do this, at least it is but brutishness. But I do wonder what rules of conscience such do walk by, and if they do, where is their tenderness to withdraw their shoulders from under the work? which if there be but English blood in a Christian, he will endeavor to be perfect in his art herein; but if grace, much more, that he may make one stone in the wall, and be fit to shed his blood, if need be, for the defense of Christ's servants, churches, and cause of God.

2. When any town doth cast off the power and rule of townsmen, set by the supreme magistrate to make such orders as may make for the public weal thereof. I know sometimes men may not be so able, wise, and carry matters imprudently. Town orders may also sometimes want that weight, that wisdom, those cautions, that mature consideration as is meet, as also that due and prudent publication, that all may know of them, with records of them. But take town orders that be deliberately made, prudently published, for the public peace, profit, comfort of the place, to oppose these, or persons that make these, with much care, fear, tenderness, if I know any thing, is a sin of a crying nature, provoking God, and casting off his government. I confess, if there be not care here, I know no way of living under any government of church or commonwealth, if the public affairs of the town be cast off. I know sometimes godly and dear to Christ may, through weakness, want of light, sudden passion, and violent temptation, oppose here; but I am persuaded, if they be the Lord's, he will in time humble them for it, and make them better after it.

I know the answer to two questions would clear up all the doubts about this matter. 1. What prudence should be used in making laws. 2. How far those human laws and town orders bind conscience. But I can not attend these: only six things I would here say.

1. The will and law of God only hath supreme, absolute, and sovereign power to bind conscience, (i. e., to urge it or constrain either to excuse for doing well, or to accuse for sin; for conscience is at liberty without this:) this is a truth urged by all orthodox Protestant divines against the Papists; so that no law can immediately bind conscience, but God's.

1. Because he only is Lord of conscience; because he made

it, and governs it, and only knows it; and hence he only is fit to prescribe rules for it.

2. Because he only can save or destroy the soul; hath only power to make laws for the soul to bind conscience. (James iv. 12.) "There is one Lawgiver, who is able to save or destroy," (Is. xxxiii. 22;) for the law which so binds conscience to a duty that the breach of it is a sin, and that against God: we know that the least sin of itself destroys the soul, binds it over to death, but none have power to destroy it but the Lord himself.

3. Because the law is sufficient to guide the whole man, in its whole course, in all the actions or occasions it meddles with or takes in hand, even in civil as well as in religious matters. Prov. ii. 9, "Wisdom teacheth every good path." Ps. cxix. 11, "I have hid thy word, that I might not sin." Whatever one doth without a rule from the word, is not of faith. Hence the word descends to the most petty occasions of our lives; it teacheth men how to look, (Ps. cxxxi. 1,) how to speak, (Matt. xii. 36;) it descends to the plaiting of the hair, (1 Pet. iii. 5,) moving of the feet, (Is. iii. 16;) and what is of Christian liberty hath its freedom from the word: a man must give an account at the last day of every stirring of heart, thoughts, motives, and secret words; and if so, then it must be according to the rule of the word; and hence the word only hath absolute power to bind masters, servants, and princes how they govern, and people how they subject; and this the Lord hath done to make men take counsel from him, and walk in fear before him, and approve themselves to him, especially townsmen in their places not to consult without God.

2. All good laws and orders enacted in any place by men are either expressly mentioned in the word, or are to be collected and deducted from the word, as being able to give sufficient direction herein. For all the authority of the highest power on earth, in contriving of laws, is in this alone, viz., to make prudent collection and special application of the general rules, recorded in Scripture, to such special and peculiar circumstances which may promote the public weal and good of persons, places, proceedings. Prov. viii. 85, "By me princes decree justice." Josh. i. 7, 8, "Do what Moses commanded; turn not on either hand." *Object.* But I can not see my way from hence always. Meditate therefore on it much, and then thy way shall prosper, etc. Many things Joshua did not particularly set down by Moses, but may be collected from it. Deut. i. 17–20, "The king is to have it, that he may prolong his days in the midst of Israel," in his kingdom. What made Rehoboam to turn from these ways? He

thought he could not stablish his kingdom without it; that was, therefore, the ruin of him and his kingdom.

1. This appears because the word is sufficient to direct, as hath been shown; and hence all directions and rules are to be taken from hence.

2. Because either men have rules to walk by, or their own wills and apprehensions are to be rules; but not so, because men's wills are not only corrupt, but it is a peculiar prerogative to God to be obeyed, because of his will. The reason or wisdom which makes a rule binds; which, if it be right, is part of the law writ in the heart, which is most plainly seen and fully opened in the word, whence direction is to be had.

3. Human laws or orders, thus, either set down in the word, or deducted from the word, and applied by those that be in place in towns, though they do not bind conscience firstly, as human, or by human power, (i. e., as published and imposed by man,) yet they do bind secondarily, (i. e., by virtue of the law of God,) wherein they are contained, or from whence they are derived and deducted, and according to which they are opposed: they are like *subpœnas* in the king's name, or writs of arrest, which by virtue of higher power challenge obedience. And thus to break these is to sin against God, and makes the conscience liable to punishment from God; and the reason is, —

1. Because men sin hereby against the Lord, and his holy, righteous law, because God's law is contained in these; and what is deducted from the word is God's word. 1 Sam. viii. 7, "They have not rejected thee, but me."

2. Because they sin against the power of the magistrate hereby, and against men in place, and so against more means. Rom. xiii. 2, "He that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God;" i. e., when they command thee according to God, which the Lord takes very ill; and the meaner the power is, (as in towns,) the more terrible will the Lord be when he comes to visit for it; hence they receive to themselves damnation both by God and men.

It is true, if they be not thus according to the word, but rather against the general rules of it: though men in towns and places are not to be obeyed, yet subjection is their due, even then; i. e., not to refuse obedience with contempt of their persons, places, power, or scandal to their proceedings, or profession of the gospel. "Revile not the Lord's high priest; speak evil of no man;" but rather come in private, and confer with them, and hear what may be said, and be willing to give and take reason.

4. Human laws and orders may be known to be according to

the word, when they command or forbid such things as really advance or tend to promote the public good.

This I add to answer that great question in many scrupulous minds. I can not see (so ignorant) when an order is collected from the general rules of the word: now this conclusion answers that doubt; for look, as the main work of men in place is to promote public good, (and hence public-spirited men are to be chosen for it,) so the principal rule is that which God and his word gives them to walk by: whatever really doth tend to the advancement of that, publish that, record that, and execute that. Rom. xiii. 4, "He is God's minister to thee for good;" i. e., for the public good. He is for men's private good, but it is in reference to public good; that as private persons are to attend their work, so public persons public good. Hence, 1. If a law be made for public hurt, that law is not of God.

2. Hence, if the law be made only for the private good of themselves, or any particular person, and hurts the public, that is not according to God. Admirable was Joshua's spirit herein. (Josh. xix. 49, 50.)

3. If laws be only in appearance and pretense for public good, and not really, they bind not; none must do evil, much less make a law of it, for public good. Nothing more usual than to make civil laws and orders crossing God's law, and to pretend public good, which ever prove the public pests, and plagues, and cankers of that place, as Jeroboam's command for religion. Some things are forbidden plainly; they make not for public good, but hurt — the statutes of Omri. Other things are indifferent in their nature, as swine to go abroad, or to be shut up; but inconvenient in their use, and hurtful and scandalous, and that really to the general. They are not for public good, whatever is pretended. Some things are plainly commanded; they are for the public good circumstantiated: some things are indifferent in their nature, but convenient and comfortable in their use; those are indeed according to God. And such things may be discerned, they are so obvious and sensible, of such necessity and such profit, when duly considered by persons not blinded with their private interests.

4. Hence things indifferent, which may as well be left undone as done, and so public good no way advanced, are not of God, that any should restrain them; for the liberty which Christ hath purchased by his blood, and which God's law gives, no law of man can abolish or take away. It is the cry of the clawbacks of princes, that they have power in things indifferent; i. e., such things which make as much for public good not to use as use:

the truth is, he hath least power here; because they are idle and idol laws; no hurt, nor is there good in them. And hence some of the most rigid schoolmen maintain such laws bind not conscience; we are not to seek our private only: now, all human laws are helps to seek public.

5. That laws made for and according to God for public good, if they do not destroy some men's particular, only for some time pinch and press hard upon his particular good, or their particular good, men are bound in conscience here to submit. True, 1. If it were possible, all laws for public good should hurt no particular man; and townsmen, if they can, should help those that are hurt; yet because no laws but usually they will press on some man's particular, the heaviest end of a staff that is to be borne must fall on some man's shoulder, and such laws must be made. Hence a man is to bear and submit cheerfully, i. e., from the rule of love, which will abate of particular for the general good; love that more than mine own. 2. The law of justice: a man is to do as he would be done by; there is no man, but if his good was advanced by the general, but would be content that some particular should be pinched. 3. The law of nature: the stomach is content to be sick, and body weak, to heal the whole body. Hence Christians should not think that townsmen are careless, unjust, and aimed at their hurt, when it is thus. (1 Kings xii. 4.)

6. A mere penal law when it is broke, the forfeiture is sufficient for the satisfaction of the offense, or trespass, but not in a mixed law.

First. A penal law is about things of small moment.

Secondly. It is not made by way of command, but with an *aut*, a disjunctive copula, and is indeed rather a proviso than a law.

Thirdly. It is in the mind of the law, make satisfactory if the penalty be paid, though the law be not performed, because the public good in the mind of the lawmaker is known to be set forward that way as by obedience to the law. In these cases penalty is enough; but if the law be mixed, i. e., there is a command it shall be done; and lawgiver is sad, though penalty being paid, as being about a matter of weight; it may be the livelihood and comfort of men, as keeping hogs out of corn, and peace in a town, that there be no complaining; here the penalty will not satisfy, because this is no penal law, but a law indeed deducted from rules of the word of God; as it is in theft, he that steals shall pay fourfold; or that brawls shall be ducked in the water. Suppose one should say, I will suffer my servant

to steal or revile; I hope it is no offense if he suffer the penalty. Yes, but it is, because it is not a mere penal law; the thing is of weight; peace between neighbors, so peace in a town. It is a flat charge not to break it, and thou knowest such is the honesty and justice of a magistrate, that he will say, I would rather you would never do thus than offer those to do. Hence in God's law Christ must suffer, and do also, because God's law is not merely penal; but doing the thing gives more content than the punishment.

3. When servants cast off all subjection to their governors, — families being the members and foundations of towns, and so of commonwealths, — when they are not obedient, but answer again; if they be let alone, then idle; if rebuked and curbed, then stubborn and proud, and worse for chiding, and find fault with their wages, and victuals, and lodging; weary and vex out the heart of master and mistress, and make them weary of their lives, and their God also almost sometimes, and that by such professing religion, and all that they might be from under the yoke.

And here I can not but set a mark upon servants broke loose from their masters, and got out of their time, that are under no family nor church government, nor desiring of it, or preparing for it; but their reins are on their necks. I confess, if under heathen masters, then desire liberty rather; but when men will live as they list, without any over them, and unfit to rule themselves, I much doubt whether this be according to God.

1. Hence they come to live idly, and work when they list.

2. Hence men of public use can have little use but when they please of them.

3. When they be with them, they have no power to correct or examine, and call them to account, in regard of spiritual matters.

4. Hence they lie in wait to oppress men that must have help from them, and so will do what they list.

5. Hence they break out to drunkenness, whoring, and loose company.

6. Hence they make other servants unruly, and to desire liberty.

Now, examine and try these things: is the kingdom of Christ come into us? that though there be a law in our members warring, yet there is a law of the mind warring against it, and delighting in the will of Christ, and setting him up as chief. Are we under the kingdom of Christ in his church and commonwealth; so as the soul is willing in the day of the Lord's power,

though there be, and have been, some pangs of resistance against persons and against ordinances; so as it is thy liberty to be subject to Christ in his ordinances, in his servants; and it is thy bondage to be otherwise, and thou longest for that day, that the Lord would subdue all those boisterous lusts, and pride, and passions, and bruise sin, Satan, and self under their feet? Then I say, as the Lord, (Is. xxxiii. 20–22,) "Look upon Zion, the city of your solemnity," etc. (See Rom. viii. 7, 1.)

But if the heart grows loose and licentious, and breaks the Lord's bonds and yokes, and will be led by your own fleshly ends and lusts, and so go on quietly, be you assured this truth shall have a time to take hold of such spirits; and know it assuredly, it is not to be in Christ's family or kingdom; it is not scrambling for promises, catching at God's grace, talking of assurance of God's love, which will shelter you from the wrath of the King of kings and Lord of lords, to whom God hath sworn that every knee shall bow. It is service and subjection which the Lord aims at, and which the Lord looks for. I know it is God's grace which only can save; but it will never save when it is turned into licentiousness.

Do not say, There is no danger of it here, where we have such means, and such liberties are.

Ans. 1. Never such danger of being licentious as in places of liberty, when no bit nor bridle of external tyranny to curb in.

2. Look on the kingdom of Judah here, which in one year all fell.

3. Why doth the Lord exercise us with wants and straits? It is to humble us, and abate our unruliness. And it is the Lord's quarrel with his best people to this day; desperate rebellious hearts, that close not with his government.

Do not say, We know not how bondage should come here, though we should cast off the Lord's government.

Ans. 1. The Lord can let loose the natives against us. Ahab kills one million of Benhadad's men, but afterward, within seven years, he returns again.

2. The Lord can raise up brambles, and Abimelechs to be the king of the trees, when the olives and the vines are loth to forsake their places, and to lose their fatness and sweetness.

3. The Lord can turn the hearts of those in power against people, and let Satan sow suspicions, and sow seditions and clashings.

4. The Lord can leave us into one another's hands to oppress, to take away the nether millstones.

5. If none of these, Satan, nay, Christ himself will come out with garments dippped in blood.

3. Do not say, It is not so; there is sweet subjection; i. e., it is so, and blessed be God for it; yet beware, I speak to prevent. But yet, 1. Some seem to do so, and yet are not so. 2 Cor. x. 4, 5, "Mighty to pull down every high thought:" who attains this, who can be thus? Yet there are means mighty for this end; not that all be abolished, but all are abolishing. 2. Others otherwise, openly how zealous for an opinion, when it should be death to differ, and things in your own heart lying miserably waste, and some wretched lust the root of all, for which God's saints mourn in secret. Let such know that will not be ruled by Christ, or his servants or ordinances, but will have them to rule them, and not to be ruled by them. The Lord's chains are near; and therefore now take your time, and come in, submit to the Lord, and do as these here did, acknowledge the Lord to be righteous, and turn unto the Lord.

Use 6. Of thankfulness for our present liberties, and freedom from the bondage of men, bondage of conscience, bondage of Satan and sin: need there is of laying this use seriously to heart, considering two things principally: 1. The general complaints of the country, as they of Jericho. 2 Kings ii. 10, "The waters are bad, and the ground barren;" and these are engraven in marble; all other our liberties are written on the water. 2. The disgrace and reproach cast upon God's people and ways of God, and that unjustly, which I am afraid to mention; whence there grows a contempt of them, and the rivers of Damascus now are better than Jordan. O beloved, if it be a heavy hand of God to be under bondage, then look on it as a special grace of God to free us from bondage. Deut. xxxii. 11, 12, "The Lord alone did lead them," etc.; and Moses, (chap. xxxiii. 29,) when he had blessed them, "Happy art thou, O Israel, a people saved by the Lord." And the greater cause we have to do this, a people that have abused all liberties. (Is. ix. 8–10.) He laments it, but yet is thankful for it to God's grace: no man that can say but he may be as holy as he will, and none to curb or snib.

Means 1. Consider what all the liberties God's people enjoy have cost. Gal. v., "Christ hath made you free," i. e., by his blood. Liberty of conscience from the bondage, not of Jewish, but of anti-Christian ceremonies, and government, and pressures; liberty of will from any sin; it is by Christ's blood and cost, that (as I am persuaded) our liberties have cost saints their blood. The tears, prayers, and blood of men are much, but of Christ much more; and are they not worth thanks that are of this price? The great reason why unthankfulness comes in is, because they cost so much, as loss of estate, of wife, or of child, by sea: dost

thou repent now? Christ doth not repent that his blood hath been paid for them; and if they be of so little value as there it is said, "He repented that he made man," so may he that ever he gave them such glorious liberties.

2. Consider oft of the sad condition of them that be in bondage. Men in bondage prize liberty, and think them happy that enjoy it; but men out of it do not. How sad is the consideration of them that be in bonds! it will make thy heart sympathize with them, and bless God for your deliverance. Hence saith Christ, (Luke xxii. 20,) "When you see Jerusalem compassed with enemies," etc., "fly to the mountains; and woe to them that give suck." Consider them that are taken with the Turks; if you were in their condition you would say so; to bring forth little ones to the murderer or idolater. (Is. xlii. 22 and 26.) Men's hearts failing for fear, this you should see somewhere. A mote or a thorn is a little thing; but no man would have it always vexing for all the estate he hath, if he hath any eye or tenderness in it; so those small matters for which the saints have suffered, and for which God is provoked, and under which some have roared, and others have been loaded, one after another, it is worth a world; O, bless God for it: but consider those that be under the dominion of sin and Satan, so strong and miserable; sin so dear, that there is not so much as a sigh under that; be thankful for that.

3. Labor to maintain in the heart a holy fear of abusing liberties, every one in his place; for what makes them despised but principally the abuse of them? In such a congregation there was such contention, such affront to the elders, there is that degenerating of spirit, and backsliding from God, that men grow worse under means than ever, ay, and so must be if men grow not better. Deut. vi. 10, 12. The Lord exhorts them that, when they be at liberty, they would not then forget the Lord, but then fear. It is Luther's note on the place, "When in trouble, you rejoice; but when in peace, you fear." I will only name the sins of liberty.

1. Take heed of a prayerless spirit, and that that lamp go not out. Men under some pressures cry, and it is long before they do cry under them, and under their sin; but then at last they do, and when the Lord gives liberty, though they have the guilt of the same sins, and more sins lie on them, yet then, like mariners when the storms are over, fall asleep. It is strange that Israel, under Pharaoh, cried, and under God's afflicting hand, in denying them water, murmured. True thankfulness will help to prize what liberty affords.

2. An unloving spirit to the saints. It is that I have oft said: soldiers, when they are set against a common enemy, are all one; but when at liberty, then they fling javelins at one another's heads, differ in opinion, and in heart and affection, and it is not death so to do. Take heed of a rigid, censorious, unloving spirit.

3. Extreme ignorance how to use our liberties, and hence running to extremes. As we say of Christ, there is good enough in him, but men know not how to fetch and improve it, so there is great advantage in liberties; but men miss of it through their ignorance and abuse. Hence many times more hurt done by an admonition than by the sin, when administered in passion, and without compassion. Hence, under pretense of liberty, extreme licentiousness.

4. Imperiousness of spirit, arising from a frothy emptiness, and an overweening opinion, and conceitedness of their own abilities and wisdom above others; and hence will not be led (being at liberty) by the counsel and advice of others. It is natural for man to affect sovereignty, and when the time comes of liberty, then it hath a vent: "Who made thee a lord and judge over us?" though in bondage, much more in liberty; they think will's commonwealth is in their heads chiefly, and hence will not be ruled by God's ordinances; and hence, if once taken with an opinion, hardly ever removed, etc.

5. Resting with liberties and in liberties. "We were never in bondage," (John viii. 33,) "yet servants to sin." "We be Abraham's seed," better than all the world; yet under all the power of sin and Satan, and must not be told of their ways, but hate them that censure them for their sins. Men in bondage are like sick men, that will cry if they were in another bed; O, then they should be well; but they must first be cured of their disease.

4. Make use of liberties. He that hath them, but sees not so much glory in them, or gets not much good from them, he will be no more thankful than one that hath large grounds may walk at liberty, but the trees, for want of manuring, bear no fruit, nor ground corn, through sloth; such a man will starve there. Look, as they, (Deut. xv. 5, 10, 11,) they were "to bring the first fruits, and present them before the Lord, and rejoice in all:" so should you, if ever you be thankful for them, bring the first fruits to the Lord, and think there is more behind, and more in heaven.

Object. But our outward straits are many, and temptations sad.

Ans. If Christ himself should come on earth, what would you have with him? Would you have him come and set up an earthly paradise? would you have better entertainment than he, who had

not that which foxes and birds had? or would you have him come from his cross, and then you will make him king? If you despise his ordinances and liberties because of wants, you would despise himself if he were present. But you will reply, and say, What if we can have both? If that can be, and Christ calls to take both, refuse not his love. But it may be a heavy indictment against some at the last day, in that they forsake Christ, because he is poor and naked; for they are therefore called to clothe him: and this will be your peace, and you will be no losers yourselves another day.

2. Suppose he doth keep us low; yet (Ps. cxlv. 13, 14) "His dominion is alway, and raiseth up all that are bowed down." O, be humbled; he is said (Deut. xxxii. 13) "to make the people suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flint," sweetness and mercy out of the hardest condition.

3. They that are not recompensed for their enjoyment of liberties by the spiritual refreshings which the Lord gives, showing them more of their own hearts; the Lord proclaims liberty to them to depart. I am persuaded the whole country would flourish the more.

4. Lament rather your own vileness, who, in the midst of all mercy, know not how to use, but abuse, our liberties: and hence the Lord forsakes us, (as Ezra ix. 8, 10, 11,) "What grace hath been showed us? what shall we say, that after this"? etc. "Wouldest thou not be angry with us till thou hast consumed us?" Ps. lxxxi. 13, 16, "O that my people had heard my voice! I would have subdued their enemies." God would not be wanting unto us, if we were not to him.

Take therefore that example to imitate, in Acts ix. 31, "Having rest, they were edified." If we be not so, truly, as none have the like liberties, so no bondage so sad, nowhere such poverty, nowhere such anguish of conscience, nowhere such spirit and power of sin, nowhere such sad anger; if in practice we be unthankful, or can mouth and speak against long sermons, and against the country and Christians, or in hearts undervalue them; and when you see Indians rise, brambles, Abimelechs, and Shebnas raised, etc., then know this is for abuse of liberty.

Use 7. Of exhortation, to come under Christ's government, and be in his service; lest ye come to know the difference between it and some other by experience.

Motive 1. You must be either under Christ's yoke, or Satan's and sin's, and so all other miseries; and therefore, as Joshua said, so say I to you: "Choose you whom you will serve."

Mot. 2. Consider the difference between the service of the Lord and Shishak.

1. The government of others, tyrannical, proud men, or sin or Satan, or outward miseries; it is full of rigor, force, and cruelty. Ezek. xxxiv. 4, "With force and cruelty have ye ruled them." But Christ's government is there shown to be in mercy, and full of mercy; though sometimes lost, he will fetch thee in again; though sick and weak, he will heal thee again. (Ver. 16; Deut. iv. 6.) It is for thy good the Lord hath no need of thy service, etc. True it is, the Lord may show his people hard things, and give them sad miseries; but these wounds do not kill them, only make way for healing the distempers of their hearts that are in his poor weak ones, and his end is to bring them to himself.

2. Their government is in itself hard and bitter. To serve a lust now, it is a torment sometimes to conscience, if that be awake; if not, it is a curse of curses; much reluctancy against it; much chiding after it, and God hides himself; dreadful fears, and heart itself unquiet. But Christ's yoke is easy and his burden light; his assistance, and presence, and love, and peace make it so, and that daily, and at death especially.

3. There is little recompense for their service. The best that Saul can give are olive fields and vineyards; but anguish of conscience after the work is done. But the Lord gives a kingdom; and not a word or thought, but there is a book of remembrance writ; not a cup of cold water, or rag to any of Christ's naked servants, but it will be recompensed. "You have followed me, you shall sit on thrones."

Mot. 3. Consider how fain the Lord would have you under his government; for many will say, I have refused so oft, and what shall I now do? The Lord will cast me by. True, he may do so, and you may be glad if the Lord will honor you in doing his work. Yet, (Prov. ii. 23,) "Return, you scorners, at my reproof, and I will pour out my Spirit upon you." Jer. xxxvi. 3, 7, "Read" (says God) "the words of the roll to them. It may be they will hear, and present their supplications before the Lord, and turn every man from his evil way, that I may forgive their iniquity and their sin." Read the place, if you can, without tears. You that have departed from God and Christ, and provoked God's wrath, when there is but little hope left, it may be, O, yet read the roll.

Mot. 4. Once Christ's, and under his government, you shall never be cast off. "As sin hath reigned unto death, so shall grace reign unto eternal life." (Rom. v. 21.) "He will bestow on you the sure mercies of David, by an everlasting covenant." (Is. lv. 5.)

Quest. But wherein should I submit to the Lord?

Ans. None have power to rule conscience but Christ; give him therefore this glory; that wherein he binds conscience, conscience, not out of fear, but love, may indeed submit. I have instanced the particulars formerly, yet more distinctly. There be two great commands or charges of Christ, that lie upon all men's consciences to whom the gospel comes, and therein lies our service of him generally; which two I name, because there we think we are free, or do not know our liberty.

First. The command of Christ is, that every one, to whom the gospel comes and is preached, do believe; i. e., receive Christ Jesus in all his fullness in the gospel. (John i. 12.) For that is to believe; in which command lies God's offer. 1 John v. 23, "This is his commandment, that ye believe." John vi. 25, 37, 38, "This is the work of God, that ye believe." Now, here men think they are free. 1. They say they are unworthy; and hence they say, Depart from me, Lord; I am a sinful man; as if God's grace was built on man's worthiness. 2. Because unhumbled; whereas God's grace calls in men unhumbled. (Rev. viii. 17, 18.) For God's call and offer is general, though none but the humble will hearken to it. But there are none but it may be said to them, If they can believe, let them. 3. Because Christ is not theirs, and are they bound to believe he is? whereas the first act of faith is not to believe Christ is mine; then men were bound to believe a lie. But to receive Christ as a woman her husband, that he may be mine by faith; and so a man may know and say, He is mine. The gospel doth nowhere say to any man, Christ is thine; but if thou receive him, he is thine, and consequently the Spirit speaks so also. 4. Because they can not believe, unless they should presume; as if the gospel bound the conscience of none to believe but them that were able to believe it, and receive Christ in it: yet it is otherwise; for it binds all to receive Christ Jesus; to go up and possess him; to feed, eat and drink, and live forever. And I will leave this one undeniable argument: If men are liable to eternal condemnation at the great and last day, and to bear the eternal wrath of God and Christ also, for disobeying the gospel, for refusing Christ and the offer of his grace therein, then those men's consciences are bound to obey the gospel; i. e., to believe and receive Christ now in this life. But all that have the gospel preached to them are liable to eternal condemnation for disobedience to it. (John iii. 18, 19.) Ps. ii. 12, "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry." So, (2 Thess. ii. 8, 9,) "He comes to render vengeance on them that obey not the gospel." Rom. ii. 16, "The Lord shall judge the secrets of all hearts by my gospel;" that is, wherever the gospel comes; for they that

have no law, having no law shall not be judged by it; but men that have had the gospel shall be judged by it, and therefore are bound to obedience thereunto.

The serious consideration of which one truth is enough to draw all to Christ from the power of unbelief; especially they that say, I can not or ought not believe. For the reason why men do not come is,—

1. They think the gospel concerns not them. What, doth the Lord say to me, Come, so vile and sinful? Yes, that he doth. If there was no such law, there could be no transgression or condemnation.

2. They think they shall presume. No, if conscience be bound to it, it is no presumption to keep a Sabbath aright, or to receive Christ as God offers him. O, this quiets conscience.

3. The Lord lays his chain on the most tender place of conscience, as it will answer it at the great day, or will have any peace; take heed you refuse not so great salvation.

4. It is a chain, not of bondage, but of liberty, and mercy, and love. Come and receive, not a kingdom, but Christ, peace, pardon, and grace freely; which may draw the heart, as it will at the great and last day. "Come, ye blessed, take a kingdom;" take a Christ prepared for you from before the foundation of the world. O that this might sound in your ears! This is the first and chiefest: without this, all your obedience is hypocrisy, and abominable; but this will please, and then all poor obedience shall please.

Secondly. Love unto the whole will of Christ; especially to that part of it, to love those that be the members of Christ. Some Christians they believe, and feeling a heart so cross to Christ, and the will of God, think they are from under the government of God and Christ, and so from under the grace of Christ, (and the argument is strong, if true;) but why not under his government? Because they find daily a spirit so cross to the will of Christ, and hence under continual fears of condemnation. O, but consider, hast thou no love to the will of Christ and law of God? (for if any believe, this is found in him:) if so, then under Christ's government. Rom. viii. 2, "The law of the Spirit of life hath made me free." What is that law? See chap. vii. 23, 24, Spirit of "delight in the law in the inner man," and mourning for contrary captivity. Know, therefore, though you can not do all, yet love the whole will of God, and mourn where you do not; and then say, Now no condemnation. Do not say, It is impossible. O, here is men's woe, and trial of subjection to Christ's will! How do you love it, love his Sabbaths and ordinances, because of his love to you? How does this constrain you?

In particular: Love the people of God; that is his special commandment. (1 John iii. 23; xiii. 34.) But now the want hereof, or the contrary hereto: As when a man shall become, 1. A distaster. 2. A contemner. 3. A censurer and whisperer. 4. A scoffer. 5. If met on a bridge, an opposer of the truths or servants of God. This is that which kindles wrath, and wherein the inward venom of hypocrisy appears. There are many duties neglected, and not that spirit of prayer and holy conferences amongst Christians; yet do you keep love to them; that what you can not do yourselves, yet you love others that can do it, and account it your blessedness to be like them, and daily mourn under your neglects; that in every thing the gospel is not adorned by you: and on the other side, although you have many duties, Sabbaths, and good acts, yet, if not love, all is vile. I fear it is not men's joy, sweetness, delight to hear the least good word that falls from a good man's lips, but rather the truths and things of God despised; if so, then look for woe. And for members of Christ, their lives not desired, their deaths not lamented; but you know how to contend, and are careless though the gospel and God be slandered; you cast off the Lord's yoke. It was one man's speech, that the great sin of this country will be hatred of the saints, a scornful contempt of them. It will come by degrees, first distaste, and then censure and contemn. O, but if herein you submit, herein Christ is honored, and gospel glorified, in love and amiableness; not in a rigorous austerity of spirit, and diabolical censoriousness, but in word and deed, countenance and gesture, comforting and encouraging one another.

When David would know what to do, "Truly," saith he, "my goodness extends not to thee; but to the saints, in whom is all my delight." O, therefore submit here; this conscience calls for, and Christ must have.

To conclude with a word for help here:—

Means 1. Look to God's ordinances, not as they be in themselves, but as appointed of God, to communicate an almighty power of spirit to them that wait on the Lord in them. An almighty power must overcome, and go on conquering and to conquer. How shall we have this by God's ordinances? Some more principal, as word and sacraments; some less. How shall we partake of this power in them? Look not on them as themselves, but as appointed and sanctified, and so as glorious. And there pray and wait, and look for the power; nay, believe you shall receive this power. As the waters of Jordan to Naaman, how did they cleanse? When he looked upon them without the command and promise, he despised them, and so found not the

benefit of them; but afterwards he found the benefit of them, when he washed seven times in attendance to the appointment of God. Brethren, it is but go and wash here. (1 Cor. x. 5.)

Means 2. Know your disobedience, the breadth of it. Some things Christians see, and pray against them, and then all is well; but see the breadth of evil in your disobedience. There is something that doth oppose God in every lawful thing, in whole or in part, (for flesh is in it,) or else you are blinded if you see it not. O, therefore, feel the breadth of evil in it; that being sensible of, and humbled under, and striving against your continual disobedience, every thought may be brought into subjection and obedience to Christ.

INEFFECTUAL HEARING THE WORD.

OF

INEFFECTUAL HEARING THE WORD.

John v. 37, "Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape."

From the 31st verse to the end of this chapter, our Saviour proves that he was the Messiah to come, from four testimonies: —

1. From the testimony of John, the first, yet the least, yet very strong and full, ver. 32, 33.

2. From the testimony of his works, greater than that of John, ver. 36.

3. From the testimony of the Father, by his voice from heaven, ver. 37.

4. From the voice of the Scriptures, the highest of all, and surer than a voice from heaven, (2 Pet. i. 19,) ver. 39, 46.

Now, these words are annexed to the third testimony, which I told you is the voice of God from heaven, set down. (Matt. iii. 17.) For this testimony of the Father is not the inward testimony of the Spirit only, because Christ speaks of public and evident testimonies in this place, nor is it meant of the testimony of the Father in the Scripture, for that is a distinct testimony; and though the Father doth testify of Christ in the Scriptures, yet it is not as his testimony, no more than the testimony of John, and of his works, whereby the Father did testify also. Nor is it probable that our Saviour would at this time omit that famous testimony of the Father at his baptism, which, if it be not here, is nowhere in this chapter. Besides, how is this testimony the Father's more than the Spirit's? But then, being called his Son, he did evidently declare himself to be the Father that spake. Lastly, the Spirit's testimony is spoken of as the testimony of Moses and the prophets. Ver. 46, "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me." Ver. 47,

"For if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?"

Now, our Saviour, in these words, answers an objection which the Jews (ever conceited of their own knowledge) might make: We know the Father as well as you; and yet we know no such testimony that he gives. Christ answers, You do not know him; for the certain knowledge of a thing is either by seeing or hearing; now you never saw him nor heard him; you have therefore no acquaintance with him.

So that the words contain, 1. Christ's fearful accusation of the Jews to be ignorant of God. 2. The aggravation and extent of it, at no time, i. e., not only at baptism, but at no other time, in any ministry, or in any scripture, etc.

Question 1. What is it not to see his shape nor hear his voice?

Answer. Some think they are metaphorical speeches, to express their ignorance of God. Now, though this be the scope and the general truth, yet I conceive the Lord, speaking particularly, and knowing what he spake, intends something particularly; and it is a rule never to fly to metaphors where there can be a plain sense given. There are therefore two degrees of true knowledge of God in this life, or it is attained unto by a double means: —

1. By hearing of him, for hence our faith comes by the word.

2. By hearing thus from him, the mind also comes to have a true idea of God, as he reveals himself in the word and means by the Spirit, (Job xlii. 5:) "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee;" and this is the shape here spoken of, not bodily and carnal. Now, Christ doth profess that they did want both. Carnal and unregenerate hearts neither hear God's voice, nor have a right idea of God in their minds, but become vain in their minds, though they have means of knowing, and their foolish hearts are darkened; the wiser they be the more foolish they grow.

2. At no time, i. e., neither at baptism, nor else in any man's ministry, nor in any of the scriptures which you read, and where the Lord speaks.

3. But did they not hear the voice of God at Christ's baptism, and at the mount when Christ preached, when the Scriptures were opened every Lord's day, and at other times, amongst them?

Ans. No, they never heard it. It is a strange thing that such men that read, heard, preached, remembered the Scriptures, and could tell you mysteries in titles, never heard the voice of God; and yet it is most true.

Observation. That many men may a long time together know

and hear the word of God written and spoken, yet never hear the Lord speaking that word, no, not so much as one word, title, or syllable; no, not so much at once, at any time. This was the estate of the Jews, and this is the estate of all unregenerate men. Hence Christ (Luke xix. 41) laments and weeps over Jerusalem, saying, "O that thou hadst known in this thy day," etc.

Quest. 1. How did the Jews hear, and yet not hear God speaking?

Ans. There is a twofold word, or rather a double declaration of the same word. 1. There is God's external or outward word, containing letters and syllables, and this is his external voice. 2. There is God's internal word and voice, which secretly speaks to the heart, even by the external word, when that only speaks to the ear. The first the Jews did hear at Christ's baptism, in Christ's ministry, and in reading the Scriptures, and when they did hear it, it was God's word they heard, full of glory, and so they heard the word spoken, but only man speaking it; the other comes to few, who hear not only the word spoken, but God speaking the word. (Rom. x. 18, 19.) Israel did hear, but Israel did not know. Christ speaks in parables; hence in seeing they did not see. (Luke viii. 10.) And this is one way how it is true that Christ says, "they never heard his voice." As it is with a painted sun on the wall, you see the sun and stars, but there is a difference between seeing this and the sun and stars themselves, wherein is an admirable glory: go to a painted sun, it gives you no heat, nor cherisheth you not; so it is here, etc.

2. This inward word is double. 1. Ineffectual, (though inward.) 2. Effectual. 1. Ineffectual is that which hath some inward operation upon the heart, but it attains not God's end to bring a man into a state of life; and thus, (Heb. vi. 2, 5,) "Many tasted of the good word of God, yet fell away." And such a heart is compared to a field which a man plows and sows, and rain falls on it, and yet the end is not attained; it brings forth thistles; and this many Jews did hear, and hence had some kind of faith in Christ. 2. Effectual is that which hath such an inward efficacy upon men's hearts as that God attains his end thereby, (Is. lv. 11,) and brings men to a state of life, of which Christ speaks, (John vi. 45;) and this voice none but the elect hear; and of this Christ speaks here, as appears ver. 38: "Him whom he sent ye believe not." Hence it is you have heard God at no time. Hence he speaks of such a hearing and knowing, such a hearing outwardly, as is accompanied with such a hearing inwardly, (John xiv. 17;) so that many men may hear the word

spoken outwardly, but never inwardly; they may hear it inwardly, but never effectually, translating them from state to state, from death to life, from life to life and glory; no sense of the majesty of God speaking, nor effectual hearing of the word spoken. When the sun is down, the moon may arise; but yet a man is cold and dark; but when the sun ariseth, O, it warms, nourisheth, and cherisheth, etc.; nothing is hid from it: so it is here, when the Lord speaks inwardly and effectually to the heart.

Reason 1. From that great distance and infinite separation of men's souls from God, that though God calls, yet they can not hear no more than men a thousand miles off. "Men are dead in sin." (Eph. ii. 1.) Now, what is spiritual death but separation of the soul from God and God from it? A dead man can not hear one word at no one time; he was not dead if he could. Men's minds are far from God, and hearts also, that they are neither stricken with the sight of his glory, nor sense and savor of his goodness, but must be vain, and have worldly hearts in the church, nay, adulterous eyes, or if they listen, God is gone from them, and from his word also. (Hos. v. 6.)

Reason 2. From the mighty and wonderful strange power of Satan, which blinds their eyes, they can not see nor hear, (2 Cor. iv. 4,) never such clear light, never such an effectual word, as that of the apostles, yet it was hid; why? The God of this world blinded them; either he will keep such a noise and lumber in their heads that they can not hear God speaking for the noise, or else turn himself into an angel of light, and speak, and by their light will blind them, that the light in them shall be darkness. (Rom. i. 22.) When men with natural light began to be most wise, then they became the greatest fools; so it is with other knowledge of Scripture, and things they hear. Happy were it for many a man if he had never heard nor seen; for that which he hath heard and seen keeps him from hearing. Tyre and Sidon would hear sooner than Capernaum that heard most.

Reason 3. From the righteous judgment of God, in leaving men to be blinded and made deaf, from and by the means whereby they should hear and know; that as it is with the saints, all evil things are for their good, so all good things are for their hurt, (Is. vi. 10;) the meriting cause is unbelief and sin, but the deep and hidden rise of all is God's eternal dereliction of them. God never intended love, special love to them; hence he never speaks one word to them. 2 Cor. iv. 3; John vi. 65, "Many were offended at his words, and forsook him." Now, to take off this offense, I said, "None can come to me, except it be given him of the Father." What is that? See ver. 45 and 37.

Use 1. Hence see the reason why the word is so wonderfully ineffectual to the souls of many men, that it never stirs them, that it is a strange thing to them. It is (Heb. xii. 19) like the law, a voice of words, a sound of words; so they hear men speak, but understand no more than if they speak in a strange language; or if they do, it concerns not them; or if it stirs, it is but as the blowing of the wind upon a rock, which blusters for a time, but when the wind is down they are still. Truly they hear the word spoken, but they do not hear God speaking. They heard Latimer speak, but not God speaking; they hear a sound, which every one says, and they think, is the word, but they hear not God speaking it.

One would wonder that those Jews that heard John and his disciples, Moses and the prophets, nay, God's voice from heaven, saying, "This is my Son," that they should not hear this, and receive him with all their hearts, but they did not hear his voice. One would wonder to see, that such things which a gracious heart thinks, this would draw every heart, yet remain not stirred; things which the devils tremble at, and others which angels wonder at, yet they hear not. O, they hear not God speak, they are dead in their graves, far from God; and there they are kept by the mighty power of Satan, like one in a deep, dark cave, kept by fiery dragons under the ground, and the tombstone is laid upon them. If Christ spake, he would make the dead to hear, and the blind to see.

Use 2. Hence see why the saints find such changes and alterations in themselves when they come to hear; sometimes their hearts are quickened, fed and cherished, healed and comforted, relieved and visited; sometimes again dead and senseless, heavy and hardened. Mark viii. 17, 18, 21, "How is it ye do not understand?" Nay, which is more, that the same truth which they hear at one time should affect them, and at another time doth not; the same thing which they have heard a hundred times, and never stirred them, at last should. The reason is, they heard the word of God spoken at one time, but not God speaking; and they heard the Lord speaking that same word at another time; the Lord is in his word at one time, the word goes alone at another time; as in Elijah, the Lord was not in the whirlwind, but he spake in the still voice, and hence there he was to Elijah. (Luke xxiv. 25, with 32.) Not that you are to lay blame on the Lord; for he blows where he listeth; but to make us see it is not in outward means, nor it is not in our own spirits to quicken ourselves, and to make us ashamed of our own darkness, that when he speaks yet we can not hear, there is so

much power of spiritual death and Satan yet within us, only out of his pity he speaks sometimes. Not that you should despise the outward word; no, no; the Lord is there shining in perfection of glory, and that which doth thee no good, the Lord makes powerful to some others. But prize the Spirit of God in that word, which alone can speak to thee.

Use 3. Of dread and terror to all unregenerate men. Hence see the heavy wrath of God against them: they have indeed the Scriptures, and the precious word of God dispensed to them; but the Lord never speaks one word unto them. If any one, from whom we expect and look for love, pass by us and never speak; what, not speak a word? and we call to him and he will not speak, we conclude he is angry and displeased with us. You look for love, do you not? You that hear every Sabbath, and come to lectures, and you must out; it is well. Yes, you will say, his love is better than life, and frowns more bitter than death. Love? Woe to me if the Lord do not love me; better never been born. I hope he loves me. Happy I, if the mountains might fall on me, to crush me in pieces, if he loves me not, etc. But consider, if he loves, he will then speak peace unspeakable to thy conscience when humbled, life to thy heart, joy in the Holy Ghost. (Is. lvii. 19. John vi. 63. 1 Thess. i. 6.) But look upon thy soul, and see this day in the sight of God, whether ever the Lord spake one word to thee: outwardly indeed he hath, but not inwardly; inwardly also, but not effectually, "to turn them from darkness to light, and the power of Satan to God," etc. The voice of God is full of majesty, it shakes the heart; it is full of life, it quickens the dead, and light, and peace, and gives wisdom to the simple. Ps. cxix., "Opening of thy word gives light to the eyes." How many women, ever learning and never knowing, and many men learning and knowing, what is said, but never hear God speak! Then know the wrath of the Lord, see and go home mourning under it. There is a fourfold wrath in this:—

1. It is the Lord's sore wrath and displeasure. (Zech. i. 2, with ver. 4.) If one should expect love from another to do much for him, and he did not, it may be he would not take it as a sign of displeasure; but if he will not do a small thing, not speak a word to him, O, this is bitter. What, will not the Lord speak a word, not one word, especially when thy life lies on it, thy soul lies on it, eternity lies on it, especially the Lord that is so merciful and pitiful? This is a sign of sore anger.

2. It is a token of God's old displeasure, eternal displeasure. I know you can not hear; hence, though God speaks, you hear

him not. But why doth not the Lord remove that deafness? You old hearers, that have ears fat with hearing, but heavy, he never intended love, else he would speak; there would be some time of love. Rom. xi. 7, 8, "The elect have had it; others are blinded, as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, to this day."

3. It is the Lord's present displeasure. When a man looks for love and speech, and he doth not speak at those times he is not wont to speak, one may take it as no sign of anger; but when the Lord shall speak usually, and then he speaks not, this is a sad sign. (1 Sam. xxviii. 6, 15.) He cries out of this, "He answers me not by Urim nor dreams," nor thee by the gospel nor law, neither where he useth to answer. If this anger were to come, it were some comfort; but when it is now upon thee, even that very sermon and word whereby he speaks to others, but not a word to thee.

4. It is his insensible anger. For a fat heart and a heavy ear ever go together; for you will say, I feel no hurt in this; I have heard and been never the better, but yet that hath made me never the worse. O, poor creature! It is because you feel it not; but when the time of misery shall come, you will say, This is woe and load enough, for the Lord to give no answer. Ps. lxxi. 9, "We see not our prophets, nor any to tell us how long;" so you that despise means, you shall then lament and say, None can tell how long. O, therefore, lament this thy condition now, that the Lord may hear some of your cries, etc.

Use 4. Hence examine whether ever you heard the Lord's voice or no; not only outwardly, (for that you know you have often done,) but inwardly; and not only so, for so ye may do, and yet your ears heavy; but effectually, that if it be not so, you may be humble and say, Lord, how have I spent my time in vain! And if it be so, you may be thankful, and say, Lord, what am I, that the infinite God should speak to me?

There is great need of trial of this, for a man may read, hear, and understand, externally, whatever another may; and yet the whole Scripture a sealed book.

There are therefore these three degrees, by which you shall discern the effectual voice of God: you must take them jointly.

1. The voice of God singles a man out, and (though it be generally written or spoken) speaks particularly to the very heart of a man, with a marvelous kind of majesty and glory of God stamped upon it and shining in it.

When a man hears things generally delivered, the blessed

estate of the saints, the cursed estate of the wicked, consolations to the one, curses to the other, exhortations to faith and obedience to both, and a man sits by, and never thinks, The Lord is now speaking, and means me, or, if it doth so, yet thinks he intends me no more than others, he hears not the Lord speaking; for when he speaks, he speaks particularly to the very heart of a man: he doth so fit the word to him, whether it be the word of the law to humble him, or of gospel to comfort, or of command to guide, as if the Lord meant none but them.

The word is like an exact picture; it looks every man in the face that looks on it, if God speaks in it. Heb. iv. 12, 13, "It searcheth the heart," ver. 12; but ver. 13 he speaks of God; how comes that in? Because God, the majesty of God, comes with it when God speaks it. "With whom we have to do;" why is that put in? Because, when the Lord speaks, a man thinks, Now I have to do with God; if I resist, I oppose a God. Before this, a man thinks he hath nothing to do with God, they are such strangers. Hence it is one man is wrought on in a sermon, another not. God hath singled out one, not the other, that day. Hence take a man unhumbled; he hears many things, and it may be understands not; if so, yet they concern not him; if they do, and conscience is stirred, yet they think man means them, and speaks by hap, and others are as bad as they, and his trouble is not much. At last he hears his secret thoughts and sins discovered, all his life is made known, and thinks it is the Lord verily that hath done this; now God speaks (1 Cor. xiv. 25) those things he did neither believe nor imagine, etc. John iv. 29, "See the man that hath told me all that ever I did." Hence take a soul that is humbled; he hears of the free offer of grace, he refuseth it: Why, this is to all, and to hypocrites as well as to me. Apply any promise to it, it casts by all, it looks upon them as things generally spoken, and applied by man, but they hear not God speaking; but when the Lord comes, he doth so meet with their objections, and speaks what they have been thinking may be true, that they think, This is the Lord, this is to me. Hosea ii. 14, "I will speak to her heart;" and hence it is called "the ingrafted word," (James i. 21;) like one branch of many, applied to the stock. (Job xxxiii. 14, 16.)

2. The voice of the Lord doth not only speak particularly, but it goes further; it comes not only with an almighty power, but with a certain everlasting efficacy and power on the soul. Thus it is here, (ver. 38,) "Ye have not his word in you;" they had it out of them; and not only in you, but abiding in you. 1 Pet. i. 23, "Born of incorruptible seed." The apostle seems to speak

of a kind of birth by corruptible seed, and such are like goodly flowers, which soon wither; but you are born of incorruptible seed, which hath an eternal savor, sweetness, and power. (Matt. xiii.) Of the four grounds three of them fall away. (John xv. 16.) Their fruit does not remain; they have some living affection at the present, but they go away, and it dies. Look but upon particulars, doth the Lord once speak by the word, and humble the heart? it never lifts up its head more. Doth he reveal the glory of Christ? that light never goes out more. (Is. lx. 19. 2 Cor. iv. 4, 5.) As at the first creation there was light, and so continues to this day, so doth he give life. (John xi. 26.) You shall never die more. Doth he give peace and joy? no man shall take their joy from them. Is. xxxii. 17, "Fruit of righteousness and peace, and assurance forever." Doth he give the spirit of all these, which (Gal. iii.) comes by hearing of faith? it shall abide forever. (John xiv. 17.)

That look, as God's love is everlasting, so his words have an everlasting excellency and efficacy in them, and goodness in them, the sweetest token of his love; and as Christ's purchase is only of eternal good things, so the application of this purchase by the word, it is of eternal worth; peace, but peace eternal, life, light, favor, joy, but joy eternal; like mustard seed, though very little, yet mighty in increase, and never subdued again; so that though it be but little, yet it is eternal: and hence observe, where God hath spoken effectually, the longer the man lives, the more he grows in the virtue and power of the word; another, though wonderfully ravished for a time, yet dies, most commonly outwardly in external profession, but ever in inward savor; so that when you hear the word, and it moves you, affects you, and "John is a burning light, and you rejoice therein, but it is but for a season." The evil spirit comes on you, and David plays upon his harp, and ministers preach sweet things, but as soon as the music is done, the evil spirit returns, I say you never heard the Lord's voice. The peace and joy of the Lord enters into eternity, and the apostle expressly calls him an unfruitful hearer, (James i. 24,) "that sees his face and forgets himself." A gracious heart can say, This peace shall go to heaven; and joy, and love, and fear, it is part of eternal glory.

3. The voice of the Lord comes not only thus particularly, and with eternal efficacy, but with such efficacy as carries unto, and centers in Christ; so it is here: "For him whom God hath sent you believe not." (John vi. 41.) "They shall be taught of God." Wherein doth that appear? "They shall hear and learn so as to come to me." If the law humbles them, it is such a humbling as

drives them unto Christ, poor and undone. (Rom. x. 4.) If the word gives peace to them, it is such a peace which at the last they find in Christ. (Eph. ii. 17, 18, with 14.) If it live holily, it lives unto Christ, not merely as to God, and to quiet conscience, unto a Creator, as Adam, but for Christ's sake. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15, "We judge that if we were dead, and Christ died for us, we should then live unto him." If they grow up by the word, it is in Christ. (Eph. iv. 14.) Though Christ be not mentioned, yet it is strange to see, let the word speak what it will, whether terror; O, my need of Christ! mercy and grace; O, the love of Christ! O, the blood of Christ! command; O, that I may live to honor Christ, and wrong him no more! duties; O, the easy yoke of Christ! They look upon the whole word rightly dispensed as the Bridegroom's voice, and truly his words are sweet.

For a man may have some such fear, reformation, affection, as may continue, but never carry him out of himself unto Christ. The Pharisees knew the law, were very exact, even till their death, profited as Paul said he did; yet they had not the word abiding in them, because not driven out of themselves to Christ, to rest there.

Hence when men shall hear many things, but to what end do you hear, or what virtue have the things you hear? Do they only please fancy for a time? or do you hear to increase your knowledge and parts? or do you hear for custom and company, and to quiet conscience? or are you affected and sunk, but not driven by all to lay thy head on Christ? the Lord never spake yet to thee; when the word hath laid you on this foundation, truly its office is done and ended, God's end is now attained, etc.

O, try yourselves here; have you heard, but never heard the voice of the Lord, rushing upon thee with majesty, speaking to thy heart, and the very secrets of it, but have said, This is for others, and when you have thought the man hath spoken to you, your hearts have then swollen against him? Or have you thus heard, but all dies and withers like flowers, the same heart still? Or have you had some powerful stroke which remains, but it forceth you not out of yourselves to Christ, there to rest, there to joy, there to live, there to die? truly your time hath been spent in vain; you never yet heard the Lord speak. O, mourn for it; thou art still in thy blood, if he never said, Live; in thy bondage, if the Lord never said, Come forth. This is the condition of many, to be lamented with tears. But if thou hast thus heard particularly, and though but little light, life, and peace, yet it is of eternal efficacy, and all to draw thee to Christ; then bless the Lord: "for blessed are your ears that hear;" and I say as

Moses said, (Deut. iv. 32,) "Ask, if ever people heard God speaking and live." The apostle (Heb. xii. 24) makes it a greater matter to come to hear God on Mount Sion, and yet live. Blessed be God, I live.

Objection. But may not many of the saints hear, and hear the Lord speak, but not feel this everlasting power and efficacy?

Answer. I would not lay a foundation of unthankfulness, nor discourage any; and therefore note for answer these particulars: —

1. There may be an eternal efficacy of the word, and yet lie hid, and not felt for a time. The word is compared, you know, to seed, and that in this respect; the seed it is cast under the clod in the winter time, and it hath a virtue in it to grow; but it is hid, and comes not to blade of a good while; and when it doth blade, yet it bears not fruit of a long time. So here, the Lord may cast the seed of his word into the heart; but it is hidden for a time, it is not felt as yet, but there it is; a word of threatening, a word of promise, a word of command. A man may cast it by, and say, It belongs not to me; a man may slight the command for a time: yet, notwithstanding, the Lord having cast his seed into the heart, it shall spring up. As many a child, the father speaks to it, and applies the word home to it, when it is of some years; the child regards it not: but now stay some time, till the Lord do bring it into some sad affliction; now a man begins to think, I remember what my father spake to me once, and I regarded it not then. Now, this seed which was cast when the child was young, it shall spring up twenty years after. John ii. 22, Christ had said, he would "destroy the temple, and raise it again in three days." Now, "when he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that which he had spoken to them," but they regarded it not before. "These things," saith Christ, "have I spoken to you while I was with you; but when the Comforter is come, he shall bring all these words to your remembrance that I have said unto you." One sentence it may be that hath discovered a man's sin, it lies hid; but when the time of ripening draws near, you shall see the word will have marvelous increase; and that sin, it may be, will bring to mind twenty sins; and that promise of God which gives but a little consolation, considered in itself, it shall give marvelous consolation. One would wonder to see what one word will do, when the Lord's time of blessing it is come.

2. After that a Christian hath had the feeling of the efficacy of the word, he may lose the feeling of it again, and yet the being of it may remain; and the reason is this, partly because there is

not always need of feeling the like efficacy in the word. A man may have by the word a marvelous deal of assurance of God's love, and sense of mercy and joy in the Holy Ghost; he may have this in the feeling of it. This word, it did lie hid for a time; afterward it springs up and gives him peace. But he loses his peace again, his sun doth set, and it is midnight with him within twenty-four hours, and he is as much in the dark as before. Now, the being of this peace is there, but he hath no need of the feeling of it at all times; the Lord he will reserve that till some time of temptation, that he shall meet withal. As Paul, he had marvelous revelations; but Paul had more need of humiliation than exaltation; and there was not that use of Paul's having those glorious manifestations to him; "I will glory in my infirmities." There was need for Paul to know the evils of his heart, that he might walk humbly; and it did not make so much for the glory of the Lord, as this that Paul should say, I have this misery, and darkness, and sins, and yet Jesus Christ he will take away all. There was not need for Paul to have those joys at all times, that he had at one time. So the Lord he gives a Christian joy and peace, now there is no need for a Christian to have it always. "I will pour floods of water on dry ground." Beloved, if there should be nothing but rain, rain every day and night, the ground would be glutted with rain, and so turned into a puddle; but when the land is dry and thirsty, now the ground hath need of rain. Let the earth make use of that rain it hath; and when it is dry and thirsty, I will give more, saith the Lord. So the Lord he gives the soul joy and peace. Now, if it should continue, the very peace and joy of God would not be pleasant to the soul; or, at least, not so pleasant as it will be, when the Lord takes it away, and gives it the soul again. A Christian comes to the meeting house, and the Lord fills the sails of a poor soul, that he wonders the Lord should meet him, and speak so suitably to him. But as soon as he is gone out again, this is the complaint of the soul, all is lost again; now the soul it falls a-mourning again. It is not for the glory of God to give the soul such peace out of his ordinances as he doth in them; the soul it would not prize the ordinances of the Lord so much; yet there it is; and when they come again, the Lord he either gives them the same refreshings again, or else there is a new spring.

3. The eternal efficacy of the word and voice of God; it may be preserved in an internal spirit of prayer, for the continuance of it while a man hath it, and for the return of it when it is lost. Ps. cxix. 4, 5, "Thou hast commanded us to keep thy precepts diligently." David he knew his own weakness; yet he intimates

with what power it came on his heart: "O that my soul were directed to keep thy statutes!" When the soul sees the beauty of a command, and the good will of God, how sweet it is, and how amiable the way and work of God is! "O that my heart were directed to keep thy statutes!" And so, when it is gone, (Ps. lxiii. 3,) "My soul thirsteth after thee, Lord," saith David, "that I may see thy glory and power, as I have seen thee in thy sanctuary." He doth not say, that I may see thy glory and power in thy sanctuary, though that might be too; no, but "that I may see thy glory and power, as I have seen thee in thy sanctuary." David he did find a want of seeing him as he had done; yet the virtue of it did remain in a spirit of thirsting and desire. "My soul thirsteth for thee, as in a dry land where no water is, that I may see thee." A Christian may have at some time such a glimpse (in hearing the word) of God's grace, of the exceeding riches of God's grace, and the love of God to him, that he may be in a little heaven at that time; ravished in the admiration of that mercy, that ever God should look to him. It is so, and the word says so, and the soul is ravished with wonderment at it; yet God is gone again, and the soul loses it. Now, the soul thinks I have lost the efficacy of God's word, but it is not so; for thus it may be preserved. O that I may see this God as I have done! And all his lifetime the soul may find the want of this, and yet it may be preserved in a spirit of prayer. For whom the Lord hath given once a glimpse of his glory, the soul it can not be at rest, but it breatheth for more of that mercy and presence; a Christian may find his spirit marvelously refreshed at the word, he may taste how good the Lord is, and he may lose it again; but this may be preserved in a spirit of longing after this God, and presence again. And I will say this, brethren, a Christian may find no good by the word to his apprehension; he sees the admirable blessed estate of the saints, and exceeding riches of God in Christ; sees the sweetness of the ways of God; goes home and thinks within himself, Happy they that are in this condition; blessed are they that can walk thus with God; but I can not, saith the soul. I say it may find it thus, when he can not find the real efficacy of the word as he would do; he may receive the benefit of that word, if the Lord do but only give him a heart to desire it. O that the Lord would but thus manifest himself to me! the soul may go away poor and hungry from the word, and the Lord may yet reserve a spirit of thirsting after that good which a man desires to find; and there is the efficacy of the word there.

As now there are two golden vessels; one a man fills, and it is

every day dropping, and he preserves it; another vessel he does not fill, but with something that he hath, he is every day widening of it. So some Christians, the Lord he is a-filling of them; others, the Lord he does not fill them with such peace and joy; ay, but though the Lord is not filling of them, he is a-widening of them: there is such a virtue that the Lord does enlarge the heart, with secret desires and longings after more of God's grace, and Christ. The Lord he saith, I intend to make this man a vessel of glory; and I intend he shall have a great deal of glory and peace at the last. The Lord he leaves such an impression of the word upon him, as that thereby he enlargeth the heart: "Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it."

4. A Christian may have the everlasting efficacy of the word and voice of God preserved in a spirit of thankfulness and love to the Lord, for those joys and good that it finds by the word sometimes. When it feels that the sweet and savor of the word is gone, a spirit of thankfulness and love to the word, that doth remain. The Lord he preserves the efficacy of the word in this way. Ps. cxix. 7, "I shall," saith David, "then praise thee with uprightness of heart, when I shall have learned thy righteous judgments." The Lord he may teach his people his righteous judgments; and the savor and feeling, and strength of them to their feeling may be gone, and yet it is preserved in a spirit of thankfulness and praise, that ever the Lord should show it such mercy. When the Spirit is gone, the spirit of love and thankfulness remains. As now a man hath heard the word, the Lord he hath effectually wrought on him, and changed his heart, and drawn him to himself; a Christian, it may be, he may lose those sorrows and humiliations, and the remembrance of those things; yet there remaineth to his dying day this spirit, he blesseth God, and wondereth at God that ever he should make the word effectual; that he should leave so many thousands in the world, and cast his skirt over him, and say to him, Live; this does remain still.

Brethren, the Lord does sometimes let light into a man's mind to discover his sin: now, this light it does not sensibly overcome the power of sin; but now the soul blesseth God for that word which hath convinced it. Had I never seen my sin, saith the soul, I should never have sought for power against it, and pardon of it; and this continues now, and can not but continue: here is the efficacy of the word, the word of God's grace; though the flower of it be gone, yet there is an eternal power of the word; that the soul can say, It hath come to me, and helped me against these sins; and the soul wonders at the Lord, it should be so much as

it is. So, again, a Christian he finds marvelous refreshings and affection while he is a-hearing; when he is gone away, he finds not the same, but he blesseth God for those affections he finds, and there remains an eternal efficacy of the word.

5. The eternal efficacy of the word, it may be and is preserved, by nourishing, increasing, and restoring the new man that is eternal. There is a double efficacy that the word hath; the first is to beget a Christian to life, and this new man is eternal. I conceive all the actions of the new man may be suspended, and the increasings of the new creature may be decayed, though God doth renew it again; but this never does decay, it never dies. "He that is born of God can not sin, because he is born of God, and because the seed of God remains in him."

2. There is efficacy in the word when it hath begotten a man to nourish him up; and so the word it is food to him, that was seed to him to beget him, which food is eternal. How is it eternal? Is it in this, that now the sweetness, savor, and remembrance of every thing that doth refresh him shall last in itself? No, but in this respect it is eternal, in that it leaveth its secret virtue in the nourishing of that which is eternal. As now Adam when he was in innocency, and had an immortal body, his food it should have been an immortal food to him; but how should that have been? Should he always have had the same strength, from the same diet which he ate long before? No, but in this respect it should have been an immortal food to him, in that it was to nourish that which was to be eternal. So it is here; the word of God's grace it begets a man, it humbles a man, and draws the soul to Christ; but afterward there are many things that God speaks to the soul in the word, that hath an eternal virtue, in that it doth nourish up the new creature; the word hath a secret virtue in it for this end. I will show it you thus: (Is. lviii. 11,) The Lord he professes to his people, "Thy soul shall be as a watered garden." The Lord will make the souls of his people like watered gardens, in peace, and joy, and life. Now, look, as if so be trees be watered by some springs that run by it, and slide away, and ye can not tell which it is that makes them to grow; yet ye know this, there is in all of them joined together a secret, insensible virtue, that every one of them adds something to the flourishing of the tree: so it is here; the saints of God, the word of God it comes to them, and passes by them; and ye can not tell whether this part or that part of the word leave any virtue, but many times a man feels no virtue; yet it is manifest, here is a flourishing Christian, here is heart, and life, and peace that it hath with God, and the soul it remains flourishing; there

is a secret virtue; all the words that run by and pass by the souls of God's people, they do leave a marvelous virtue, to make the souls of God's people like watered gardens, and to increase in grace. Note it by the way, you that live under the means of grace, "your souls shall be like watered gardens," if God have spoken to you first or last; the Lord speaks many times to you, sometimes affecting, and sometimes warning, sometimes convincing and humbling, and speaking peace, and there is a virtue that remains, and if ye find it not, know that God hath not spoken to you.

6. The eternal efficacy of the word may be preserved in a power of conflict against the power of sin; for therein the Lord's power of the word does principally appear in this life, though not in a power of victory; I mean a complete victory; yet an imperfect and incomplete victory there ever is, first or last, wherever there is a power of conflict. I mean thus: the word it singles a man out, and speaks to his heart, and sets him at variance with his sin, and with himself for his sin, and he joins side with God in the use of all means, that his unbelieving heart and proud spirit may be subdued; it sets him at variance with his sin. Now, there is many a Christian thinks there is no power of the word. O, my unbelief continues still, and my vain mind, and I can find little strength; no, ye must not look for a power of complete victory, but yet there is a power of conflict. God he sets the soul at an everlasting distance with his sin, never to be reconciled, and looks to the Lord, that by his word and Spirit he would subdue them, that so he may see the death of them; and he sides with the Lord in the use of all means, comes to the word, and comes to prayer, and says, Speak against my sin, Lord; Lord, waste these distempers: and so the soul is thus at variance with his sin; although his temptations do get wind and hill of him, he goes again, and to them again; and though he perisheth, and never have mercy from the Lord; yet, Lord, that I may never sin against thee more, help therefore, Lord, by this promise, and mercy, and means; and here he keeps him, and here he holds. Truly, brethren, here is an eternal virtue, and such a virtue as no hypocrites have, that have some sting of conscience, and after they have some peace, they are at truce with their sins. No, there is an everlasting conflict and warfare, and I do assure you there is an everlasting power gone forth. Matt. xii. 20, "Christ will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, till judgment come to victory;" therefore there may be judgment, but it may not come to victory; there may be smoke and fire, and it may almost go out, and the Lord he blows it up again;

and at the last, though it be weak and little, and he think with himself he shall never get strength again, yet the Lord will give victory in his time.

Only be cautious here: I told you there is an incomplete victory; the Lord never sets his people at variance with their sin, but they have victory; but it is an incomplete victory. Saith the Lord, "I will drive out the Hittites, and Canaanites, and Perizzites before you, but I will do it by little and little." There is many a Christian that finds within himself a spirit of warfare against his sin, and did he examine himself, he should find a spirit of victory; but he thinks he hath none because his victory is not complete. If he had a heart so to believe as never to doubt more, and such quickening as never to be dead more, never to depart from God more, now I should think the word comes with power; but I find that these evils prevail against me. There is many a one does scorn the kindness of Christ, because he finds not complete victory, but darkness remains still, and sinful lusts remain still; therefore the word doth me no good at all, saith he. The Lord he hath given thee a spirit of conflict, and hath set thee at an everlasting distance with thy sin, and he doth give thee some victory. Beloved, a Christian may decay in the power of the grace of Christ, which he hath received from the word, and voice of God in the word, and he may decay and grow to a very low estate; yet he shall find this: the word of the Lord hath come with power to him, it will recover his soul again, and so the efficacy of the word is eternal. Ps. lxxii., it is said of Christ, that "his people shall fear him so long as sun and moon shall endure;" that is, continually, all their lifetime. It may be said, there be many that find decay of their service and obedience, and they lose their fear of the Lord, and their dread, and their humble walking before him. "He shall come as the rain on the mown grass." Many times a Christian hath his flourishing time as the grass, but when the grass is mown, it is as a dry chip; so the soul it may grow dry, as dry as a chip. Now, where is your sap and savor? But I tell you, if you belong to the Lord Jesus, the rain it will fall again; the word of God, set on by the Spirit of Christ, it shall fall upon you as the rain on the mown grass, and you know that it recovers little by little, and puts on a green coat again. Here is the eternal love of the Lord Jesus to his people, and thus the eternal efficacy of the word does continue.

3. *Use* is of exhortation. O brethren, and beloved in the Lord Jesus, may a Christian hear the word of God spoken, and yet never hear God speak? May he hear it externally, and not

internally? Then rest not in external hearing, and with some little movings, and affections, and stirrings of the word of God's grace in hearing. Let not the word be to you as the sound of many waters, and a noise, no efficacy of the word that doth remain on your souls. Brethren and beloved in Christ, I lay my finger on the sore in these times. O, the contempt of the gospel of Christ, though I believe it hath its efficacy in the heart of the elect: that is the thing that I press; never be content with external hearing, though thou mayest have some affection, and know new things, unless thou find the Lord speaking with an eternal efficacy to thy soul. I conceive two things are to be done, that the word may come with an everlasting efficacy; although something is to be done by ministers; that is, to preach truth, and gospel truth, fetched from heaven with many prayers, and soaked truth with many tears. "Ye shall know the truth, and that truth shall make you free." Convincing truth. "We preach," saith the apostle, "in the demonstration of the Spirit. The Spirit of God, when he cometh, he convinceth the world of sin." Let ministers do so. Preach convincing truth and gospel truth, fetched from heaven, and bathed in tears. O brethren, let the fire burn clear; let there not be more smoke than fire; it will never come with power then; convincing gospel truth, set on by the demonstration of the Spirit of the Lord, and this will set a Christian at liberty; there is never such a sermon that the faithful ones of God preach to you; if it come not with a power to loosen you and call you home, it comes with a power to blind you; it is "an ax at the root of the trees." But I leave this. What means ought the people to use, that the word of God may come with efficacy?

Them that are in their unregenerate estate, the Lord only knows how to work on their hearts; they must come to the outward means. I speak to the saints of God; I leave others to the infinite mercy of the Lord. "It is not in him that willeth or runneth, but in the Lord that showeth mercy." In the use of means: —

Means 1. Do not only see thy infirmities and weakness, but pray to God to give thee a heart bleeding under the sense of thy many infirmities. Many times men slight them, and are not sensible of them; I do not say wickedness and wilfulness, but thy infirmities and weaknesses get a heart mourning under them. A Christian is made up of infirmities and weaknesses; a man would not think there is that in another which he knows by himself. O brethren, labor for a broken heart in the sense of your many infirmities and weaknesses, darkness and enmity, vanity and unsavoriness; the Lord will have his time to speak to such a

soul. "Break up the fallow ground of your hearts, . . . lest my wrath break out with fire." The Lord hath promised "to dwell with the poor and contrite." Look, as it was with our Saviour Christ; they brought the sick and the lame ones to him, and virtue went out from Christ to heal them all. Bring thy sick and blind heart to Christ, and virtue shall go forth from Christ to heal it.

2. Draw near to God in the word, by looking on it as God speaking to thee. We are far from God, and therefore we can not hear him: draw near to him when you come to the external word; when you come to hear the word, hear it as the voice of God. "You heard the word as the word of God," (1 Thess. 2, 3,) which you felt in you. I do not speak that the soul should take every thing that ministers speak as the word of God, but that which is the word of God, take it as God speaking. I am not able to express the infinite unknown sweetness, and mercy, and presence of God, that you shall find thus coming. I know it is a common truth, but I am not ashamed to tell you, I have not for many a year understood this truth, and I see but little of it yet; ye have heard of it, but ye do not understand what it is to hear God speaking. When God hath an intent to harden a man's heart and to damn him, either he shall have a prejudice against the man, or else, if he hath not a prejudice against the man, there is a secret loathing of the truth in regard of the commonness of it, and that is all, and the Lord he hardens, and blinds, and prepares for eternal ruin all the men in the world by this means, that live under the means. When the Lord spake to Samuel, Samuel heard a voice, but he heard it not as spoken by God; but when he took Eli's counsel, and saw it was the Lord that spoke, now he listens to the voice of the Lord, and now the Lord opens all his mind to him.

3. Do not trust to the external word. It is a heaven on earth to hear the word exalted, a glorious thing to hear the word of God as God's word; but trust to the free grace of God in it, and the Spirit of God in Christ to set on that word. When they brought the lame, and blind, and halt to Christ, they looked for the word and the power of it. "Speak the word, Lord, and thy servants shall be whole;" so bring your blind, lame, and halt souls to Christ, and trust to the free grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. "The work of the Lord it shall prosper in his hand;" so the word of the Lord it shall prosper in his hand also.

4. Lastly, so seek the Lord, and so hear the word, so see the truth, and so hear the truth, as that you lay up your happiness in this world, in closing with the truth and with the word.

Brethren, what is a man's happiness in heaven but to close with God and Christ? I can not come to God now; the most that I can have of God now is in his word. If it be happiness in heaven to close with God in Christ, truly then it is a man's happiness to close with God in his word on earth; and if it be your happiness, lay up your happiness in it. "My son," saith Solomon, "if thou wilt hear my words, let them not depart from thine eyes; keep them in the midst of thy heart;" place thy happiness in them; "so shall they be life to thy soul." (Prov. iii. 22.) Nevertheless, brethren, let a man's soul be set upon any thing in the world, when he comes to hear, besides the word; if he lay not up his happiness in closing with the word, truly, the word it will be like a song to him. The prophet Ezekiel tells them "their hearts were gone after their covetousness." When a man comes to hear a sermon, there is a sermon and the market, there is a sermon and a friend to speak withal; and so many young people will go abroad to hear sermons. What is the end of it? It is, that ye may get wives and husbands, many of you; but it is not your blessedness to close with the Lord in his word. I have known some men that have had a distaste against the truth of the Lord; and I have known them for many a day, they have not been able to understand the truth of the Lord. When it shall be thus with a man, that a man's heart is set on something else besides the word of the Lord, that it is not my happiness to close with the truth of the Lord, such a man shall never understand the truth of the Lord. Though the word be sweet to you sometimes, if your blessedness do not lie in this, to enjoy God; O, this gospel of God, and these commands of God, that your blessedness do not lie in cleaving to the Lord in his word; I say, it is a certain truth, you shall be blinded and hardened by the word; for here is a rule: whatsoever a man's heart is set on, as his chiefest good, the presence of that good it comes with power. So here, the precious gospel of Christ, when the presence of it commands the heart, nothing is good enough for it, and it closeth with it, and with Christ in it.

I beseech you, therefore, beloved in Christ, set upon the use of these means; think within yourselves, What if the Lord had left me without the word? I will tell you what ye would have been. Look upon these poor Indians, herds of beasts; look upon others on their ale benches, enemies to the Lord; such a one thou hadst been.

This blessed word and voice of God, every tittle of it cost the blood of Christ; written all the lines of it in the blood of Christ. O, make much of it, and it will make much of you; it will com-

fort you, and strengthen you, and revive you; and if the word come not with power, ye shall be under the power of something else; if not under the power of the word, then under the power of some lust. What is the reason that these poor creatures, that are come to the trial for life and death, that have fallen into such sins as were never heard of? What is the reason that they are under the power of their lusts? I will tell you what Solomon saith: "My son, if wisdom enter into thy heart, and discretion be pleasant to thy soul, it shall keep thee from the strange woman" and sinful companion. If it be pleasant, here is the reason: the word of God's grace it never came with power, or if it came with power, powerless the word of God's grace hath been to them; and because it hath not come with power, the Lord he hath given them over to the power of their lusts and sinful distempers. O brethren, truly I can not see how any man can maintain any evidence of God's electing love; that shall hear and hear, and good days mend him not, nor bad days pain him; that can commend a sermon, and speak of it; but that efficacy is not known to him, neither doth he mourn for the want of it; but the eternal efficacy thereof is a stranger to it. 1 Thess. i. 5, "Knowing," saith the apostle, "your election of God." How did he know it? For, saith he, "Our gospel came not to you in word, but in power;" ye will rejoice the hearts of your ministers, when the word comes with power. Let me say this, and so I conclude.

I remember the Lord's threatening: "I will take away the staff of bread, and ye shall eat, and shall not be satisfied;" when the Lord shall let men have the word, when the Lord shall not take away the word, but the staff of the word. Suppose, you poor parents, fathers and mothers, your families should have good corn, but when you come to eat it, no strength at all, but ye die and wear away; and others that are about you, they have planted the same corn, and eat and are satisfied. What will ye do in this case? You would set apart a day of fasting and prayer; and say, Good Lord, what a curse is upon me! My poor children are dying before me; others have the staff of corn, but my family have no strength at all. Ye would mourn if it were thus with your poor cattle. O for poor creatures to have the word, but the efficacy of it to be taken away! no blessing, no power at all. O, poor creatures, go and say, O, the curse of God that lies on me, the wrath of God that lies on my servants, it is a heavy plague. But, O, the sweetness and excellency of it, when a Christian shall find everlasting virtue and efficacy conveyed to him by the word!

All you that are before the Lord this day, ye shall see an end

of all perfection; but eternal things, are not they worth something? You shall see an end of all delights and contentments; but this shall comfort you when you are dying, that the word which you attended upon the Lord in, such peace, and such consolations I have found by it; and the efficacy of that word then remains with you; nay, goes to heaven with you. "I commend you, therefore, to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up unto an eternal inheritance amongst them that are sanctified." (Acts xx. 32.)

MEDITATIONS

AND

SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES

OF

MR. THOMAS SHEPARD,

LATE WORTHY AND DEAR PASTOR OF THE

CHURCH OF CHRIST IN CAMBRIDGE, IN NEW ENGLAND,

FROM NOVEMBER 25, 1640, TO DECEMBER 27, 1641.

TRANSCRIBED OUT OF HIS OWN BOOK, WRITTEN WITH HIS OWN HAND,
AND LEFT BY HIM TO HIS SON, THOMAS SHEPARD,
WITH THIS WORD PREFIXED:

TRY ALL THINGS, AND HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD.

PREFACE.

It is always a matter of the highest importance, both with regard to the honor of God and the interests of the souls of men, that true religion be justly delineated; that it appear in its own native excellency, worth, and beauty, with all its goodness and virtue, as that which conforms the soul to the image of the blessed God, the conversation and practice to the rules of his word, and the example of Christ, and qualifies the man for the glorious employments and entertainments of the heavenly state, as well as for a faithful discharge of the duties assigned him by divine Providence in this present world.

When the nature, the properties, and effects of this divine religion, which our Lord has taught and exemplified to us, are thus clearly opened, and duly represented, this tends to rectify the mistakes of many persons in religious matters; to prevent and remove many prejudices persons are disposed to receive and entertain against religion, through mistakes, either in themselves or others, (although it will still remain a sad truth, that men's hearts are naturally averse to the power of religion, though represented in the most agreeable light.) It likewise tends to convince rational and thinking persons, who are not given up to vice and prejudice, (especially if withal they see it duly exemplified in the lives of those who profess it,) that of a truth God is in this religion. By this means also the false hopes of hypocrites are like to be detected and discovered to their view, and thereby an opportunity given them to escape out of the snare, that would otherwise have proved fatal to their souls. Nor can it fail of affording comfort to those who are truly godly to find their own

religion exactly described, and proved to be the religion of God's word. Hereby some of that number, who are under grievous doubts about their own spiritual state, and ready to reckon themselves among the most poor and miserable, may be brought to see themselves possessed of the pearl of great price.

And as it is always a matter of the highest importance to have true religion justly represented and described, so there are some times in special, wherein those means that have the greatest tendency to give persons right notions of it, and show them wherein its essence does indeed consist, in distinction from all delusive appearances, are, in a peculiar manner, seasonable and necessary.

Such are the times wherein a diversity of sentiments in religion greatly prevails among the professors of it, when many are disposed to lay the stress of religion on those things which the word of God makes little or no account of, or perhaps wholly rejects, and to neglect and wholly pass by those things wherein the soul and essence of it are really contained.

How far this is the present state of religion in some places, and how much stress is laid by many upon some things, as being effects and evidences of exalted degrees of religion, when they are so far from being of any importance in it, that they are really irreligious, a mixture of self-love, imagination, and spiritual pride, or perhaps the influence of Satan transformed into an angel of light; I say, how much stress is laid upon these things by many I shall not undertake to determine. But it is much to be feared, that while God was carrying on a glorious work of grace, and undoubtedly gathering a harvest of souls to himself, (which we should always remember with thankfulness,) numbers of others have at the same time been fatally deluded by the devices of Satan and their own corrupt hearts.

"It is to be feared that the conversions of some have no better foundation than this, viz., that after they have been under some concern for their souls a while, and, it may be, manifested some very great and uncommon distress and agonies, they have on a sudden imagined they saw Christ in some posture or other, perhaps on the cross, bleeding and dying for their sins, or

it may be smiling on them, and thereby signifying his love to them; and that these and the like things, though mere imaginations, which have nothing spiritual in them, have instantly removed all their fears and distresses, filled them with raptures of joy, and made them imagine they loved Christ with all their hearts, when the bottom of all was nothing but self-love. For when they imagined that Christ had been so good to them as to save them, and, as it were, to single them out of all the world, they could not but feel some kind of natural gratitude to him, although they never had any spiritual view of his divine glory, excellency, and beauty, and consequently never had any love to him for himself. Or that, instead of having some such imaginary view of Christ as has been mentioned, in order to remove their distress and give them joy, some having had a passage, or, perhaps, many passages of Scripture brought to their minds with power, (as they express it,) such as that, 'Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee,' and the like, they have immediately applied these passages to themselves, supposing that God hereby manifested his peculiar favor to them as if mentioned by name; never considering that they are now giving heed to new revelations; there being no such thing revealed in the word of God as that this or that particular person has, or ever shall have, his sins forgiven; nor yet remembering that Satan can, with a great deal of seeming pertinency, (and perhaps also with considerable power,) bring Scripture to the minds of men, as he did to Christ himself. And thus these rejoice upon having some Scripture suddenly suggested to them, or impressed upon their minds, supposing they are now the children of God; just as did the other upon their imaginary views of Christ. And it is said that some speak of seeing a great light which filled all the place where they were, and dispelled all their darkness, fears, and distresses, and almost ravished their souls; while others have had it warmly suggested to their minds, not by any passage of Scripture, but, as it were, by a whisper or voice from heaven, that God loves them, that Christ is theirs, etc.; which groundless imaginations and suggestions of Satan have had the same effect

upon them that the delusions before mentioned had on the others.

"And as is the conversion of this sort of persons, so are their after experiences; the whole being built upon imagination, strong impressions, and sudden suggestions made to their minds; whence they are usually extremely confident, (as if immediately informed from God,) not only of the goodness of their own state, but of their infallible knowledge and absolute certainty of the truth of every thing they pretend to, under the notion of religion; and thus all reasoning with some of them is utterly excluded.

"But it is remarkable of these that they are extremely deficient in regard of true poverty of spirit, sense of exceeding vileness in themselves, such as frequently makes truly gracious souls to groan, being burdened; as also in regard of meekness, love, and gentleness toward mankind, tenderness of conscience in their ordinary affairs and dealings in the world; and it is rare to see them deeply concerned about the principles and ends of their actions, and under fears lest they should not eye the glory of God chiefly, but live to themselves; or this at least is the case in their ordinary conduct, whether civil or religious. But if any one of their peculiar notions which their zeal has espoused be attacked, they are then so conscientious they must burn if called to it, for the defense of it. Yet, at the same time when they are so extremely deficient in regard of these precious divine tempers which have been mentioned, they are usually full of zeal, concern, and fervency in the things of religion, and often discourse of them with much warmth and engagement. And to those who do not know or do not consider wherein the essence of true religion consists, viz., in being conformed to the image of Christ, not in point of zeal and fervency only, but in all divine tempers and practices; I say to those who do not duly observe and distinguish, they often appear like the best of men."

Now, as all proper means are to be used to cure the errors of men's minds, especially in things of religion, and as something of this nature may therefore seem peculiarly needful, especially in some places, so it is hopeful that the publication of the following

small piece of the Rev. Mr. Shepard's will be made in some measure serviceable in that respect. For as it is a journal of the private experiences of that excellent and holy man, designed for his own use, so it contains, as it were, this true religion for a course of time, delineated to us in a very exact manner; whence we have opportunity to see with utmost plainness what passed with him for religion, what he labored after under that notion, and what were the exercises and difficulties he met with in pursuance of a religious life. And those who have any savor for the name and piety of that venerable man, it is hoped will read his experiences with care and attention, and as they read, consider whether there be any manner of agreement between his and theirs. And whoever reads attentively, I am persuaded, must own that he finds a greater appearance of true humility, self-emptiness, self-loathing, sense of great unfruitfulness, selfishness, exceeding vileness of heart, smallness of attainments in grace; I say, he must needs own that he finds more expressions of deep, unfeigned self-abasement in these experiences of Mr. Shepard's than some are willing to admit of. And it is hopeful the reader will further observe that when Mr. Shepard speaks of his comforts in religion, as he frequently does of his satisfaction, and sweetness, and desire to die and to be with Christ, he always gives a solid account of the foundation of these comforts, and mentions some exercises of grace from which they proceeded. So that they are wholly different from those groundless joys that arise in the minds of poor deluded souls from a sudden suggestion made to them, that Christ is theirs, that God loves them, and the like. The reader will further observe that he valued nothing in religion that was not done with a view to the glory of God, as appears by many of his expressions, especially that under April 15, where he says, "When I looked over the day, I saw how I fell short of God and Christ, and how I had spent one hour unprofitably. And why? Because, though the thing I did was good, yet because I intended not God in it as my last end, and did not set my rule before me, and so set myself to please God, therefore I was unprofitable." O that others from this

example would learn to lay the stress of religion here, and labor that whether they live they might live to the Lord, or whether they die they might die to the Lord.

There is something in these papers of the Rev. Mr. Shepard's that seems excellently calculated to be of service to those who are in the ministry, in particular. His method of examining his aims and ends, and the temper of his mind, both before and after preaching, whether he had met with enlargement or straitening, is an excellent example for others that bear the sacred character. By this means they are like to gain a large acquaintance with their own hearts, as it is evident he had with his.

May the blessing of Heaven attend the following pages, that he who has long been dead may yet speak by them to the instruction, conviction, and saving benefit of many souls.

DAVID BRAINERD.

August, 1747.

MEDITATIONS AND SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES.

Nov. 25, 1640. I FOUND my heart and mouth straitened on the lecture day, and for want of enlargement much troubled. Hence I essayed to humble my soul before God, which the Lord helped me to do in this manner: —

1. I saw the vanity of honor; and therefore why should I be troubled for the loss of it by the want of enlargements?

(1.) Because it was but a conceit in men's minds of itself.

(2.) Because it was naturally most dear, and so stood between me and Christ.

2. I saw how fit it was that the will of Christ should be done as well in denying as in giving enlargements, though he should strip me naked of them and all other things.

3. When my heart objected, Can you be content that Christ should lose his honor, and his ordinance be blemished by your straitening? I then saw I was to be content to want them in regard of my own unworthiness, and so, —

(1.) To be vile in my own eyes for my sin, that moves the Lord to deny.

(2.) To mourn that he should not glorify himself by me.

(3.) Then to pray him the more earnestly to glorify himself by doing for me by his own hand.

(4.) I saw therefore that I should leave myself with the Lord for that end, with him who all had, and only did all.

Nov. 29. In prayer I saw my heart very vile, filled with nothing but evil; nay, mind, and mouth, and life, and all, void of God. Hence I prayed to the Lord to possess me again: (1.) Because he only was good. (2.) Because he only was worthy.

Dec. 1. A small thing troubled me. Hence I saw that

though the Lord had made me that night attain to that part of humiliation to see that I deserved nothing but misery, yet I fell short in this other part, viz., to submit to God in any crossing providence or command, but had a spirit soon touched and provoked. I saw also that the Lord let sin and Satan prevail there, that I might see my sin, and be more humbled by it, and so get strength against it.

Dec. 16. I saw myself very miserable: —

1. Because by my sin I had separated myself from God, and turned far from him.

2. That he was turned in his face from me.

(1.) I had no sense of his majesty, power, mercy, being.

(2.) No sense of his love.

3. I saw sin had shut him from me, and my unbelief, when he came to me, shut him out of me. Hence I saw a need of a Mediator between us, and mourned.

I had a glimpse of the fullness of grace in Christ, in meditation on John i. 14, like a fountain overflowing, and above all my conceiving, to poor sinners which come to him. And hence my heart began to be filled with lively hope and assurance.

Dec. 26. In reading the 12th of Hebrews, that "Things shaken and made must be removed, that things unmovable may stand," I saw hence three things: —

1. That only Christ and his word shall remain and stand unshaken.

2. That it is the sweetest thing to forsake all creatures, and there to abide as the stone on the foundation.

(1.) It is borne up with it.

(2.) It rests there.

(3.) I saw how good it was to depart out of this world, and to be with God, perfectly near him, where no more shaking is, or shall be.

Dec. 28. I desiring to be led by the truth, it was suggested, Follow it in your practice, and prize it dearly, and I will go before you, and lead you into all truth. But I saw how little I loved the truths and ways of God, either practical or speculative truth.

I saw this morning how all my mercies came from Christ.

(1.) He had plotted them,

(2.) Purchased them,

(3.) Promised them,

(4.) Effected them. And mine heart was drawn near to the Lord with these thoughts.

Jan. 2. I saw, (1.) Christ was unmovable. (2.) That they which trust in him are so. Ps. cxxv., "Like Mount Zion." (3.)

I saw that true trust was that which David speaks of, (Ps. xxxix.,) "And now, Lord, what wait I for? My hope is in thee." His heart asked him, Dost thou hope for God? What do I, said he, hope for else? Hence I saw, (1.) That true hope hath other affections of desire and love mixed with it. (2.) That he that hopes for nothing but God, and for all things only from God, hopes truly. But I found a temptation and a stop. Did I hope for all things from God, and only God's things? Do I hope and long to be out of the world to be perfectly free from all sin, and filled with all grace? Here I saw this I could not do until I did feel the infinite vileness of sin, and tasted a happiness in holiness, and placed all my happiness there; which I felt a want of. And hence I bewailed my condition before the Lord in this respect, and purposed to make up the breach herein, through his grace; blessing God, I saw the worst of my heart, as well as the good of it.

Jan. 6. I saw I could have no peace at death, nor hope that I should go to Christ, unless I did intend to do Christ's work while I lived. Hereupon I considered, If I love him, my soul will seek him. So I considered that I must keep alive my love to him in my heart for this end. And why should I love him? Because none was good, or could do me good, but he. Myself, sins, child, could do neither me nor themselves any good; but only he. Then I considered, Shall I love him only because he is only good to me? . . . I then reflected upon myself, and saw my own vileness and selfishness; and how fit it was the Lord should never regard me on that account; yet I resolved to seek him.

This morning, in meditation and prayer, I was tempted to think no promise, no, nor command of God to seek the Lord and submit to him, was directed to me; but rather that he had in justice forsaken me, and so let me do what I please. But when I considered the Scriptures, how that they did but manifest that acting will of a living God, revealing that secret will, which is ever so set as the word reveals, my soul was quieted, and I loved the Scriptures the more.

Jan. 9. As I was walking in my study, musing on my sermon in Q. 10, that God's mercy was himself, as his justice also was, — the one to the men that come to Christ, and to those that are out of Christ the other, — hence I considered, When I come to Christ there is no wrath or justice to devour, but sweet love: wrath there is for refusing him, not else. It was then objected, But it is to the elect only. The Lord let me then see I had nothing to do with that, but to look on his truth, which is to them that come to him, that he would stand as a rock between the

scorching sun and their souls. Hence my heart was sweetly ravished, and began to long to die, and think of being with him. And my heart said, Remember to comfort yourself thus, when you come to lie on your sick bed, to lie under this rock, as in a hot day. If one saw a rock in a hot day, should he say, That rock will cool me if I be elected to it, and God has purposed it? so keep off in fears. No, God has purposed thus to be a rock to all that come to him, and are drawn by his love.

Jan. 11. In the morning, the Lord presented to me the sad state of the church; which put me upon a spirit of sorrow for my sins, as one cause, and to resolve in season to go visit all families. But first to begin with myself, and go to Christ, that he may begin to pour his ointment on me; and then to my wife, and then to my family, and then to my brethren, etc.

Jan. 12. On lecture day morning I began to feel my heart slight and vilify what I was to deliver. But the Lord put it into my mind that, though the truth is a poor, mean thing in itself, as every ordinance also is, yet very glorious, as it is appointed and separated of God for his own ends. Hence I came to see the glory of God's ordinances, where it did lie; and that was, not in themselves, but in God's sanctifying them for most sweet ends, to communicate his presence and his lovely pleasantness, and this love operating with power.

Jan. 19. I saw my loose walking without God, and so was put to a stand what to say of myself. I saw that hypocrites are far from humbling, because far from conviction: they hope something there is in them. But I brought my heart to consider thus: If my state is good, then there is cause of deeper mourning for abusing the Lord, so good; or my state is not good, and then there is cause of breaking, because I am so wretched still; and so I went to prayer.

Jan. 21. I saw God's wrath kindled against sin; and hence I saw and mourned for the evil of sin, so bitter to him.

I was on the 26th of January much affected with the Lord's goodness, and brought near to him.

First I found many lets standing between me and the Lord in prayer; as the hiding of his face, my own heart turned from him. But then I saw Christ, and his command to come hand in hand with him to the Father. So that methought I was with God and in his presence. And then this truth came in, that if ever I got good from the Lord in any ordinance, I must first come into the presence of God, and set him before me, as Cornelius and his company did, and as in Ps. lxxxiv. And when I was here, methought it was so sweet to pray and make my moan

to the Lord, as a God that could and was willing to pity. And so I was so knit to God that I intended never to depart from him again. (1.) I saw God was my rest; and hence why should I depart from him to any other thing, in regard of his goodness? (2.) I saw the riches of his mercy: hence I came to get my conscience at rest, and to believe he would hear me, and be with me. (3.) I saw his glory; and hence saw my whole life should rest there, in acting for and honoring of him who alone was worthy.

Jan. 28. I considered, being in his presence, what I did want. And it came in thus: (1.) I did want light, even so much as to make me believe steadfastly. (2.) So much faith as to make me cleave to God constantly. (3.) For want of this I departed from God. (4.) By departing, all woe came amain upon me; both sin and misery. And so I understood, better than before, how unbelief was the cause of all woe.

Jan. 30. When I was in meditation, I saw, when Christ was present, all blessings were present; as where any were without Christ present, there all sorrows were. Hence I saw how little of Christ was present in me. I saw I did not cease to be and live of myself, that Christ might be and live in me. I saw that Christ was to do, counsel, direct, and that I should be wholly diffident of myself, and careful for this, that he might be all to me. Hence I blessed Christ for showing me this, and mourned for the want of it.

At the same time I saw his will, and how it was my sin so to pray, as to think to bring God's will to mine, with a secret murmuring, or thinking, It is in vain to seek if the Lord do not so. For what is this but pride, and to command Christ, and to be above him, as if I were wiser than he? But I saw the work of prayer was to bring my will to his. And this gave me much light, and set my heart in a sweet frame; and hence I understood that place, "Whatsoever we ask according to his will, he heareth us." And this, not only when we pray according to his will of precept and promise, but when we have done, to bring our wills to his sweet sovereign will, let him do with me what he please; which is his will of sovereignty. Now, in the time of prayer, I considered why the Lord should command me to ask pardon, peace, brokenness of heart, etc. And I considered, that it must needs be that he might give me the thing promised. (1.) Because his commanding will is ever attended with a promise. (2.) Because it was for his glory, as well as my good, that I should ask. And hence he would give certainly, when I did ask, especially being set on by his command. Hence my heart

was much moved and melted, to consider of my unbelief past, and how much I had dishonored Christ, thus to think of him, and to maintain hard thoughts of him, that he will not hear. And so began that day of fast to believe, etc.

Feb. 1. When I was on my bed a Monday morning, the Lord let me see I was nothing else but a mass of sin, and that all I did was very vile. Which when my heart was somewhat touched with, immediately the Lord revealed himself to me in his fullness of goodness with much sweet affection. The Lord suddenly appeared, and let me see there was strength in him to succor me, wisdom to guide, mercy in him to quicken, Christ to satisfy. And so I saw all my good was there, as all evil was in myself. Hereupon I began to entertain thoughts of the glory of this mercy, if the Lord would become mine; so that I should be strong with God's strength, and live by God's life, and be guided by God's wisdom, etc.; and should become his, for him to take care for me and love me, and I to pitch my thought and heart on him. I considered, this would be an exchange of wonderful love, for me to have God, and not myself, and God to have me, and give me himself.

I arose with these thoughts, and had some purposes to consider more of them. And on Monday night, the same day in prayer and meditation, these thoughts came in from the experience which I found then, viz.: (1.) I saw all fullness in God of all the good I did need; and so all my good, or what might be good for me, there, and so considered, that the first thing the Lord reveals to draw the soul to himself is the fullness of grace in himself.

(2.) Being doubting, Is this mine or no? I then considered, that the Lord did invite me to come to him, because I saw that his word did not bid me depart from him. And methought, in considering this, the Lord's word, Come, poor creature, was so sweet that I came to him.

(3.) Being thus come, I considered, I must cleave to him, and be knit to him. And then the remembrance of this, that all my good, all was in him, made me so to do, in some measure, with dear affections.

(4.) Cleaving thus to him, I considered, whether he was become mine now, and I his. And here I stuck a while, being loth to fancy such a thing, and because he did not cleave to me, as I could feel. But the night after, God returned this answer: —

(1.) That he had applied himself to me, because he had drawn me to himself, who else could never have come. And hence, if he pitied me when far from, much more being now near to him. (2.) Because of the riches and fullness of his

tender grace, being come he would let it out. (3.) Because of his promise, "Him that cometh I will in no wise cast out;" and Hos. xiv. 4, 5.

Feb. 9. I considered, when I could not bring Christ's will to mine, I was to bring mine to his. But then it must be thus: (1.) That if ever he gives my desire, it will be infinite mercy; and so his will is good. (2.) If he doth not, yet that I deserved to be crossed, and to feel nothing but extremity.

Feb. 14. When there was a church meeting to be resolved about our going away, [viz., to Matabeseck,] I looked on myself as poor, and as unable to resolve myself or to guide others, or myself, in any action, as a beast. And I saw myself, in respect of Christ, as brutish as a brute is in respect of man. And hence, (1.) I left myself on Christ's wisdom. (2.) I understood the meaning of Prov. xxx., that, though Agur knew he had wisdom, yet in respect of Christ he was brutish, and also in respect of man. As it is said, "There is none good but God;" and when God is called only wise.

Feb. 15. I was in prayer, and in the beginning of it that promise came in, "Seek me, and you shall live." (Hag. i.)

Hereupon I saw I had cause to seek him only, always; because there was nothing else good, and because he was always good. And my heart made choice of God alone, and he was a sweet portion to me. And I began to see how well I could be without all other things with him; and so learnt to live by faith. Only it came in, Why did I not desire to live with him alone in heaven? And I saw my heart very apt to comfort itself in other things besides him.

Feb. 16. I saw my heart was not prepared to die, because I had not studied to wean my heart from the world; but I saw, and sought, (1.) The glory of it; (2.) The rest and peace of it; (3.) The joy of it. When the truth is, I should, (1.) See a greater glory and honor of the Father in heaven, and be weaned from that. (2.) I should seek rest there only. (3.) I should joy with that joy only. O Lord, help me so to do, and to pray for it, and study it daily! For what are the glory, peace, rest, joy of the world, a creature, a perishing thing, to that of a God?

Feb. 23. On bed I considered how sweetly the Lord was sometimes with me, and so how I should preserve that spirit and go forward. But I saw that any little business, a little forgetfulness, set Christ's work backward again, which was sad to me.

Feb. 23. At night, after lecture, I saw my vileness, and saw I was not to seek myself in prayer; and hence the Lord made me see nothing but shame to belong to me. And hence, praying

for the church, I asked my soul whether those prayers could be heard; and I found an answer, "The Lord will hear the prayer of the humble, will not despise their cry," which did sweetly cheer my heart, to see my soul built on such promises as David did usually comfort himself withal. For I cry; for I trust in thee; for I am destitute: "He will hear the cry of the humble."

Feb. 24. I saw how apt I was to think myself something; and the Lord put me on humbling work, to see I was worse than nothing, and to seek no other advancement or honor but mercy, if I might find that; which I thought was a great, yet holy ambition.

March 2. I was cast down with the sight of our unworthiness in this church, deserving to be utterly wasted; but the Lord filled my heart with a spirit of prayer, not only to desire small things, but, with a holy boldness, to desire great things for God's people here, and for myself; viz., that I might live to see all breaches made up, and the glory of the Lord upon us, and that I might not die, but live to show forth God's glory to this and the children of the next generation. And so I arose from prayer with some confidence of an answer; (1.) Because I saw Christ put it into my heart to ask; (2.) Because he was true to hear all prayer.

March 13. I purposed to walk daily more closely with God, according to the rule.

March 15. The Lord let in much light. Many sweet truths I wrote down. He made me also cast the church on Christ's care and love, as being his charge. I resolved to hang fast about Christ, and to love him dearly, because of his goodness, as knowing none like him.

March 17. I began to question whether Christians generally were so good as they seemed to be. I thought, 1. They were not so good as the Lord would have them to be, from two arguments: (1.) From the want of assurance generally among men, which argues God is angry when he doth not appear according as he doth use to do to them who love his name; (2.) Because men are better, generally, under the rod than under mercy. We see what an admirable spirit there is under sore afflictions, which men can not attain to or keep, but then. Now, 2. I thought that men were not so good as they appeared to be, (1.) Because very few are recovered to that frame, before death, which God will bring them to that get assurance. Few recover holiness by mercy, or feel the eternal good of sore afflictions. (2.) Because many eminent professors fall off and fall away. If they continue long, by some trial or other they are made transparent. (3.) Because, though others of less holiness may be upright,

yet for us that have more means, not to be more holy and humble, nay, not so humble and holy as those that want means, can not stand with uprightness, generally. My counsel therefore is, Let all take heed of being led by example of men, and thinking, We are good because we are like them that be so.

March 18. I saw, if my mind acted, it spun nothing but deceit and delusion. If my will and affections acted, there was nothing but dead works. O, how do I need Christ to live in me! Yet I saw, if a man hath eyes and light, he will not lean to another to lead him and carry him, as when he wants both. So here, I saw the Lord made me live by faith, by making me feel a want of both, to distrust myself, and trust more unto the Lord.

March 19. After a day of fast. As I saw in the day that I had cause to weep exceedingly for my sin, because it did lie so heavy, not only on the Father, but upon the Lord Jesus Christ, that they were so wroth with me that they hid their faces; and hence I saw that sin lay heavy on their hearts, and that therefore they were not only angry, but left me to my sin, which caused some sorrow. So, after the day, I saw and said, as pride was my sin, so shame should be my portion. And many fears I had of Eli's punishment for not reproving sin in Mr. E. when I saw it, and that sharply. And here I saw that God may, and doth sometimes, make some one godly man a terror and dreadful example of outward miseries, that all others may fear that be godly, lest his commands should be slighted, as he did by Eli. And so I saw the Lord might justly never let my sins be purged away by sacrifice.

March 20. My heart was much affected with the riches of God's mercy, in reading Jer. xxxvi. 3, that the very threatening of God to destroy is to make men return, and pray, and so live, which is deep and dear mercy; and that the Lord deals thus with such as are almost hopeless. Yet, if there be any hope, the Lord pitieth; it may be they will return; which made me that morning in prayer to pour out my heart in true and plain confession of my vileness, which I knew, with groans for grace.

1641. *April* 2 *and* 3. I was earnest in prayer for God's favor and love, and doubting of it for myself and others, because I looked to God's secret decree: at last I saw it was God's decree in the gospel, and his will, that whosoever comes to Christ should have life and favor, and so answer to all prayers for himself and others; which gave me some sweet assurance.

After this, I saw the Lord might deny all our prayers for outward things. I begged, therefore, for mercy; and that being granted, I had an end of all my suits and requests for myself and others; and there my heart stayed.

April 4 and 5. On Sabbath morning (April 4) I saw the Lord frowning on me in several providences.

1. That he was hid from me, whose face else would shine brighter on me than ten thousand suns.

2. That he was angry with my prayers, and had been, and is still angry.

3. Nothing I did, nay, none under my shadow, prospered.

4. I saw I wanted wisdom for my place, to guide others.

5. I saw I wanted a spirit of life within to make me exemplary without.

6. I saw I wanted the power of the Holy Ghost, and that I was not mighty in word and spirit, and in administrations.

7. I saw a secret eye I had to my name in all I did; for which I judged myself worthy of death, but I did not grow weaned from all created glory, from honor, wisdom, esteem of others, etc.

April 5. I saw I did not remember the sins of my youth; nay, the sins of one day I forgot the next day; and so I spent my time.

I was on my bed praying this morning, and the Lord helped me to pour out my heart before him; and I saw I could plead nothing in myself in regard of any worthiness and grace, or any thing in regard of God's providence or promise, but only his good pleasure. I saw it was not, if I will, but if he will; then I should see, and believe, and live. And here I hung, pleading how good, how pitiful and tender, how free this will was. I saw it stood immovable till it moved itself toward me. I saw God's will was that I should come; but I was afraid of mine own activity and working, and hence pleaded, Lord, turn me, draw me, and I shall come! and so I begged for my wife, child, friends, church, with earnestness, that the Lord would give us but mercy, and not suffer his name to be polluted by us and by our debts, though he should not honor himself by us; and if mercy would make us poor and vile, blessed be it; and if it would lead us, and carry us to some other place, and cover and overshadow us, blessed be it. And I had secret hints that these prayers from our wants were but preparations for future mercies, and that we should see his glory in the land of the living. Then I began to arise after prayer, without faith, as I thought, yet leaving all to his grace. But the Lord showed me how he had come to me and stirred up prayers, (1.) According to his own will; (2.) For his own ends. For though I sought myself, yet seeing this, I entreated the Lord to glorify himself and make us like unto his. And then I saw how great a sin it was to make feeling a ground

and cause of my faith. And I also thought how exceedingly I should honor Jesus Christ, if I did believe before I felt; how I should honor the truth of Christ, who hath said he is one that hears prayers. I saw also a secret distemper of my heart, how I grew faint in prayer, contrary to the rule, (Luke xviii.,) viz., not only by discouragement, but also by encouragement, and enlargement and affections in prayer.

April 10. I had many thoughts which came in to press me to give myself to Christ Jesus, which was the dear, best thing I had. And I saw, if, when I gave myself to Christ, he would give himself to me again, that it would be a wonderful change, to have the bottomless fountain of all good communicated to me. Thus two or three days I was exercised about this. And at last, (which was the day before I fell sick on the Sabbath,) in my study, I was put to a double question: (1.) Whether Christ would take me, if I gave myself to him; (2.) Whether I might take him again upon it. And I resolved to seek an answer to both from God, in meditation. So after dinner on the Saturday, —

April 11. I gave myself up to the Lord thus: —

1. I acknowledged all I had or was was his own, (as David spake of their offerings;) and so I acknowledged him the owner.

2. I resigned not only my goods and estate, but child, wife, church, and self unto the Lord, out of love, as being the best and dearest things which I have.

3. I prized it as the greatest mercy, if the Lord would take them, and so desired the Lord to do it.

4. I desired him to take all for a threefold end: (1.) To do with me what he would; (2.) To love me; (3.) To honor himself by me, and by all mine.

5. Because there is apt to be a secret reservation in our seeming desires, that the Lord should do all; and the soul gives up itself to the Lord, but it is that the Lord may please my will, and love me; and if he doth not please me, then the heart dies: hence I gave up my will also into the Lord's hand, to do with it what he please.

6. I gave up also my whorish lusts; but that he might take them away.

7. That he would keep me also from all sin and evil.

Thus I gave myself to the Lord; but then I questioned, (2.) Will the Lord take me?

Answer 1. I saw that the Lord desired and commanded me to give him my heart.

2. I saw that this was pleasing to him, as the contrary displeasing.

3. I saw that it was fit for him to take me, and do what he would with me.

But then I did question, Will the Lord receive me, and take me to do me good everlastingly? Because I gave up my friends and the whole church to the Lord also, as I did myself. And will the Lord take all them?

Ans. Here I saw the great privilege of men, and wisdom of God, in his committing some men's souls to the care of one godly man, of a public spirit; because he, Moses-like, commends them, gives them, returns them all to the Lord again, and so a world of good is communicated for his sake.

3d question was, But might I take the Lord? And my answer was, If the Lord did apprehend and take me to himself, then I might take him, for I had no other to lay hold on.

April 13. I questioned whether the Lord could pardon some sins, or would. And I was made to cast my eye upon the gospel, (Rom. iii. 25,) "Whom God hath set out to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood." This faith I saw to be nothing else but receiving God's kindness and special favor with my whole heart, and so was quite opposite to doing. And herein methought the exceeding riches of God's grace appeared — that he should now, after all wrongs done against him, offer special love, and require me only to take it, and possession of it. And so I felt my heart receive it with my whole spirit, with all my heart. Only I questioned, Will the Lord receive me with his hand again, when I receive it? And I saw that the Lord had bound himself by promise so to do, and I prayed that he would do so to me.

April 14. When I was at prayer, (having on my bed that morning seen how sweet a thing it was to be ever near the Lord, and thereby filled with holy, sweet affections unto God,) I saw and I sorrowed a little for my sins and vile nature, which were ever carrying and haling me from God, the fountain of all goodness and love; the blessedness of which, when any see, they can not but mourn for their sin.

April 15. When I looked over the day, I saw how I fell short of God and Christ, and how I had spent one hour unprofitably. And why? Because, though the thing I did was good, yet because I intended not God in it, as my last end, and did not set my rule before me, and so set myself to please God, therefore I was unprofitable; and so I desired to be humbled for it. And so I saw the nature of fruitfulness, that it consisted in acting for God with singleness of heart.

I observed my heart in walking according to rule; but I saw

it fall off. And this I learnt, that when a man sets himself to walk by rule, he will either say, I can not, or else will not, but hates the same.

April 16. I saw my example did (1.) teach, (2.) encourage, (3.) counsel, (4.) confirm others in sin.

April 18. On Sabbath, I found my heart full of enmity, and I saw it was Satan that filled it; when I should with fear have heard what God spake, and with care received the word, and kept it in my heart, by which Christ himself comes in; as I saw by temptation Satan entered into wicked men's hearts. But the Lord humbled my soul in some measure, and made me desire pardon and healing of Satan's wound by his mercy in Christ.

April 25. I saw God would accept me for Christ's sake; but I feared much I might not take Christ aright. Hence this came to my mind, that to take Christ because he commands me so to do is no presumption.

(1.) Because this honors him. (2.) Because he that will submit to one command thus will submit to all. (3.) Because I saw, that he that lets in Christ's command into his heart receives Christ; and he that receives one command thus receives all Christ, and all the commands of Christ.

April 25. While I was at the word, I saw I had a wild heart, which was as hard to stand and abide before the presence of God in an ordinance as a bird before any man. I saw, also, Christ will do what we will, if we do but will. The church begs all, and Christ doth all; because she is poor, and he is rich; she is weak, and he is strong. Prayer sets Christ on upon his church's adversaries.

April 28. I finding my heart rest on Christ, and peaceably quieted there, hence, when I saw the outward good things which others did enjoy, I was sweetly comforted with this: Yet I have Christ, and Christ is mine, others have other things.

April 29. I saw this distemper, (when I saw my sudden anger,) viz., that I was troubled at that which crossed me, not Christ, and pleased only with that which pleased myself, and not Christ Jesus. For, 1. In all wrongs and crosses there is a double cross: (1.) That which crosseth me; (2.) That which crosseth Christ. 2. In all good things there is, (1.) Somewhat that pleaseth me; (2.) Somewhat that pleaseth Christ. My heart is pleased or troubled as things please or trouble me without my having any due regard to Christ; and that is my sin.

April 30. I questioned whether any sin was a greater evil than unbelief. And I saw that union to Christ was my greatest good: hence unbelief is a greater sin than any other sin. And

here I saw God's rich grace, that had not only made my disunion from Christ by unbelief a misery, but also the greatest sin, as being cross to his command; and hereby my heart was affected. And I saw that whatever my sin was, yet now there was no sin like disunion from Christ by unbelief; and that I ought not to commit the greatest sin in departing from Christ, because of less sins against the law. For it was an unspeakable mercy to make my union to Christ the greatest good, my greatest good. 1. Because I can never in this life perfectly obey and cleave to the will of Christ.

2. Because if that be blessedness, then once blessed always blessed; so once united, ever united. So I saw the gospel, in commanding me to believe, did command me to partake of the greatest blessedness; and who would not be glad of that? Adam's happiness was, to do God's will; but ours to cleave to God in Christ.

May 5. I saw I was without all sense, as well as sight of God, estranged from the life of God. For I saw I respected man more than God, to please him rather than God. And why so? Because I was sensible of the presence of man. So, if I had committed any sin against man, I should be ashamed; but I blush not before God. I was not sensible of his glory, majesty, beauty, and love; and hence I had no sense of sin, because I had no sense of God. And hence with sadness I saw my widow-like separation and disunion from my husband and my God, and that we two were now parted, who had been nearer together once. And I saw (though not deeply) what my iniquities are, to prefer the creature above the Creator, blessed forever. And as the life is, the sense is.

May 6. The Lord Jesus revealed himself thus to me, viz., that as he was mercy and love to all meek, humbled, believing sinners that came to him, so he was fire and wrath against all obstinate sinners, that would not bow to him, but go on in their sin. And so I satisfied that doubt: when my heart said, Why shall I be troubled for sin, seeing God in Christ takes it not much to heart, but forgives, bears, pardons, and he was all love, and no wrath in him? I replied again, He is so to all meek ones, that stop, stoop, and yield. But he takes the least sin exceedingly to heart, and very ill, when men will go on in it. My heart was much comforted with the knowledge of this, and wrought to some more fear and love to him, and resolved to give up myself to him. I saw also the greatness of sin, to strike him by it, who is the glory of heaven and earth, and who takes it exceeding ill at my hands, if I do, or especially persist in it. The Lord also

pressed my spirit to please Christ in every thing; not in some things only, but to be ever pleasing him. I saw also that I was not in good earnest desirous that Christ would take away sin by the loss of name or goods, etc.

May 7. I saw in prayer, that before I or any other could seek or serve the Lord, I was to set up the Lord in the throne of my mind and heart, both in his greatness and in his goodness to me. And the Lord gave me some glimpse of both that morning; yet I saw that all was little enough to make me seek him and serve him. For I saw my heart averse from his will, and that the Lord must be exceeding great and dear in my heart, or else it would never seek and serve him. And so I considered, If it be so hard to seek the Lord when he is set up, how difficult to seek or serve him when he is cast down! Surely if there be any services or seekings without setting up the Lord, they are hypocrisies.

I saw also how great my sin would be, not to be acquainted and grow familiar with the Lord, when he hath humbled himself into my flesh for that end, and to make a near conjunction between himself and me. For we are joined to man, who is flesh of our flesh, sooner than with an angel, or with God. When the devil comes to make a covenant, he assumes the shape of a man. And here I saw that our union is first to the human nature, and so to the divine; because the divine nature comes down into the human, that it may be a mean of conjunction of the soul to God, and of God to the soul. And I saw, that as we are sooner conjoined to man, so God in man is sooner conjoined, or he more easily conjoins himself to us, who is filled with real human bowels for that end, and hath suffered that no justice might stop him in his work.

I considered, that when prayer is vehement for a blessing, and our humiliation and breaking from sin is suitable to our affection, God ever answers them. Hence let men observe, if they are earnest for any outward blessing, and their hearts are stirred up so as to believe they shall have it, let them see if their humiliation was proportionable. Hence also it is, that when the Lord denies us, it is ever to humble us, which is mercy; and we shall see that we have most need of that. And hence also, when humbled, we may reap the fruit of prayers made many years before.

On Saturday, May 8, at night, I saw union to God to be the greatest good; and my sin in not cleaving wholly to him with all my heart, the height of all sin, from Hosea x. 1. Hence in prayer I saw sin my greatest evil. 1. Because it had separated me from the greatest good. 2. Because it kept my heart with a

secret love to it from returning again to him, as my greatest good. 3. Nay, I saw that it made me make my death my life; viz., neglect of living and acting for God my very life; and my war with God my peace; and my damnation my salvation. Hence I mourned.

May 12. When I was stirred up to give thanks for mercies, I was put to a stand: Why not for evils as well? seeing both were from God's will. And the Lord put it into my heart to see that it is because God's chiefest, dearest attribute is honored more that way. And so I saw I was not to be thankful because the blessing suited me, but because God's dearest and most beloved attribute of grace and mercy was glorified hereby.

I saw also how one sin begat another in this country, and we did not cease to increase therein. And hence I saw what just cause the Lord had to strike us with sore and great wants, and yet how, if sin were repented of by preaching against it, the Lord would return. So I saw it my duty to preach against them.

May 18. In prayer I was ashamed that I should not serve the Lord, as I had done my lust and my sin.

I saw also that God was beforehand with men. 1. In that he had reconciled the world to himself. 2. That he did beseech them to be reconciled. Now I saw that all the work did lie upon man. For if the party offended first seek to be friends, I need not call in question his willingness, but my own wicked maliciousness. Here I saw, that if it be so with man, and he do not come in to him that seeks for favor, it is either, (1.) from contempt; or, (2.) anger, quarreling at his dealing; or, (3.) malice; yet the Lord wraps up all in one word, *enmity*.

May 21. In prayer I desired two things. (1.) That God only might be sweet. (2.) That his will might be mine. At which time it came into my heart, If you sincerely desire these two, you will desire to be in heaven, where these two are fully perfected. For I saw, though death was naturally terrible, yet I secretly rejoiced to think of that infinite mercy, when God alone shall fill my soul with his immediate infiniteness.

On the Sabbath, May 23, I came to a serious consideration, what sins were between God and me, that eclipsed his love. And I saw my evils, and resolved with more care to walk with him, and to be humbled for evils past. And I found my heart, in looking on those duties I was to do, to be afraid lest I should fail in the performance of them. And so I saw, if I laid the evidence of my salvation on my works, it would be various and uncertain as my gracious works were; and yet, on the other side, I saw that if I did not walk holily in all things before God, I

should not, I could not have assurance of my good estate. So that here I was at some stand; and in musing, thus the twenty-fifth psalm came to mind, wherein God promiseth the meek and humble to show them his covenant. And so I saw the Lord at that time revealing his covenant unto me, on which I was to build my assurance, not on my performance of that covenant by my own strength and graces. Now, God's covenant I saw thus: —

1. I saw him call me to himself, that he might make good his everlasting covenant: so I came.

2. I saw that his covenant was, that he would pardon, heal, and work all the works of his people.

3. I saw he would do all this for me, if I would by faith depend and rest upon the grace of his covenant so to do.

4. This dependence on him to fulfill his covenant to sanctify, quicken, humble me, etc., I took to be my evidence of love, though I should fail in duties, or God should leave me justly to my sins.

May 29. I was musing on the witness of the Spirit, and I considered, as men had their voice, so that which He spake, whose voice is most sweet, is witnessed to the hearts of his people by the still voice of his Spirit.

I saw also that Christ lives, and hath overcome death, and hence is ready to quicken all his he died for, not to a life different from his own, but with his own life, and brings them to it, which was mighty through God; and this was a sweet support to me in prayer, when I felt a need of redemption from all sin by this life. So I saw that God did live, when he spake, when he quickened, and did work; and he was then a living God to me, when I heard his voice and felt his works upon me and in me; and to want these was to be estranged from the life of God.

May 30. On Sabbath day, after sermon, I saw that my sin was, (1.) To look on my ministry's faults, and be discouraged; (2.) To look on their good, and be puffed up; (3.) If all was done well, then to look upon them as if they were Absalom-like; that from the head to the foot of them there was no blemish. But I loathed myself for it, and prayed for everlasting blessing on them.

June 3. When tidings came to me of the casting away of Mrs. Eaton, I did learn this lesson: whenever any affliction came, not to rub up my former, old, true humiliation, but to be more humbled. For I saw I was very apt to do the first. And I blessed God for the sight of this truth.

June 6. On the Sabbath I desired the Lord to bind my hands, or rather cut them off, — I mean my vile will and affections, — whereby I have so oft smote him. And I saw what good reason there was that, as I had struck the Lord with my will, now, when I am convinced of my sin, those hands should first embrace him by faith that have smote him, and that I should strike myself upon my thigh, and mourn for and mortify my sin in abusing the Lord.

June 8. I saw it my duty to be and live in every place as Christ in this world; to do that which he would do, and live and walk as he would walk, if here present. 1 John ii. 4, " We ought to walk as he walked; " especially, —

1. In love. 2. In meekness. And my heart was much affected with this truth. And my heart secretly relented to think, that, seeing Christ is not known, —

1. What glory would this be to Christ!

2. What a presence of Christ would there be in this place!

3. What sweet peace would it yield me when I came to die, if I should live thus or seek to do so! O Lord, imprint this image upon me, and give the Spirit of this thy Son to me.

June 12. I thought, if God was the fountain of all blessedness, that then, (1.) My sins were great which stopped it up, that I am so miserable, and, (2.) That I was the more miserable to stand without, and hear of the good things in him, and taste them not, enjoy them not.

June 13. On the Sabbath, being weak in my body and spirits, I asked, Can God make use of such a poor wretch to preach the gospel by? And I considered Paul. (1.) His presence was mean. (2.) His utterance weak. (3.) His weakness much. He was with the Thessalonians in much weakness; and it may be meant of bodily infirmities, as well as bodily persecutions. (4.) The doctrine he delivered was but common — Repent and believe. (5.) He preached this in no wisdom of words, but plainly; and yet the Lord, accounting him faithful, blessed him. So the Lord could do by me most weak.

June 17. I saw that, as by Christ I had access to the Father, so by faith and prayer of faith I had access to Christ. Again I saw how many, if not most, men were led and governed by certain humors. Hence sometimes light, sometimes sad; and men were hence religious in humor, discouraged also by the humors of their body.

The Lord also brought my soul to place all my happiness in being one in and with Christ, and to have mind and heart only placed on him. Hence I saw this was heaven on earth. But I considered, Why should I meddle with other matters then? And

I considered, I must be like to Christ in communicating good to others, as well as being united to him. And so I saw that but for the sake of others and their good, I would meddle no more with this world. And this set my heart right and in a sweet frame. And I saw it was a sign I sought not myself in a duty, when I was (*autarchees** and) satisfied, filled with God and Christ in myself. Then all my acts arise, not from indigency and want in myself, and so for myself, but for God, and for the sake of others.

I saw also how imprudent I was, and how unwilling to any holy duty, and knew not my seasons of advising, admonishing, etc. Hence I saw a need of the force, energy, and impulses of the Spirit strongly to press me to my way, and carry me on in it, as it did Paul in going to Jerusalem, and when he was a while at Athens, and as it did Christ when he went to the desert, (Matt. iv. 1,) *Ekballei*. And hereupon I resolved to pray for this, as it might be one special assurance to me that I was in God's way and doing his work.

June 20. On the Sabbath day, in reading Beza on the 6th of Romans, I saw clearly two things: (1.) That the saints, receiving Christ by faith, have good cause to be at perfect peace in their own conscience, there being by Christ no more conscience of sin. (2.) That by this faith they had, by Christ's death, abolishment of sin. And I saw that this faith was an adherence to Christ, and such a kind of adherence to him, and resting on him, as that the soul, by dear esteem and love, clings so to him as that it gets into him. It is so close an adherence, even as the branch gets into the stock. And so I saw faith doth not only cleave to Christ, but it sticks in Christ, and so sucks life and vigor from Christ by esteem and love; and this I prayed for. And by this I saw how many fall short of true faith, whose faith never makes them stick close unto Christ Jesus.

June 27. On Sabbath, when I came home, I saw the hypocrisy of my heart; that in my ministry I sought to comfort others and quicken others, that the glory might reflect on me as well as on God. Hereupon I considered how ill the Lord took this, and how averse he was from this self-seeking. By the sight of which I labored to be averse from it myself, and purposed to carry it in mind as one strong means to help against it for time to come.

June 27. I was in prayer persuaded and stirred up to remem-

* This Greek word signifies one who is the most absolute possessor of things, as true believers are represented to be. (1 Cor. iii. 21, 22.)

ber that by every thing I should seek to grow humble; to pick somewhat out of all providences for that end, because I saw my heart grow light so quickly. And I further considered, to pick joy in God, and loathing of myself in every thing which I saw in him or in his providence, was the only way to grow in grace, and improve his providences aright.

June 28. I saw my life, being, body, soul, were in God, and all good from him. Hence I saw my heart should be carried only toward him in love and delight. And I saw from hence my sin, and the advantage sin had against me, was by means of the creature and pleasures there. But when I saw all my good in God, and coming from God into them, my heart was sweetly calmed and endeared to God. And I saw how I ought to walk with God; and this I found did strengthen me against sin, and made me resolve to be the Lord's.

July 2. I saw I was no debtor to the flesh, to serve it, either, (1.) for any good it ever did me, (2,) or by any power over me, by divine justice satisfied in Christ.

I saw it my duty not only to pray, but to live by prayer and begging; for I observed how some of God's people did so. Hence I saw I was not to live by providence only, but by prayer, (1.) For myself, body, soul; (2.) For my children and family, at home and abroad; (3.) For the churches. Hereupon I asked the question, Would the Lord have me to live by prayer thus? And I saw he would have me, because he had given me a heart framable to his will therein; and it did much refresh me to think that the Lord should desire me to live thus, as if he took delight in my sinful prayers. And so I considered how I might live by prayer. And I saw, (1.) I should see what evils accompany every thing I go about; (2.) What good I need to have conveyed by every thing. There are special evils of sin to be avoided, and special good things to be conveyed. And I asked why I was to live by prayer. And I thought, (1.) Because it did honor God; (2.) Kept me from many unknown evils which else would befall me; (3.) Because else I could not have assurance any other prayers should be heard which were not my life. To pray by fits is not the way to find help in time of trouble.

July 7. When I was at meeting to receive in members, I considered of the reason why the Lord helped me to pray, and yet did not answer me; nay, things did not stir nor move, but rather things in church and elsewhere in men's spirits went worse and worse. So I saw, hereby, what need I had of all the prayers of others, and to get their prayers with fastings with me for those blessings which come hardly from the Lord. Yet I saw the Lord

could answer easily and suddenly, but he would not; and the reason was, (1.) Because he did delight in my prayers, and hence he kept me (musician-like) asking; (2.) Because he delighted in the prayers of many together; (3.) Because he would let me see I did need the prayers of others, as well as my own. And I saw also that all prayers of faith are heard instantly in heaven, but many times they are not heard from heaven until many shoulders are set to the work.

July 7. I saw that, notwithstanding all my sins, I should see there was no condemnation to me, nor should I fear it; (1.) being in Christ by faith; (2.) walking after the Spirit, because I resisted and mourned under the flesh and body of death, as Paul did. Yet I saw I should look upon all my sins with an eye of lamentation, as being (1.) cross to God; (2.) so contrary to the life of Christ in me. For I saw that I made a difference of some sins in a Christian: (1.) Some did cause God's fatherly anger, and were more wilful, and conscience upbraided me for them; (2.) Others were weaknesses, for which Christ pited me. And here my heart began to think, What need of such bitter mourning for them? Now I saw the apostle (Rom. vii.) mourned alike for all. He feared none for condemnation; he mourned for all with bitter lamentation. So I was sweetly enlightened, and purposed thus to walk, and not to mourn only for such sins as did hide the face of my God, but for sin in general, which goes against his life, yea, is contrary to the end of Christ's death, and cross to the will of God. And I saw it my duty to mourn, and that bitterly, with unutterable daily sighings under them.

July 8. I was tempted to think that I had been out of my way in occasioning any to come to this wilderness among so many snares. Yet considering that through God's providence we were fallen here, I saw it was my duty, and purposed it should be my work, to do all that I could, and be the more earnest with God in prayer, and to *fingere fortunam*, make the best of what is, because bad at best.

I saw also how some godly men and friends, who, though they were sincere, yet were very weak, and could not go through the present temptations of the place of wants, etc., with that contentedness and sweetness of spirit as was meet. And when I saw that possibly it might not come from want, but weakness of grace only, my bowels yearned toward Christ's weak ones, and I was secretly raised up with hopes that the Lord Jesus would pity them because they were weak and faint, and would lead those gently who were with young. And it was special ground of faith and prayer for them.

July 9. Being suddenly surprised by a sin before the sacrament, my conscience was awakened, and my heart checked me for it. Yet the Lord turned the meditation of the evil of this sin to great good to me, viz., not only to set my heart against it and all other sins, but the Lord thereby let in a most glorious light (as I thought) of his gospel, and of the way of believing for pardon, more than ever I had; which was this: —

I saw that the nature and practice of a man awakened with sin was this, viz., when conscience smites him with the fear and terror of God, "Dost think God loves thee, or hath sanctified thee, who dost rush upon such evils again and again? No, he is angry with thee for thy sin." Hereupon the heart, being desirous of favor, thinks secretly thus: As sin hath provoked God's anger, so, he being merciful, I hope the leaving off my sin, and turning from my sin, will pacify and please the Lord again; and so doth secretly think to please God and pacify God, and so indeed to satisfy God for that sin, and so forsakes sin; and now, in time of sickness or horror, thinks, that the Lord is pacified and pleased with this, according as some scriptures seem to speak. Or else it secretly thinks faith in Christ's blood and turning from sin also, both together, do please, and that now all is quiet. Hereupon, remembering that Christ's blood apprehended by faith was the only atonement, I conceived this was not the way that I should walk in; but rather this: —

1. I saw that when the least sin, as well as the greatest, was committed, my first work was to see that I (in myself considered) must die eternally for that sin, and so should pass sentence upon myself for it. And here I saw that by this the elect did, and that I should, see how cross, and contrary, and grievous sin is to God, who is so incensed by it, as he will be the death of a sinner for it. And so I saw that hereby my soul should be humbled aright, feeling sin by this means, not only as bringing eternal death on me, but as being cross and provoking to God. And this I saw was to be done, not only at first conversion, but all my life; (Jer. xxxi. 20;) that so hereby the soul might increase in humiliation and in a high esteem of the blood of Jesus Christ.

2. I saw that next to this I was to fly to Christ's blood and righteousness for satisfaction and peace. And here I saw three things: (1.) That this was faith, to fly to Christ's death in sense of my own death; (2.) That this act was exceeding pleasing to God, even after all sins; nay, that it did pacify God, not because of the merit of the act, but because of the worth of the object, which is the satisfaction of Christ's death it apprehends, and that this doth please him, because of his good pleasure and pur-

pose of grace, and because he will be so pleased; (3.) That this satisfaction alone, thus apprehended, did perfectly, and without any holiness or reformation of mine, pacify and please the Father; or else I saw that Christ's death and merits were imperfect and insufficient. And if so, if this alone pleased him, then the condition of the gospel was not thus, viz.: If you believe in Christ's death for righteousness, pacification, and life, and if you be sanctified and obey the will of Christ, you shall then live, and God the Father will be pacified toward you by both these means; but if you believe in Christ Jesus and his death, by this only you shall please God for whatever sin you have committed. I saw the conscience of a sinner could never be quieted until it did rest on this testimony only, in seeing God pleased that moment wherein it flies out of self to the death of Christ. Now, because I knew the Lord required obedience and sanctification, hence a third thing came clearly to mind.

3. I saw that resting thus on Christ, my conscience should be quieted, that God was now pacified, and that I did now please him fully in point of satisfaction; yet I saw I was now required to do the whole will of God, and to conform thereunto, not in way of satisfaction, to pacify God's eternal anger, but in way of thankfulness for this the Lord's love, in being pleased with me, and that wherein I fell short of it I should be deeply humbled, with Paul, (Rom. vii.;) but wherein I did any thing according thereto, to be thankful for it, as Paul also was, (Rom. vii..) when he was glad that in his mind he served the law of God. Now, because I saw I could do nothing, my will being desperately averse from Christ's will, hence I saw, (1.) If Christ had pacified the Father and pleased divine justice for my sin, that he would also by his death deliver me from my sins. (2.) I saw that Christ did not require me now justified to subsist in myself, and to be self-confident, and to do with and from my own strength, but that he would give me the law of the Spirit of life, which would enable me; and that the obedience he would accept, as a token of thankfulness, was this: (1.) That I should rest and rely upon his death for the Spirit of life, and on his Spirit for the power of it to enable me to do his will continually. (2.) That if the Lord did enable me, I should be exceedingly thankful for it; if not, that I should be exceedingly humbled daily under it; and so still forget things which be behind, and reach to things that be before. Relying on Christ for his Spirit, I saw, did and doth come and arise in all the saints from the law writ in the heart, after it feels God pacified, and the law of God without, which being reconciled together, and the soul feeling its

own weakness to please it, hence it relies on the Spirit of Christ Jesus, and thereby finds help; the Spirit within us living on the Spirit without us, as the elementary bodies on the elements in other bodies. So I saw that by faith in Christ's death I pleased the provoked justice and pacified the anger of God; by the law of God writ in my heart and obedience of the Spirit, I was pleased and did now please the law of God, as now given to me by Christ Jesus.

Now, when the Lord did show me all this, I did bless him with my soul for it, and I was taught how to walk more orderly. I saw, (1.) This was the right way of believing and finding favor, because it carried the soul humbly from the beginning to the end, and exalted God's grace. (2.) I saw that hereby the saints came to mourn more for sin (which Familists do not) than any other men. For when I see I must die for sin, that makes me mourn; when I see how cross it is to God, that makes me mourn still; when I believe and see only Christ's death can pacify, and that, I being come to it, it shall pacify, this makes me mourn more, and that bitterly, which no graceless heart can do, or hath cause to do. (3.) I saw that, in preaching duties of obedience to the saints, I should be careful how I set them a measure, or set them to do them, either to pacify anger, or to perform them in their own strength, or to make doing of them an evidence of grace, without inserting, "Unless they go to Christ, and rely on him for his grace," enabling them thereunto; and to preach them to *them* only as duties of thankfulness; to *others* as handwritings of death. (4.) Hereby I saw how sanctification was an evidence of reconciliation. (1.) I saw where it was not, there was no reconciliation; (2.) That where it was, there was reconciliation; (3.) That mediately it was an evidence, and I was to take it as an evidence, of reconciliation. Mediately, I say, because faith in Christ's blood doth immediately assure me of it. But this (viz., sanctification) assures me that my faith hath truly apprehended Christ Jesus. (4.) I saw that faith did immediately evidence reconciliation. (1.) Because faith is required in the gospel as the only condition; sanctification is required to come after it, is wrought after it, and commanded after it. (2.) Because I saw the apostles had their reconciliation by this evidence. Rom. v. 1, "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God." (3.) I saw that sanctification was not to come in to pacification of God's anger and displeasure, and therefore not immediately to the pacification of conscience. For conscience being smitten with sense of eternal death, nothing can pacify conscience but that which can pacify justice, and that is the death of Christ

Jesus, apprehended by faith. Conscience only hath quiet in Christ's death; my peace is only in it; but faith only is that by which I came by it; because faith makes it mine own, brings it near me, and now it quiets me. It is not by an immediate testimony that Christ's death is mine; for that may be a delusion, being without the word; but Christ's death apprehended by me, and so testified by the word and Spirit; the word speaking, every believer shall live; the Spirit of adoption (enabling the soul to see the work of faith in itself) speaking, thou, believer, shalt live. Which Spirit is given immediately after my justification by faith, viz., in my adoption to sonship.

Now having peace by faith, my conscience will question, Is thy faith right? Now my sanctification bears witness to that, and so mediately shows me, that my peace is right. In a word, the matter of my peace, or that wherein I have peace, is Christ's death. The means of this my peace is faith only. The immediate evidence of my peace and pacification is faith apprehending Christ's death. The evidences being, (1.) The word of the gospel; (2.) The Spirit of adoption discovering the work of faith in the heart. The evidence of the truth of faith, and so of my peace, is santification. This only I question, whether faith saith, My peace is made, and santification saith, Thy faith is good. Only I add, it is possible for some sincere Christians first to see their sanctification and holiness, and so their faith and peace. But the question is, whether they should not first see their faith and peace, and so their sanctification arising from thence; and so, as Mr. Culverwell notes, not build their faith upon their life, but their life upon their faith, and their faith upon God's free grace.

(5.) I saw that the reason why faith in Christ's blood, and not simply in Christ, did justify and pacify, was because a humbled sinner ever feels and sees death before him; and hence the Lord, according to his need, opens Christ and presents him thus to him. As also why Paul called sin a body of death. (1.) Because he saw he must die for it; the remnants of sin were death. (2.) Because they were cross to the life of Christ in him. All this was the day before the sacrament, July 10, 1641. And I thought now I felt some growth, which I came for in other sacraments.

On the evening of this day, before the sacrament, I saw it my duty to sequester myself from all other things for the Lord the next day. And, (1.) I saw I was to pitch on the right end; (2.) On the means, all things to lead me to that end. I saw mine own ends were, to procure honor, pleasure, gain to myself, and not the Lord; and I saw how impossible it was for me to attain those

ends I should attain, viz., to seek the Lord for himself, to lay up all my honor, pleasure, etc., in him. Or if I did, it was for myself, because good unto me. So the Lord helped me thus: to see, —

(1.) If honor, pleasure, was good. O, how good was He who gave them, and could have cut me short of them! and so my heart was raised up a little unto God.

(2.) I saw my blessedness did not chiefly lie in receiving good and comfort from God, and in God; but in holding forth the glory of God and his virtues. For it is, I saw, an amazing, glorious object, to see God in a creature; God speak, God act; the Deity not being the creature, and turned into it, but filling of it, shining through it; to be covered with God, as with a cloud; or as a glass lantern, to have his beams penetrate through it. Nothing is good but God; and I am no further good than as I hold forth God. The devil overcame Eve to damn herself, by telling her she should be like God. O, that is a glorious thing! And should not I be holy, and so be like him indeed?

Hereupon I found my heart more sweetly drawn to close with God thus as my end, and to place my happiness in it; and also I saw it was my misery to hold forth sin, and Satan, and self in my course; and I saw one of those two things I must do. Now, because my soul wanted pleasure, I purposed thus to hold forth God, and did hope it should be my pleasure so to do, as it would be my pain to do otherwise.

I also considered of the nature of a sacrament; and I thought, if Christ was here present to prepare and bless the ordinance, I should believe. But I saw, (1.) Should I not believe Christ did give me meat, unless every day he did lay the cloth? (2.) I saw, should not I believe the word by ministers, because Christ doth not speak it with his own mouth? (3.) I saw, Christ did command his ministers to do this in remembrance of him; and if for Christ's sake, that he might be remembered and loved, they do bless it, then he is faithful to make his body and blood present there, and so to make the elements seals.

I saw also that the elements were not only seals to assure me that Christ's word should be made good to me believing; but also that Christ by sacramental union was given to me. I saw also that my heart did say and conclude, I shall fall from Christ after this sacrament, and have no more strength against my sins or weaknesses than heretofore, nor ability to live to him. Then I saw that the sacrament was a pledge that certainly I should have strength; and also that this that I should have was a most sweet thing, viz., the life of Christ now begun and perfected hereafter.

I saw also that the sacrament was made to confirm this main promise of the covenant, that he will give himself away to all that will but only take him thankfully and gladly. And I saw that it was my duty every sacrament to fasten that promise and repeat it again, that so it might be of power and use to God's people in due time.

July 22. I saw the Lord was wont to succor and hear the prayers of his people so constantly for all things, that when he denied them their requests, they took it to heart as though they were undone utterly. (Hab. i. 2, 3.) And I saw it my duty so to do, and so to be affected, when God refused to hear my cries.

July 22. At Boston lecture, when Mr. Cotton was giving thanks for the safe arrival of the passengers lately come over, my heart questioned the thing, why I should be so thankful for them. And I considered, if it were my own case, I would have thanks so given for me, and glad of it. Then I considered, (1.) That they were dear to Christ and beloved of him; and hence my heart began to love them dearly, and hence I rejoiced and was thankful. (2.) That the Lord should so reveal his glory on them in preserving of them.

July 23. At Charlestown lecture, I hearing, out of John xvii. 21, that disunion and sitting loose from Christ and his people was a means to hide, and did, as it were, deny that Christ was come as sent of the Father, my heart was hence much affected with shame and secret sorrow, purposing to cleave closer to Christ, that only Christ might be seen in me.

As I was riding to the sermon that day, my heart began to be much disquieted by seeing almost all men's souls and estates out of order, and many evils in men's hearts, lives, courses. Hereupon my heart began to withdraw itself from my brethren and others; but I had it secretly suggested to me, that Christ, when he saw evils in any, he sought to amend them, did not presently withdraw from them, nor was not perplexed and vexed only with them. And so I considered, if I had Christ's Spirit in me, I should do so. And when I saw that the Lord had thus overcome my reasonings and visited me, I blessed his name. I saw also, the night before this, that a child of God in his solitariness did wrestle against temptations, and so overcome his discontent, pride, and passion. Another did reason and so wrestle for his temptation of discontent, etc., and was overcome. Jonah indeed did reason for his passion for a time, but the Lord overcame his spirit.

Aug. 1. On Sabbath day, when the Lord had given me some comfortable enlargements, I searched my heart to see my sin. And I saw, —

1. There was some poor little eye in seeking the name and glory of Christ; but I saw it was but little, and that there was not such a burning desire to advance it as there should be. And hence I saw I was to be humbled for this.

2. I saw, that though I did seek Christ's glory, yet I sought it not only, but my own glory too. And hereupon thinking, whether a man might not have some respect to his own glory, the Lord taught me, that in merely human acts, I might have some respect unto it; but in the ministry and that kind of work, and so in all work whereby I draw nigh unto him, this was such work above me, and so wholly divine and God's work, that I should here have no respect to myself together with God. For I saw, God might have left me on the dunghill, and not have betrusted me with only such work as this is. I hereupon desired to be humbled, and that my sins might be removed, that the Lord might succeed and bless me. And here I saw my heart popishly carried to think God's grace would work upon the removal of my sin. Whereas I saw, that justice would not work for a sinner till sin were removed; yet I saw grace might work for its own sake, and bless my labors, and pardon and heal my sin, for its own sake; and so make removal of sin, not the cause, but the effect of its working.

Aug. 2. In prayer my heart was very desirous of having the generation to come know, love, and fear the Lord; and my heart was hereupon much enlarged to set upon catechizing.

I saw also what a sweet thing it was, not only to have sinners converted, but to have the saints edified, and Christ's work go forward in them; that if it did so, all things would prosper, even outward things; whereas else I did fear all our woes are yet behind.

Aug. 13. I saw, 1. That I was worthy to be left to myself, and in my misery and sin: (1.) Not only because I had sinned, but, (2.) Because of my very desires to come out of it. For I saw they did arise from pride; that when I saw how God did not prosper me nor any that did come under my shadow, and that he left me in the dark, and hid his face and secrets from me, then, when God had cast me down, I would take hold on the Lord, and seek to climb up on him, that he might exalt me, and that I might be exalted by being lifted up by him. Whereas I saw it was my duty, when I was low, (1.) To be afflicted and mourn, and learn the bitterness of sin, and my own unworthiness. (James iv.) (2.) To be desirous to come out only in regard of the Lord, that he may be exalted in me and by me. And I did think the Lord set my heart in such a frame at that time. I

saw my vile heart also, that I could be troubled at sin, when it was cross to me.

2. I saw my heart very ready to neglect prayer, for two causes: (1.) From thinking that I had prayed enough, when I had prayed earnestly, and had no more arguments to use. But I saw that all prayer was little enough for that end, to help down mercy. The Lord would have me get mercy hardly, though all the friends I had prayed for me. (2.) Because I thought God would hear and forgive sin, and heal my soul. But I saw, if he did it, I must daily mourn under it, and so get strength against it.

Aug. 15. I saw on the Sabbath four evils that attend me in my ministry: —

1. The devil either treads me down by discouragement and shame: (1.) From the sense of the meanness of what I have provided in private meditations; and to this I saw also an answer, viz., that every thing sanctified to do good, its glory is not seen in itself, but in the Lord's sanctifying of it. Or, (2.) From an apprehension of the unsavoriness of men's spirits, and their unreadiness to hear in hot or cold seasons. But here I saw I ought not to be as a reed shaken with the wind.

2. Or carelessness possesseth me; arising, (1.) Because I have done well and been enlarged, and have been respected formerly, and hence it is no such matter though I be not always alike. (2.) A natural dulness and cloudiness of spirit which doth often prevail.

3. Infirmities and weakness: (1.) Want of light. (2.) Want of life. (3.) Want of a spirit of power to deliver what I am affected with for Christ. And hence I saw many souls not set forward, nor God felt in my ministry.

4. Want of success when I have done my best.

I saw these, and that I was to be humbled for these. I saw also many other sins, and how the Lord might be angry. And this day, in musing thus, I saw that, when I saw God angry, I sought to pacify him by abstaining from all sin for time to come; but then I remembered, (1.) That my righteousness could not satisfy, and that this was resting on my own righteousness. (2.) I saw I could not do it. (3.) I saw only Christ's righteousness, ready made and already finished, fit for that purpose. And I saw that God's afflicting me for my sin was, not that I should go and satisfy by reforming, but only that I might be humbled and afflicted for and separated from sin, being reconciled and made righteous by faith on Christ, which I saw a little of that night.

This day also I found my heart very untoward, and sad, and

heavy, by musing on many evils to come. But I saw if I carried four things in my mind always, I should be comforted.

1. That in myself I am a dying, condemned wretch, but by Christ I am reconciled and live.

2. In myself, and all creatures, finding insufficiency and no rest.

3. Feeble and unable to do any thing myself; but in Christ able to be efficient, and to do all things.

4. Though I enjoyed all these but in part in this world, yet I should have them all perfectly, shortly, in heaven; where God will show himself fully reconciled, be alone sufficient and efficient, and abolish all sin, and live in me perfectly.

Aug. 17. I saw my neglect of myself, family, and others, and I saw the reason of it was, because the Lord did me good without prayer, and blessed all things to me without it. Hence I saw how just and righteous it was for the Lord to take every outward ordinary blessing from me, because I might then be obliged to get them and keep them by prayer, and that the Lord should continually exercise me with great affliction, that I might hereby pray. And I saw that it was wisdom for me to pray for all I had, as all things were taken from me, and to pray for them out of duty, willingly, and not of necessity, to bring God's purposes to pass by prayer.

Aug. 21. On Saturday, at even, I was praying, and the Lord made himself very precious to me, because I might come to him, have access in prayer, (1.) At any time; (2.) Might lay open all my wants with pleasing to him; (3.) With certainty of speeding. And when I saw that my great sin did lie in not keeping the savor (at least) of the Lord and his ways, I did thereupon see, (1.) That the remembrance of this truth would be one means to maintain it as it gave it. (2.) I saw there is no wrath like this to be governed by my own lusts for my own ends.

Aug. 24. I saw, 1. That the means of being immovable was sense of God's sufficiency and efficiency, by faith. 2. I saw that I was not made immovable by resting on my faith, and the rest of faith which sometimes I felt, but by resting on God as only able to support my faith and me by it. 3. I saw how exceeding short I fell of that holiness God requires. And hence I saw the reason why men seek after no more holiness, nor are more holy, is, (1.) Because they think they are holy, as God would have them, and as other Christians be: they set up their pitch; or, (2.) Because of their impotency and weakness, and they could do no more than they did. 4. I saw there is great matter of humbling that I am not so holy as I should be, but am

infinitely short; but much more, that I am not so holy as I might be, through Christ.

Aug. 28, 29. When I came from preaching I saw my own weakness, (1.) Of body, to speak; (2.) Of light and affection within, and enlargement there, and that my weak mind, heart, and tongue moved without God's special help. (3.) I saw my weakness to bless what I did. Hereupon I questioned whether the Lord would ever bless one so impotent, that did my work without his power, and sinned so much with such dead, heartless, blind work, and I feared he would not. But then I considered, (1.) That God doth show his power by the much ado of our weakness to do any thing. God works not by strong, but weak things. (1 Cor. i. 21.) He makes foolish things, and weak things, and things that are not, to do his work, that no flesh might glory. (2.) I saw that if he did so, then the more weak I was, the more fit was I to be used, and that he could bless his own ordinance by me. (2 Cor. xii. 9.) His power pitcheth his tents in weakness. (3.) I saw that the Lord (as weak as I am) had blessed my poor labors, and if he should do it still, O, how I should give the glory to him! So my heart was much affected, and did give the glory of all was ever done by me to God. And I thought I did now begin to do what I should do forever in heaven. And I, seeing that by this way God should be glorified, I began to rejoice with Paul in my infirmities, and my heart began to be raised up from sinking under them, because I thought I was bound to rejoice in God, that by my weakness he would glorify himself. And I began to see how good it was to acknowledge and not be ashamed of my weaknesses before others, that they might see the more clearly the glory of God; nor to be discouraged with them before nor after my work.

Yet here was left one scruple: how that the apostles were filled with the Spirit of power and strength in their work, and so God blessed, as 1 Thess. i. 4. I thought the apostles were weak *before* their work; but were they so *in* their work? Did the Lord by weak work in and upon them do any good? So I mourned. For a little before this time I observed weakness to do Christ's work and shame ever went together, and that weakness of body and neglect of duty went together.

So I prayed that evening immediately, that the Lord would accept me in Christ's righteousness, and make me strong, and zealous for him and his name; nay, that Christ himself would be zealous to get himself a name by me, who was but a worthless instrument in his hand; and so I rested with some hope that he would, and resolved to walk in sense of my weakness and vileness daily before him.

Sept. 5. I was on Sabbath day night secretly swelling against God, that he did not bless my ministry. But then remembering my sins, how I deserved death eternally, I was soon quieted; and I blessed God exceedingly for my life, and that the Lord was not yet gone out of hearing, but that I might come to him privately, and in extraordinary duties, and pray. So I prayed earnestly for favor and love of Christ, and God in Christ, and for a multitude of mercies. And I prayed so long, until my heart was made suitable unto mercy; so as I prized nothing else but God's favor, so as my heart did find rest there, and was quiet with it; which gave me some sweet peace. And I began to believe mercy was mine, because my heart was confined to it, and filled with it, and did rest on it, and with it. For I considered, the heart of all ungodly men is ravished and runs out to creatures, and finds rest there only. And so I fell to blessing God, and praying for the fruits of God's reconciled love; and among other things to bless my ministry. And in doing this a desire came in, viz., that the Lord would not bless my words, but his own word, because it is his own. Because I am sure he will bless his own children, and make them blessings; so I was sure the Lord would bless his own word, because it is his own.

Sept. 5. I saw in prayer, that there was none almost that did make conscience to grow nearer to God one day than another day; but left that to God, without much care.

Sept. 8. I saw the reason why I did walk no more humbly and holily was, because I did make the creature something, and did not make God all things. God is all; he that possesseth him possesseth something; yea, all things. So long as the creature is something, that something will stand betwixt God and me, that I shall not walk only in his sight. This therefore is magnifying of God, to make him all, the fountain of all goodness and excellency.

I saw in my sleep that night, that a Christian was to act not only from a natural power of grace, which doth act with all its might where it is, but by a power supernatural, whereby he attempts things above his own might, and bears evils above his might. So that now I see a Christian should act for Christ with all his might and beyond his might, having the supernatural power of Christ to help him thereunto.

Sept. 9. I saw the vileness of neglect of God in duties, because the neglect of duties is the *formalis effectus*, the proper effect of lying in my falls, in my sins.

I saw on the fast day also, that, (1.) Every way I looked, there was matter of sorrow in me, about me, sin against God in heaven,

nay, against Christ, nay, cross to his will, his love, nay, his life. Hence I should mourn. (2.) I saw I had no Comforter to go to, when I had thus sinned against the Lord, no creature.

Sept. 13. In my meditations at night, I found my heart desirous to live in this world, and do good here, and not to die. Hence I asked my heart the reason why I should not be desirous to die. And in musing on it I saw that Christ was ascended up to heaven; that so not *here*, but *there* all his elect might one day behold his glory, and love him and glorify him forever. And I saw that this was God's main plot, and the end of all, to make Christ very glorious, and so beloved in heaven forever, where that which I desired most in this world (viz., that Christ might not only be precious, but very dear and precious) should be perfectly accomplished; and hereupon I secretly desired this mercy, and desired it for my child, and brethren, and all the churches; that, though we were blind here, and knew him not, loved him little, yet that this might be our portion at last. And I did feel my desires stirred up after this out of secret love to Christ Jesus. It would do me good if he might be at last magnified thus. Then I inquired, What is the great thing I should desire in this world? And I saw it was the beginning of that which should be perfected in heaven; viz., (1.) To see and know Christ, though obscurely; (2.) To take Christ, and receive him, and possess him; (3.) To love him; (4.) To bless him in my heart, with my mouth, by my life. And in this last clause I saw that I should study and stand for discipline and all the ways of worship out of love to Christ; viz., to show my thankfulness. And so I saw, I was, (1.) To seek for to know Christ's will out of love; (2.) To entertain it in love, when found out; (3.) To keep it in love. And so I saw it was my duty, and ought to be my care, to keep this very frame of heart daily; and I saw it would be glorious.

Sept. 17. On Friday night, I wished that Christ would break out in greater glory to my child than he had done to myself; which gave me matter to inquire whether Christ had appeared to me in glory, or no. And I saw that then Christ breaks out in his glory, when he so shows himself as that he spoils the creature of all his glorying, and makes him poor in spirit, and so to see all his good in Christ, and there into glory.

Now, I saw that night, (1.) That all sin was in me, and all shame did belong to me. (2.) I saw all good in Christ, and all glory belonging to him. Hereupon I was comforted, and hoped the Lord had showed me his glory. And I saw an error in my heart; for I thought that then Christ appears in his glory, when he affects the heart with wonderment at his person by some

strange light, and so filled the soul with glorious activities of grace. Whenas I saw that was the truest, sweetest revelation of Christ's glory, which did eclipse all my glory, and laid a foundation of glorying only in him. And this I saw was that which is in Is. vi. I saw my tongue and soul unclean, and all good in him. Yet I saw one part of Christ's glory not yet revealed; for though he had so shown his glory to me as to damp all my own personal glory, yet he had not so shown me his glory as to damp all the glory of all the honor, and pleasure, and good things in this world; which I therefore prayed for; for I saw honor had a glory.

Sept. 19. On Sabbath day I was at prayer at night, and I saw my heart ever and anon ready to cast away my faith and confidence, as if it were of my own making. But the Lord let me see, that by faith only I should apprehend and have God; and hence I saw, if I cast away my faith, I must cast away my God. Now I felt God very precious, and Christ very precious, and hence my faith was very precious to me. And I saw it was no presumption to make God precious, or to keep him with me.

Oct. 2. On Saturday night and this morning I saw and was much affected with God's goodness unto me, the least of my Father's house, to send the gospel unto me. And I saw what a great blessing it would be to my child, if he may have it, that by my means it comes unto him. And seeing the glory of this mercy, the Lord stirred up my heart to desire the blessing and presence of his ordinances in this place, and the continuance of his poor churches among us, looking on them as means to preserve and propagate the gospel. And my heart was for this end very desirous of mercy, outward and inward, to sustain them, for his own mercy's sake. And so I saw one strong motive to pray for them, even for posterity's sake, rather than in England, where so much sin and evil was abounding, and where children might be polluted. And I desired to know the Lord better, that I might make him known to this generation.

Oct. 6. I saw in prayer that my great sin was my continual separation, disunion, distance from God, (not so much this or that particular sin,) lying out in a loose spirit from God. Hereupon I saw Jesus Christ near me, next unto me, because he comes in as Mediator between God and my soul. As one in a pit, a mid-man holds both him below and him above. I saw that none could come into the chasma, the breach sin had made, but he that satisfied justice, this Mediator. Hereupon my heart was stirred up with thankfulness to lay hold upon this Mediator, Christ Jesus; the object of faith being so near unto me, and

being of such worth, as to fill up the chasma, the breach, and such love as to come so near unto me. I considered also that Christ was most near unto me by his word and the voice of that. Christ between God and me that were distant, the word between Christ and me, and faith closing with the word, between the word and me; the word on Christ's part, faith on our part. "The word is nigh thee," (Rom. x.,) which is the word of faith. And hence oppose the word, and you oppose the Lord where he is, and wherein he is most near. Hence receive the word, and you receive the Lord, wherein he is most near.

Oct. 10. When I saw the gifts, and the honor attending them in another, viz., T. H., I began to affect such an excellency. And I saw hereby, that usually, in my ministry, I did affect an excellency, and hence set upon the work. Whereas the Lord hereupon humbled me for this, by letting me see this was a diabolical pride. And so the Lord made me thankful in seeing it, and put me in mind to watch against it.

Oct. 6. I was very sad to behold outward wants of the country, and what would become of me and mine, if we should want clothes, and go naked, and give away all to pay our debts. Hereupon the Lord set me upon prizing of his love, and the Lord made my heart content with it: (1.) His love, though he denied me all blessings. (2.) Hence I desired to know it. (3.) To constrain my heart by it. (4.) That I might not abuse, but honor it. And there I left myself, and begged this portion for myself, and for my child, and for the church; and so left them in the Lord's bowels. Now, such was the goodness of Christ, that when I came to hear my father preach at Boston, the day after, my soul was settled on the same way again, when he preached about contentedness; and so I was confirmed in the faith; and so I learnt how a Christian is confirmed, (1.) When he hears the same thing preached at one time, or by one man, confirmed again by another man, or at another time; (2.) When he learns something privately, and then he hears the same again publicly.

Oct. 9. On Saturday morning I was much affected for my life; that I might live still to seek, that so I might see God, and make known God before my death. And then I saw, if there was such thankfulness for deliverance from misery, would it not be a greater mercy to be delivered and redeemed from sin? And I saw that this was a greater mercy. And hence I saw the love of Christ in afflicting and trying me with wants; because by these trials I came to see my sin and to have a heart severed from my sin. And so I saw there was no anger, but love, nay, the greatest love in this, viz., his redeeming love

from my sin. Hereupon I learnt three things: (1.) That soul which felt sin the greatest evil, he would be willing, nay, glad, if the Lord would redeem him out of it, though by any misery, wants, sorrows, temptations; (2.) When he was delivered, he would be as much thankful as for redeeming him from hell; (3.) He would account this the highest testimony of God's love, by redeeming him out of the greatest woe. And hence they that take sanctification as no sign of justification never truly felt the evil of sin. While I was thus musing in prayer, I saw that then my soul was severed from sin, indeed, when Christ Jesus came to be in my soul in the room of my sin; when he was dear as sin had been dear; when he did rule as sin had once ruled me. And I thought this was sweet, if God would do so; and reasonable also, that it should be so; and I began to make the Lord so indeed unto me. And so I learnt this rule, viz., that if ever I would have any sin subdued, do not labor to get the sin subdued only, but get Christ to come in the room of it; that his sweetness may be there, power there, life there, and to seek then for the contrary grace from Christ. For, (1.) It may be long before Christ will come and give the grace, and so the soul may lie miserable; but Christ may be then had. (2.) At vocation Christ is given first, and then sanctification. So in the renewed conversions of the saints, it is to be so again. (3.) Else I seek for Christ's virtues without Christ. And cursed be that soul that is loth to have Christ to be in the room of a base lust, to make Christ that to him which a vile lust once was.

Oct. 16. The day before the sacrament, the Lord helped me to call to mind, 1. My neglects; 2. My wants. 1. My neglects: (1.) Of duties in private toward myself; (2.) To my wife, child, family, church, companions abroad; not instructing, exhorting, quickening, being an example to them. And the Lord let me see the cause of all this to be, (1.) Ignorance; I know not how to speak to them, nor about what. (2.) Unsavoriness; not delighting in, but loathing such ways. (3.) Pride; because I could not do so well as I would, I would not speak what I could. (4.) Lukewarmness, in not being carried out for God's glory. (5.) Idleness and sluggishness, loth to stir. (6.) Love of study. (7.) Want of tender love. (8.) Apprehension of unfruitfulness; in case I should attempt, I should do no good, and hence would not sow seed upon rocks. And I thought, if this latter should hinder me, why should it not discourage the Lord himself, who had so oft cast his precious seed upon my rocks, and lost all? And here I saw I was ignorant when to speak, and how to do, and how much; yet I saw this, that suppose I had done right,

yet that these principles causing this neglect were to be lamented, and not indulged, for which end I came to the Lord in the sacrament. For I saw that good duties might be done, and sometimes lawfully omitted, and yet both out of ill principles; and when the ill principles are healed, I shall then see whether it is my duty, and how far my duty reacheth. And this I saw was a rule of singular use to know when the thing was evil, which I think is right and good. I say it is lawful; be it so; but see if this lawful thing comes not from an ill principle. Cure that, and then other things will follow. So a man strives for upper place, and who shall be the greatest. A man thinks usury is lawful. Now, say I, mind the principle whence these come.

2. I saw my wants. (1.) I did want knowledge of the truth and glory of God's will in the Scriptures; (2.) Wisdom to guide others; (3.) Daily repentance, the want of which made the Lord not to pity me, nor to come to me; (4.) I was exercised with horrors and fears, being in the dark, and the Lord hiding his face; (5.) Want of a spirit of prayer distressed me, having words without affection, which I saw the perfection of all misery; (6.) Want of zeal for God's glory, but affecting mine own glory and mine own excellency, nay, the excellencies of God for that end; (7.) Want of joy in the Lord and in his will, but going a-whoring after lawful things; (8.) Want of love in great measure to others.

I meditated this night upon Christ, and saw, (1.) That there was a necessity of a Mediator in regard of God's truth and holiness. (2.) That this was the Messiah by the witnesses given of him. (3.) I saw not that he was mine, because I saw no promise absolute of it. But the Lord graciously cleared up to me John i. 12, that they who receive Christ were sons. (Christ himself, though they had no promise.) Now, to receive Christ I saw was contrary to them that did not own him when he came to his own. (1.) They did not acknowledge, "This is he." (2.) They did not see any glory in him. (3.) They did not embrace him with all their hearts to be that to them for which end he came, viz., to be king, prophet, and priest. So I saw what it was to receive him. And upon a fresh persuasion that this Messiah is he, the Lord gave me to embrace him with my affections, as if present, viz., to guide me as a prophet, to rule me as a king, to take away sin and death as a priest. Now, here I saw two things: 1. That true faith was not to guide one's self, rule and conquer sin, and obey one's self, (for this is to make ourselves our own saviours;) but to cleave to Christ that will do all this, nay, that he would draw out our faith of embracing him for

this. And hence I saw neglect of duty as vile a sin as actual sin; because Christ is not so much offended with us for actual sin as for not coming to him, and clasping about him to take these away. The one, viz., to do the thing, is his work; but to cleave to him is our chief work. And I was confirmed that this is the right act of faith; (1.) Because faith is a bare receiver; (2.) From John iv. 10, If thou wouldest ask, he would give. 2. I saw faith weak and divided, and many sins would be still in me; that with this faith there was a necessity of daily repentance. This repentance, I saw, consisted chiefly in mourning for the sin which Christ by faith had not yet removed. Now I saw I was to mourn; (1.) For not going to Christ to take away my sin, which I daily forget; (2.) For the evil of my sin, (and its crossness to him,) which he takes not away; (3.) For his not taking it away, that I give him cause to leave me; so, (4.) As having crucified him. And here I saw I had no reason to continue in sin; (1.) Because it had wounded Christ; (2.) Because Christ died that it might die, and not live. And thus my soul was sweetly stayed upon Christ by faith this day, and much comforted. Yet I saw there might be a deceit in one thing, viz., in reasoning and bringing my heart to do a duty by the power of that; (1.) To believe a truth, not only by means of reason, but only upon that ground, because it agrees to right reason; as that Christ must suffer, because else God must be false, and his word not true; (2.) To do a duty from the persuasion of reason, because it pleaseth me, not because it pleaseth the Lord.

And here I saw, if it was from reason, the power of reason would never carry me against my own will and my own ends.

Oct. 18. On Monday morning my child was born. And when my wife was in travail, the Lord made me pray that she might be delivered, and the child given in mercy, having had some sense of mercy the day before, at the sacrament; and the Lord stayed my heart there. But I began to think, What if it should not be so, and her pains be long, and the Lord remember my sin? And I began to imagine and trouble my heart with fear of the worst. And I understood at that time, that my child had been born, and my wife delivered in mercy already. Hereupon I saw the Lord's mercy and my own folly, to disquiet my heart with fear of what never shall be, nor will be; and not rather to submit to the Lord's will; and come what can come, to be quiet there. When it was born, I was much affected, and my heart clave to the Lord who gave it. And thoughts came in that this was the beginning of more mercy for time to come. But I questioned, Will the Lord provide for it? And I saw that the Lord had made

man to great glory, to praise him, and hence would take care of him. Though sometimes the Lord seemed to make all men for nought. (Ps. lxxxix.) Which place I thus understood: God hath made man for the glory of himself, and hence to great glory, (though he made many for nought;) especially the church and their posterity did the Lord make for glory. And if God did not glorify them, then he seemed indeed to make all men for nought; and that, when men are not instruments of his glory, it is for nought. And I saw God had blessings for all my children; and hence I turned them over to God.

Oct. 29. I was much troubled about the poverty of the churches; and I saw it was such a misery as I could not well discern the cause of, nor see any way out; yet I saw we might find out the cause of any evil by the Lord's stroke. Now, he struck us in outward blessings, and hence it is a sign there was our evil: (1.) In not acknowledging all we have from God, (Hos. ii. 8;) (2.) In not serving God in the having of them; (3.) In making ourselves secure and hardhearted; for lawful blessings are the secret idols, and do most hurt. And it is then a sign our greatest hurt lies in having, and that the greatest good lies in God's taking them away from us. Whereupon I, considering this, did sweetly content myself that the Lord should take all from us, if it might be not in wrath, but in love, viz., hereby to glorify himself the more, and to take away the fuel of our sin. I saw that if God's people could be joyfully content to part with all to the Lord, prizing the gain of a little holiness more than enough to overbalance all their losses, that the Lord then would do us good.

Oct. 31. On Sabbath day, after sermon, on my bed, I saw, (1.) That my own weak spirit would not carry me along in my work. (2.) I seeing I wanted light, and life, and affection, and that I was not a burning and shining light, I saw this came from the want of the spirit of light and life. And so I saw I was sensual, wanting the spirit. Hereupon I did question whether the Lord would accept of such services. For I read not in Scripture of any minister, but it was better with him. He was filled with light, affection, persuasion, etc. I considered hereupon this: 1. The Lord might reject my services, if they were as good as I could wish; and, 2. If therefore he accepted these of mine, (1.) I should magnify his grace the more; (2.) There would be the more grace shown. But I had some questionings that the Lord would not honor his grace on any so vile; but that he would make the offering more pleasant to him first. And I saw if I had never such expressions, yet if I had not light and life

within, whence they came, (1.) It was a sign the Spirit of Christ was far from me; (2.) Far, hereupon, from God's people, which began to afflict my heart. And hereupon I thought to lie down in sense of my vileness, and condemn myself and others for such hypocrisy, and wait for the Spirit, the Comforter, which God is able to give, etc.

Only I considered that sincerity of a duty lies as much in mortification, seeing the evil of it, as vivification, doing it with life.

Nov. 3. On a fast day, at night, in preparation for the duty, the Lord made me sensible of these sins in the churches: (1.) Ignorance of themselves, because of secret evils; (2.) Ignorance of God, because most men were full of dark and doubtful consciences; (3.) Not cleaving to Christ dearly, only; (4.) Neglect of duties, because of our place of security; (5.) Standing against all means, because we grow not better; (6.) Earthliness, because we long not to be with Christ. And I saw sin as my greatest evil. . . . I was vile, but God was good only, whom my sins did cross. And I saw what cause I had to loathe myself, and not to seek honor to myself. Will any desire his dunghill to be commended? Will he be grieved if it be not? So my heart began to fall off from seeking honor. The Lord also gave me some glimpse of myself; and a good day and time it was to me.

Nov. 4. On the end of the fast I (1.) went to God, and rested on him as sufficient; (2.) waited on him as efficient, and said, "Now, Lord, do for thy churches, and help in mercy."

In the beginning of this day I began to consider whether all the country did not fare the worse for my sins; and I saw it was so. And this was a humbling thought to me: and I thought if every one in particular did think so, and was humbled, it would do well. I saw also that if repentance turn away judgments, then if the question be, who they are that bring judgments, the answer would be, They that think their sins so small as that God is not angry with them at all.

Nov. 5. When I was walking to Roxbury alone, I saw it was God alone who gave me a natural life; and I turned the thought into a prayer: "O that I had a spiritual life! that is but for a time, this forever."

Nov. 7. On Sabbath, on my bed, after sermon, I examined my heart about this question, viz., "In whose name I had preached, and in whose strength I had done this work to-day." And I saw that five things did strengthen me, or which I went in the strength of: (1.) My natural strength; my body is

pretty strong; and hence I went upon the strength of that; (2.) The strength and power of external necessity; the work must be done, and hence I went upon this; (3.) The strength of external encouragement; as acceptance with others, and favor from others; (4.) The strength of spiritual affection some time, and received grace; and hence I have sought for it; (5.) The strength of faith itself, or resting to my hold of Christ, rather than on his hold of me. And here I saw three things: (1.) That, if I did thus, God would curse me, because now I made flesh my arm. (Jer. xvii. 6.) And this affected me. Grace itself was but flesh in respect of God. (2.) Here I saw the common and great sin of all men in their ways and acts: they do trust to themselves, and stay in themselves, and have some bottom to stand upon beside God, when they come to act. (3.) I saw the admirable strange operation of faith, that nullifies all things, even itself, that God may act. It is a faith under, or stirring under faith, that doth the deed. A Christian by it goes, not only out of himself, but out of his faith. (4.) Hence I saw how near to God faith made a Christian; raising it above man, out of man, out of himself to God; that the Deity doth, as it were, immediately act upon the soul, when it is thus elevated, and lift out of itself. Now, here arose a question, 1. What of God doth faith raise it to? I saw it was, (1.) To God as sufficient; (1.) In Father; (2.) In Son; (3.) In Holy Ghost. And there faith stays, (2.) To God as efficient. And on such a God and such strength of a God it stays. A 2d question was, whether faith rests on the Lord's efficiency immediately or mediately. I answered both ways. But, (1.) Mediately, (1.) To God in a command. For God's commands give strength. (Josh. i.) To God in a promise. For a promise gives strength. (2.) Immediately, to all that hidden, infinite efficacy and power it sees in God, and believes to be there. For some time it sees neither to rest on. Now it looks to him, that he may look to it, and do for it abundantly. And beside, there needs immediate, omnipotent efficacy in God's command and promise: and hence it must rest on this, else they are useless.

Nov. 10. I kept a private fast for light to see the glory of God's truth and faith, an infused faith, and a spirit of prayer, and for conquest of pride; and for assistance, and acceptance, and guidance, (whether I should set up lecture again,) and for success and blessing in my poor ministry, that so I might declare and manifest God's name, and leave his truth, and so himself, and so his mercy, in the country; as also for outward supplies for the country. And I saw no particular man could be comfortably

provided for, but by some special mercy to the common state. And hence I saw God called for prayer, not so much for ourselves as the common. And I saw the common state of the country did lie upon me, and every one in particular, to seek God for, viz., that he would build up our Zion, and prosper the vine his own hand hath planted; and that in this new world we might find the new heavens and the new earth; as also for pardon.

Over night I did question whether the Lord did call me to him in such a day. And I saw the Lord called upon scorners to turn at wisdom's reproof, and to dig for wisdom. And on the morning, betimes, in prayer, the Lord let me see he called me unto him: "Come and seek, and seek with all thy heart." And this came fresh and clear to me, and did much affect my heart, to think that the Lord should call unto me as he did call Abraham to follow him. And here I began to have some light let in about effectual calling; and I saw these things about it: 1. I saw the first act of calling was by the command of God in his word; 2. That it was by the word of the gospel, or command of the gospel, "Come unto me; return to me!" 3. I saw the Lord did this effectually, (1.) By letting in a light, clearly to see that he called me in particular; (2.) By letting in the goodness and sweetness of the command, as well as the truth of it. 4. This goodness and sweetness of the command I saw in two things: (1.) In regard of the great love of God in the command, for a poor sinner, thinking God cares not for it, and hence would not have it come to him, being so vile: O, the command which saith, Yet return and seek, and come, is exceeding sweet love. (2.) In regard of the end of the command, which was fellowship with himself, that he may be all and do all: this was sweet. 5. I saw this was not only by a command, though firstly so, but nextly by his promise; and this promise I saw was not to be seen but in the word: and I saw all things promised to such a one as comes. And hence I saw I had no need of searching God's election as I did begin to do in the morning, whether he loves me or no; for I saw, (1.) God the Father's favor promised: "Return, and I will return to you." (2 Chron. xxxii.) (2.) I saw Christ promised; for we are called to his fellowship, and are bid to take him. (Is. lv. 1, 2.) (3.) The Spirit promised. (Prov. i.) "Return, scorners, and I will pour out my Spirit on you." (4.) Abolishing all sin and punishments of sin. (Jer. iii. 22, 23.) (5.) Perseverance promised. (John vi. 37.) "I will in no wise cast out."

In the beginning of the second prayer I saw there was a God, for I saw things had a being; hence they must have this being

from themselves, or something else: but those poor creatures, the moon and stars, could not give being to themselves.

I saw also how I had embraced the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, a long time. And hence I saw it was not only just and righteous that the Lord should deny to hear my prayers, but that it was mercy he would do so; for what greater judgment than to please a lust, and leave me to it?

I saw also the pride of my heart in one thing more I saw not before, viz., in setting upon preaching out of an apprehension of the excellency of what I delivered above others, and that these truths that came from me were choice and excellent, and to be received with high esteem. For, were it not for such a foolish conceit, I should think my ministry less and worse than any man's else, and should hang down my head in a hole, and not lift it up to speak; which did humble me, and show me my vanity, and that my duty was to be carried on, not by such a principle, but (1.) Because it was God's sweet truth I did deliver; (2.) Because it was God's command I should deliver it; (3.) That it was for the sake of the Lord and his name wherefore I did so. And here I saw the Lord begin, as it were, to refine me.

I concluded this day, 1. With some measure of faith; for after prayer I left all I prayed for unto God's rich, free grace. And hence I saw, (1.) That the Lord did take pleasure in such as hope in his mercy; (2.) That whatsoever I or any had prayed for, God had promised, and therefore purposed to give; and thence I might quiet my heart about God's secret purpose: 2. With resolution, (1.) Whatever God should give me, to attribute it unto grace; (2.) To walk in a way of holiness for the future.

I saw also that my heart was ready to think, I have prayed enough after such a day and such hopes. But I saw, (1.) That though God purposeth mercy, yet he withal intendeth the decree shall bring forth by prayer; (2.) He will therefore have us pray till the thing be granted; (3.) When the decree hath begun to bring forth, I saw that all the degrees of mercy arise by several degrees of prayer; as when faith is begun, but it is imperfect, prayer must be continued still for all the rest; as the chapped ground opens still wider and wider, till rain fall.

Nov. 13. I was considering the state of the country by reason of its poverty. I had two arguments suggested to make me hope the Lord would relieve us: —

(1.) Because, if the Lord had given himself for his people, to redeem them from the greatest sin of the world, then from out of those sins by which our distresses are occasioned now; (2.) Because we are a poor, afflicted people, cast out of our own

country, from our friends and comforts there, and all our sorrows and suffering here are in part by reason of their cruelty and persecution, and that therefore the Lord will deliver if we sought. O Lord, remember my sighs!

Nov. 13. I saw a little of God, and saw that it was my duty to make him superior, and set him up in his highness above all others in my mind and eye; and I saw I had, (1.) Cause of wondering at my carriage toward him, that, he being so high, I should neglect him. (2.) I saw I had therefore sinned against him, because I had set up myself, or sin, or men above the Lord. (3.) I saw that in this did appear one special branch of the evil of sin, because the breach of God's law did ever arise from the contempt of the Lord's person and despising of him and his glory, in preferring vile things in comparison before him; and hence I slighted his will. (4.) I saw I had reason to resolve that as I had despised God, and set up other things and served them, so to despise myself and the presence of all men in comparison of him. (5.) The Lord made me that night lie down and be humbled in myself, and exalt the Lord with some desires.

Nov. 14. On the Sabbath day, at night, after sermon, I saw I had preached to others, but had not fed myself. And I seeing it did arise from weakness of faith and light, the Lord suggested the one hundred and third psalm to me, "He heals all thine infirmities," which quieted my soul somewhat.

Nov. 15. On my bed, in the morning, I tried my heart, and asked what would bear it out if the Lord should call me to preach at the lecture season again: and I found three things. (1.) My end was to honor Christ Jesus, and leave his truth behind me. (2.) My principle was Christ, in whom I trusted. For this comforted me against the feeling of my inability. I saw there was an unknown fullness of the spirit and strength in Christ, and that I was not to go out in the strength of my own abilities, though received from Christ, but in the strength and help of Christ himself. (3.) Though what I should do thus from Christ, for Christ, was mean and poor, yet it should quiet me that it was the measure the Lord saw most meet for me, and if I could do better I would. (4.) That if the Lord did not give success to me, yet I would mourn for God's people and my own unworthiness, and quiet myself that I did my duty.

Nov. 16. I felt my heart very unsavory, and I saw my soul nothing but sin and sorrow, death and darkness, and in a manner as good as in hell. And so I saw then that nothing but free grace could help me out; and there I did hang, and did prize this grace therefore. But I did question, it may refuse to help

because it is free. But I saw it is the pleasure of God's grace to help all that prayed for it and came for it to grace. And I saw herein was part of God's good pleasure to hear every prayer, and I should look upon no other secrets but this revealed will of Christ; and so I purposed ever to lie here. And I saw dependence upon grace for all ever supposeth a deep abasement of soul under a sense of unworthiness.

Nov. 18. As I was going down my stairs, I thought if Paul did so desire the good of the Israelites, his countrymen, his enemies that opposed him, that he could wish himself anathema for them, much more should I earnestly desire the good of their souls who had, under God, committed themselves to my care and charge. And so I left them to God's free grace to provide for them. And at night I had doubts, whether the Lord would regard them, or no, though I did resign them up to him. But it came to my mind that if God was an idol god, then I might give them to him in vain; but it was not so. And hence I had very sweet persuasion that night that my work herein was not despised of the Lord.

Nov. 21. On Sabbath day, after preaching, I considered my vileness, that I did not see things by the Lord's light, nor was persuaded by the Lord's faith, nor quickened nor strengthened by the Lord's life and strength. So I demanded a reason why the Lord Jesus did not only not outwardly help, but not inwardly act. I saw the Lord was not in me, hence did not work in me. I asked then why he was not in me. I saw my sin had separated him from me; yet I saw no sin could separate, if unbelief was not added. If I returned by faith, he would return to me. Then being ready to come, and yet seeing God's grace only could draw me, I demanded whether I should put this honor on God's grace to draw me, or take it to myself in coming by my own strength; so I left my soul with God's free grace. Yet I saw that though Christ did not act in me in the same measure as in Paul, who said Christ did live in him, yet I saw he did act in some measure, though little; (1.) Because I did desire the Lord to act all; (2.) Because I mourned for want of this, and loathed myself for what I did; (3.) Because I did rejoice if the Lord would act me. And the next morning I saw the truth of this in Paul's example, (2 Cor. xii.,) by the "thorn in the flesh," to whom the Lord said, "My grace," in pardoning, accepting, "is sufficient for thee," without thy enlargements and holy affections.

Nov. 22. I saw the Lord, and by faith did apprehend Christ's righteousness, and did see that I was to make use of Christ's

righteousness apprehended by faith, not only for satisfaction to justice, but also to take it as an evidence, unspotted, of the Lord's love toward me, to beget peace in me. I saw I had a long time made use of it for satisfaction, but not for evidence, and so for peace. For I saw, when I had done, and the Lord had enabled me to do this and do that, then my conscience was at peace, and got peace in that. But when I wanted that, and apprehended Christ's righteousness by faith, all that which he hath done perfectly, I did not there find peace to my conscience as having an evidence of the Lord's favor and acceptance. Whenas I saw that if any thing I did by the help of the Spirit might give me evidence, then much more all that which Christ did and had done perfectly ought to give me peace, and be an evidence not only of God's favor to me, but of that grace I want, (the want of which made me doubt of the Lord's love,) because all that faith and holiness in Christ is by faith made mine, and it is as if I had done it. For I saw, if I had perfect holiness in me, I should not doubt of the Lord's love to me; why now, when I see I have it in Christ by faith? So I saw a threefold use of faith in Christ's righteousness: —

1. For satisfaction to divine justice, and making me righteous;
2. For evidence of God's favor to me;
3. For the honor of God, because by that I honor God infinitely.

Nov. 24. I felt over night much darkness and unbelief, and saw that, if Satan had once made us begin to doubt, he would hold us with doubts continually, about the being of God and truth of the Scriptures. And I saw the next morning this error; viz., that I did believe what the Lord spake, because I saw it agreeable to my reason, and so made that my last resolution of all doubts. And I began to think how it should be otherwise. So I saw I was indeed to see the things God spake, in the reality of them, and in their agreement with reason, but not to make this the last resolution of doubts, though a resolution. But then, when I had seen things so agreeable to reason, yet to look upon God's testimony of them in Scripture as the last and chief light and ground of settlement; and not to believe these things are true, because I see they are true, but to believe the Lord sees more clearly than I; and he knowing them to be so, I see them so, and believe them upon his testimony, much more. For if I believe any thing to be true because I see it so, much more because God saith it, who sees it better, and whose word stakes me down, and confirms me in it.

Dec. 4. I felt a wonderful cloud of darkness and atheism over my head, and unbelief, and my weakness to see or believe God. But I saw that the Lord's ends might be these three: —

(1.) By withdrawing the Spirit of light, to give me a greater measure of it than ever I have had before; to give me a greater fullness by praying for more; (2.) To humble me for my confidence in my light and knowledge past, and in speaking so much with so little light, who knew so little; (3.) To heal this wound of secret atheism and unbelief, which was but skinned over before. I saw all this was infinite love and mercy; yet I saw this condition was a deep and deadly misery; and I saw I should be vile indeed, if I did not mourn bitterly under it; for if I was only under the misery of affliction, the Lord would be displeased and count himself neglected if I did not cry, much more if I should not cry under the power of my sins. This was on Saturday night.

I also saw a vast difference between knowing things by reason and discourse, and by faith, or the spirit of faith. For, by discourse, (1.) I saw that a thing was so. A man's discourse about spiritual things is like a philosopher's discourse about the inward forms of things, which they see not, yet see that they be; but by the light of the spirit of faith I see the thing presented as it is. I have seen a God by reason, and never been amazed at God thus apprehended; but I have seen God himself, and been ravished to behold him. And here I saw what the meaning of Christ's speech is, (John xiv.,) "The world knows not the Spirit," and hence "can not receive him;" viz., that it is such a Spirit as gives such glimpses of God's glory and of Christ, as though it departs, yet they know it so good as that they long for it again, because they know it. And here I saw the meaning of that in Job, "There is a spirit in man," that is, reason; "but the inspiration of the Almighty gives understanding," that is, this spirit of faith.

Dec. 9. On Thursday morning, in my bed, after my Wednesday's sermon, (1.) I saw the pride of my heart acting thus; that when I had done public work, my heart would presently look out and inquire wherein I had done well or ill. And I saw I rejoiced in that as well done which pleased man, and that as done amiss which might not be so glorious in the eyes of man. Hereupon I saw my vileness, to make men's opinions my rule; but then I saw my rule to be this, viz., to see what good I had done, and give the Lord the glory; and to consider what sin I had committed, and to mourn for that. (2.) Here I saw a deceit, viz., to preach and pray, to stir up spiritual affections,

because I saw it did beget commendations; hence preached terror and comfort (though false) to beget affection. I saw also, upon enlargements, I was apt to be somewhat in mine own eyes, whereas my rule is, to be more vile than any man in my own eyes, and that daily.

Dec. 10. I began to be troubled for my sin of passion; but I saw my heart did work thus: (1.) It was troubled for the shame and horror of sin; (2.) Purposed; (3.) Went to Christ for strength that I might do so no more, and so was quieted. Whereas I saw it was my duty, (1.) To get my soul deeply loaden with the sin, as sin; (2.) To come unto Christ, and get his blood to give me peace unspeakable. Now, in musing on this, I saw how little repentance there was in the world, and how many sins I had still to repent of. For I saw that most men had their peace after sin, either by forgetfulness of it wholly, and so had their sorrows now and then; or else they did but skin over their wound with some general hope of mercy and grace, without sweet peace in Christ's blood. And hence my heart was very glad for this light, in seeing this general wound.

I saw here also the reason why men given to passion are so frequently overcome by it; because of all other sins they have many secret excuses and extenuations for it; as the suddenness of it, and it is that I delight not in, and my heart is sad for it afterward, and godly men may fall into it.

I saw also there was all reason why I should cleave to the Lord. 1. Because all my good was from him in times of peace. 2. Because he was my only support in time of trouble. 3. He alone was sufficient, when after life all troubles should end. 4. I began to see how good his will was in all, and that even when it crossed me I should be pleased with it.

I also began to feel God in fire, meat, every providence, and that God's many providences and creatures are but his hands and fingers, whereby he takes hold of me, etc.

Dec. 11. On Saturday, at night, I was stirred up to pray for the Spirit; not only for particular graces of it, but for the Spirit itself. The ground of this my prayer was, —

(1.) Because I felt an absence of the Spirit exceeding much. I found I was sensual and carnal, and carried and acted by my own spirit in every thing. However, I felt a little of God's Spirit smoking forth in some weak desires after it; I felt not the power of it, according as Paul did, bound by it, led with it. (Acts i.) "Power from on high." (2.) Because I saw this the next and surest way to have all the graces of the Spirit; to have all the impressions of this seal, by having the seal itself. Whereas

if I wrought for one particular grace without this, it was far about. (3.) Because the Spirit can heal, help, quicken, humble, suddenly and easily. Whereas otherwise I may be long before I can see. (4.) Because it works grace and life effectually. My own spirit, and light, and affection may deceive me when they act; but this can not. (5.) Because it works grace eternally, as itself is eternal.

I also here saw two great hinderances for me in getting this Spirit: (1.) I contented myself with a little measure of it, and so set down; (2.) I thought God would not give more, and hence I ought to rest without seeking after more.

Here also fell in two questions: *Quest.* 1. Whether, when a Christian feels a want of the light of life and faith of the Spirit, he should only humble himself for the want of them, and do nothing in way of meditation and stirring up his heart to see and do, or stir up that ability he had to see, and live, and do. For I saw this, that when a man finds a loss of God, either he is wholly in the dark, and can not see him; or else Satan and his own natural abilities will be working and casting in light, that so a man might be contented with that and seek no farther for the Spirit of light, nor feel such a need of it; Satan and nature by their work will prevent the Lord's.

Ans. To this I saw, (1.) That the Scripture bids me meditate and use all means for the Spirit, and therefore not to confine myself to that one means only, of being humbled for the want of the Spirit. (2.) That the rule here is, We must use all means, but trust to the Spirit to give a blessing by them, depend only, and wait only for the light of God in the use of means.

Quest. 2. Whether it was a duty, or an error, to pray and look for the fullness of the Spirit in me, without coming by faith out of myself, and so finding and feeling the fullness of the Spirit out of me in Christ; and whether I might not be mistaken, and think I was empty of the Spirit, because I did not feel it in me, when haply of the time when I am most empty, I might be most full, by faith in Christ; and whether the fullness of the Spirit in the apostles was not chiefly a power of the Spirit, giving them a subsistence out of themselves in Christ, in whom their life and joy was; seeing that Paul oft complains of his sin, and insufficiency and inability to think or speak.

Ans. Here I saw these things: 1. That Christ had all fullness, and so all fullness of the Spirit. 2. That all that fullness which I did want in myself was in Christ, for his people, not for himself. He had perfect knowledge, and grace, and righteous-

ness; not only that by it he might virtually make me see and be righteous, but that it might be mine. 3. I saw it my duty therefore, out of sense of my emptiness, to go unto Christ, and possess and enjoy all that fullness that is in him, as mine own; and to be as much filled with that, and to rejoice as much in that, as if I had it in myself, because it is for me in Christ, and my own there. 4. I saw, when I did thus, then I was full of the Spirit; and that I was now as a fish that is got from the shore to the sea, where it hath all fullness of waters to move in; and so I saw faith did first fill me, and should first fill me. When I was most empty, then by faith I was most full. 5. I saw this was the way to be filled with the Spirit, to my feeling within me. Stephen was full of faith, and then of the Holy Ghost. (1.) Because this made me most empty, and so most fit for the Spirit to work in. (2.) Because this finding of the treasure of all grace in this field of Christ did beget strength, joy, glory, and so made graces alive. (3.) Because I should glory more in what I receive from Christ, than in that fullness which is in Christ, the fountain of all his glory and my good and glory, if I should first receive the Spirit from him, without finding, and filling and drinking in of that Spirit which is in him. 6. I saw a need for the Lord to this end to do two things: (1.) To stablish me in Christ, and settle me there, and give me a being there. (2.) To give me a certainty that all this was mine; for I saw this only would fill my heart and soul.

The conclusion of all was, I was resolved to pray for the Spirit, and not to give the Lord over for it.

Dec. 18. I saw it my duty so to lament my sin, as that my sorrow should swallow up all the joy I took in any thing in this world. And here I remembered what it was to afflict one's soul, viz., to make sin as bitter as affliction, and to make it my affliction.

Dec. 20. I saw my evil, (1.) That I had much ado to see my sin; (2.) But much more difficult was it to mourn for it, as my death, and to be in travail with it, and in pangs and sorrows for it, that I might be delivered out of it.

I saw also on the Sabbath, viz., the day before, December 20, how my heart gathered evil in every place, as Ps. lvii. And it gathered, either, (1.) Carnal content, or, (2.) Discontent, by striking upon external objects.

Dec. 21. I saw that man was an infinite kind of evil when he is crossed; as in hell, there he blasphemes because crossed. And hence men's sins lie hid, because not crossed.

I saw also the deceit of man's heart; which when it is very bad, then it begins to seek to be very good; if it have and feel any good, it grows full, and lifted up, and loose.

Dec. 27. God humbled me in some measure: (1.) Making me see how I deserved death, and nothing but eternal death, and that it belonged to me as my due, which made me wonder I had any mercy; (2.) Making me desirous to feel sin the greatest evil, and to prize deliverance from it as out of hell.

I saw also, (1.) How miserable I was if I had no favor; (2.) How precious his favor was; (3.) How exceeding precious Christ was, by whom I came to have all favor; and how precious his blood was, so as I desired to rejoice in nothing but in Christ.

THE

CLEAR SUNSHINE OF THE GOSPEL

BREAKING FORTH UPON THE

INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND;

OR,

AN HISTORICAL NARRATION

OF

GOD'S WONDERFUL WORKINGS UPON SUNDRY OF THE INDIANS, BOTH CHIEF GOVERNORS AND COMMON PEOPLE, IN BRINGING THEM TO A WILLING AND DESIRED SUBMISSION TO THE ORDINANCES OF THE GOSPEL, AND FRAMING THEIR HEARTS TO AN EARNEST INQUIRY AFTER THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD THE FATHER, AND OF JESUS CHRIST, THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

BY

THOMAS SHEPARD,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST AT CAMBRIDGE, IN NEW ENGLAND.

"And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth a law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." — ISAIAH ii. 2, 3.

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1853.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

THE LORDS AND COMMONS

ASSEMBLED IN HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT.

Right Honorable: These few sheets present unto your view a short but welcome discourse of the visitations of the Most High upon the saddest spectacles of degeneracy upon earth — the poor Indian people. The distance of place (if our spirits be right) will be no lessening of the mercy, nor of our thankfulness, that Christ is glorified; that the gospel doth any where find footing and success, is a mercy as well worthy the praise of the saints on earth as the joy of the angels in heaven. The report of this mercy is first made to you, who are the representative of this nation, that in you England might be stirred up to be rejoicers in, and advancers of, these promising beginnings; and because to you an account is first due of the success of the gospel in those dark corners of the world which have been so much enlightened by your favor, enlivened by your resolutious, encouraged by your forepast endeavors for God, and hope still being parts of yourselves, to be further strengthened by your benign aspects and bountiful influences on them.

The present troubles have not so far obliterated and worn out the sad impressions which former times have made upon our spirits, but we can sadly remember those destructive designs which were on foot, and carried on for the introduction of so great evils, both in church and state; in order to which it was the endeavor of the contrivers and promoters of those de-

signs to waste the number of the godly, as those who would never be brought to comply in such destructive enterprises; which was attempted by banishing and forcing some abroad, by burdening and afflicting all at home. Among those who tasted of the first, I say not the worst sort of their cruelty, were those our brethren, who, to enjoy the liberties of the gospel, were content to sit down, and pitch their tents in the utmost parts of the earth, hoping that there they might be out of the reach of their malice, as they were assured they were beyond the bounds of their love.

God, who doth often make man's evil of sin serviceable to the advancement of the riches of his own grace; the most horrid act that ever was done by the sons of men — the murder of Christ — God made serviceable to the highest purposes of grace and mercy that came upon his breast; that God doth show that he had merciful ends in this their malicious purpose, as he suffered Paul to be cast into prison to convert the jailer, to be shipwrecked at Melita, to preach to the barbarous, so he suffered their way to be stopped up here, (Acts xvi. 33, 34; xxviii. 1, 2,) and their persons to be banished hence, that he might open a passage for them in the wilderness, and make them instruments to draw souls to him, who had been so long estranged from him.

It was the end of the adversary to suppress, but God's to propagate the gospel; theirs to smother and put out the light, God's to communicate and disperse it to the utmost corners of the earth; that one saith of Paul,* his blindness gave light to the whole world, so we hope God will make their distance and estrangedness from us a means of bringing many near and into acquaintance with him.

Indeed, a long time it was before God let them see any further end of their coming over than to preserve their consciences, cherish their graces, provide for their sustenance; but when providences invited their return, he let them know it was for some further errand that he brought them hither, giving them

* Cæcitas Pauli totius orbis illuminatio. (Acts ix. 9.)

some bunches of grapes, some clusters of figs, in earnest of a prosperous success of their endeavors upon those poor outcasts. (Ps. ii. 8. Is. lv. 10–12; xi. 9, 10. Luke x. 1.) The utmost ends of the earth are designed and promised to be in time the possessions of Christ; and he sends his ministers into every place where he himself intends to come and take possession. Where the ministry is the harbinger and goes before, Christ and grace will certainly follow after.

This little we see is something in hand, to earnest to us those things which are in hope; something in possession, to assure us of the rest in promise, when the ends of the earth shall see his glory, and the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ, when he shall have dominion from sea to sea, and they that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him. (Ps. xxii. 27. Rev. xi. 15. Ps. lxxii. 8–11.) And if the dawn of the morning be so delightful, what will the clear day be? If the first fruits be so precious, what will the whole harvest be? If some beginnings be so full of joy, what will it be when God shall perform his whole work, when the whole earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea, (Is. xi. 9, 10,) and east and west shall sing together the song of the Lamb?

In order to this, what doth God require of us, but that we should strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of those who are at work for him, conflicting with difficulties, and wrestling with discouragements, to spread the gospel, and, in that, the fame and honor of this nation, to the utmost ends of the earth? It was the design of your *enemies* to make them little; let it be *your* endeavor to make them great; their greatness is your strength. Their enemies threatened their hands should reach them for evil; God disappointed them; and let your hands reach them now for good. There is enough in them to speak them fit objects of your encouragement. They are men of choice spirits, not frighted with dangers, softened with allurements, nor discouraged with difficulties, preparing the way of the Lord in those unpassable places of the earth, dealing with such whom

they are to make men, before they can make them Christians. They are such who are impressed for your service in the service of Christ, can stand alone, but desire to have dependence on you. They fear not the malice of their enemies, but desire the countenance and encouragement of their friends. And shall your honors, in consideration of their former suffering, their present service and real deservings, help the day of small things among them, — shall you interest them in your assistances, as you are interested in their affections, — you will, thereby, not only further these beginnings of God by encouraging their hearts and strengthening their hands to work for him, but also (as we humbly conceive) much add to the comfort of your own accounts in the day of the Lord, and lay greater obligations on them yet more to pray for you, to promote your councils, and together with us your unworthy servants to write down themselves,

Your humbly devoted in the service of the gospel,

Stephen Marshall,	Sid. Sympson,
Jeremy Whitaker,	William Carter,
Edm. Calamy,	Tho. Goodwin,
William Greenhill,	Tho. Case,
John Downam,	Simon Ashe,
Philip Nye,	Samuel Bolton.

TO

THE GODLY AND WELL-AFFECTED

OF THIS KINGDOM OF ENGLAND WHO PRAY FOR, AND REJOICE IN, THE THRIVINGS OF THE GOSPEL OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Christian Reader: If ever thou hadst experience of this day of power, these visitations of Christ upon thine own spirit, I suppose thee to be one who hast embarked many prayers for the success of the gospel in those dark corners of the earth, to strengthen thy faith, enlarge thy heart, and assure thy soul that God is a God hearing prayers. An account is here given to thee of the conquests of the Lord Jesus Christ upon these poor outcasts, who have thus long been estranged from him, spilt like water upon the ground, and none to gather them. Formerly thou hadst the daybreak, some dawnings of light, after a long and black night of darkness; here thou seest the sun is up, which we hope will rejoice like the strong man to run its race, scattering those thick clouds of darkness, and shining brighter and brighter, till it come to a perfect day. These few sheets give thee some footing for such thoughts, and some further encouragements to wait and pray for the accomplishment of such things. Here thou mayest see the ministry is precious, the feet of them who bring glad tidings beautiful, ordinances desired, the word frequented and attended, the Spirit also going forth in power, and efficacy with it, in awakening and humbling of them, drawing forth those affections of sorrow, and expressions of tears in abundance, which no tortures or extremities were ever observed to force from them, with lamenting. We read here their leaving of sin; they forsake their former evil ways, and set up fences never to return, by making laws for the punishment of

those sins whereby they have lived, and to which they have been so much addicted. They set up prayers in their families morning and evening, and are in earnest in them; and with more affection they crave God's blessing upon a little parched corn, and Indian stalks, than many of us do upon our greatest plenty and abundance. They rest on the Lord's day, and make laws for the observance of it, wherein they meet together to pray and instruct one another in the things of God, which have been communicated to them. They renounce their diabolical charms and charmers, and many of those who were practitioners in these sinful and soul-undoing arts, being made naked, convinced and ashamed of their evil, forsake their way, and betake themselves to prayer, preferring the Christian charm before their diabolical spells; herein God making good that promise, (Zeph. ii. 11,) "I will famish all the gods of the earth;" (which he doth by withdrawing the worshipers, and throwing contempt upon the worship;) "and men shall worship me alone, every one from his place, even all the isles of the heathens."

All these are hopeful presages that God is going out in his power and grace to conquer a people to himself; that he begins to cast an owning look on them, whom he hath so long neglected and despised. And indeed God may well seek out for other ground to sow the seed of his ordinances upon, seeing the ground where it hath been sown hath brought forth no better fruit to him; he may well bespeak another people to himself, seeing he finds no better entertainment among the people he hath espoused to him; and that by so many mercies, privileges, endearments, and engagements. We have as many sad symptoms of a declining as those poor outcasts have had presages of a rising sun among them. The ordinances are as much contemned *here* as frequented *there;* the ministry as much discouraged *here* as embraced *there;* religion as much derided, the ways of godliness as much scorned, here as they can be wished and desired there. Generally *we* are sick of plenty; we surfeit of our abundance, the worst of surfeits; and with *our* loathed manna and disdained food, God is preparing *them* a table in the wilderness, where *our* satieties will be *their* sufficiencies, *our* complaints *their* contents,

our burdens *their* comforts. If he can not have an England *here*, he can have an England *there*, and baptize and adopt them into those privileges which we have looked upon as our burdens. We have sad decays upon us; we are a revolting nation, a people guilty of great defection from God. Some fall from the worship of God to their old superstitions, and corrupt worship, saying with those in Jeremy, "It was better with us than now." Some fall from the doctrines of grace to errors, some to damnable, others to defiling, some to destructive, others to corruptive opinions. Some fall from professed seeming holiness to sin and profaneness, who, like blazing comets, did shine bright for a time, but after have set in a night of darkness. We have many sad symptoms on us; we decay under all the means of nourishment, are barren under God's sowings, dry under all the dews, droppings and showers of heaven, like that country whereof historians speak, where drought causeth dirt, and showers cause dust, (*siccitas dat lutum, imbres pulverum.*) And what doth God threaten herein but to remove the candlesticks, to take away the gospel, the streams whereof have brought so many ships laden with blessings to our shore — that gospel under the shadow whereof we have sat down and been refreshed these many years? Where the power is lost, God will not long continue the form; where the heat is gone, he will not long continue the light. The temple did not preserve the Jews when their hearts were the synagogues of Satan, nor shall any outward privilege hold us up when the inward power is down in our spirits. God hath forsaken other churches as eminent as ever England was. Where are the churches of Asia, once famous for the gospel, for general councils, now places for Zeim and Ochim, their habitation desolate? Where are those ancient people of the Jews who were (*segulla micol hagnamim*) his peculiar and chosen people of all nations? They are scattered abroad as a curse, and their place knows them no more. And shall I tell you, God hath no need of us? He can call them Gnammi, his people, who were Lognammi, not his people, and them beloved who were not beloved. Indeed, he hath held up us as if he had not known where to have another people, if he

should forsake us. We have been a Goshen when others have been an Egypt, a Canaan when others an Akeldama, the garden of God when others have been a wilderness; our fleece hath been wet when others' have been dry; but know, God hath no need of us; he can want no people if he please to call; if he speak, all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him. (Ps. xxii. 27, 28. Is. xi. 9, 10.) If he set up his standard, to him shall the Gentiles flock, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. It is not for need, but for love, that God abides with England; and there is nothing out of himself the incentive of this love. (*Amat Deus, non aliunde hoc habet, sed ipse est unde amat.* Aug.) There can be no reason given why God should fence us, and suffer other places to lie waste; that we should be his garden, and other places a wilderness; that he should feed us with the bread of heaven, and suffer others to starve, — men of the same mold, his offspring as well as we, — and such (did he conquer to himself) were likely to do him more service, bring him more glory, than we have done. We see something here done in order to such a work; our harvest is much over; we see little incomes, — there we see the fields are ripe for harvest. Here the ministry is contemned, there the feet of them that bring glad tidings are beautiful. We have outlived the power and efficacy of ordinances, there God goes forth with life and power; we can outsit the most speaking and winning discoveries of Christ, there every notion breeds motion in them. The glory of the Lord is much departed from us, there his rising is conspicuous and glorious. The blind man found it good to be in the way where Christ came. And who would be in Egypt when there is light in Goshen? O that England would be quickened by their risings, and weep over her own declinings! What a wonder is it that they should do so much, and we so little; that they should be men in their infancy, and we such children in our manhood; that they so active, we so dead. That which was Hierom's complaint may be ours — "O that infidelity should do that which those who profess themselves believers can not do!" We have the light of

former times, but want the heat. *(Heu! quod præstat infidelitas quod non præstitit fides. Ignis qui in parentibus fuit calidus in nobis lucidus.)* Knowledge abounds as the waters cover the sea, but we want the salt. We have a form of godliness, but we want the power; and it will be small comfort should God continue to us the form, and carry to others the power; to suffer us to waste ourselves with unnecessary brangles, (which are the sweat of the times,) and in the mean to carry the life and power of religion unto others.

Let these poor Indians stand up, incentives to us, as the apostle set up the Gentiles a provocation to the Jews. (Rom. xi. 14.) Who knows but God gave life to New England to quicken Old, and hath warmed them that they might heat us, raised them from the dead that they might recover us from that consumption and those sad decays which are come upon us?

This small treatise is an essay to that end — an Indian sermon: though you will not hear us, possibly, when some rise from the dead, you will hear them. The main doctrine it preacheth unto all is to value the gospel, prize the ministry, loathe not your manna, surfeit not of your plenty, be thankful for mercies, fruitful under means. Awake from your slumber, repair your decays, redeem your time, improve the seasons of your peace, answer to calls, open to knocks, attend to whispers, obey commands. You have a name you live, take heed you be not dead. You are Christians in show, be so in deed; lest, as you have lost the power, God take away from you the form also.

And you that are ministers, learn by this not to despond, though you see not present fruit of your labors; though you fish all night and catch nothing, God hath a fullness of them to perform all his purposes. And the deepest degeneracies and widest estrangements from God shall be no bar or obstacle to the power and freeness of his own grace, when that time is come.

And you that are merchants, take encouragement from hence to scatter the beams of light, to spread and propagate the gospel into those dark corners of the earth whither you traffic: you take much from them; if you can carry this to them, you will make them an abundant recompense.

And you that are Christians indeed, rejoice to see the curtains of the tabernacle enlarged, the bounds of the sanctuary extended, Christ advanced, the gospel propagated, and souls saved. And if ever the love of God did center in your hearts, if ever the sense of his goodness hath begot bowels of compassion in you, draw them forth toward them whom God hath singled out to be the objects of his grace and mercy; lay out your prayers, lend your assistance to carry on this day of the Lord begun among them. They are not able (as Moses said) to bear the burden of that people alone, to make provision for the children whom God hath given them, and therefore it is requisite the spiritual community should help to bear part with them.

Many of the young ones are given and taken in to be educated and brought up in schools; they are naked and must be clad, they want all things and must be supplied. The parents, also, and many others, being convinced of the evil of an idle life, desire to be employed in honest labor; but they want instruments and tools to set them on work, and cast garments to throw upon those bodies, that their loins may bless you whose souls Christ hath clothed. Some worthy persons have given much, and if God shall move the heart of others to offer willingly toward the building of Christ a spiritual temple, it will certainly remain upon their account, when the smallest rewards from God shall be better than the greatest layings out for God. But we are making a relation, not a collection. We leave the whole to your Christian consideration, not doubting but they who have tasted of mercy from God will be ready to exercise compassion to others, and commend you unto Him who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify, as well as purchase unto himself, a peculiar people, zealous of good works.

Stephen Marshall,	Syd. Simpson,
Jeremy Whitaker,	William Carter,
Edm. Calamy,	Tho. Goodwin,
William Greenhill,	Tho. Case,
John Downam,	Simon Ashe,
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CLEAR SUNSHINE OF THE GOSPEL

BREAKING FORTH UPON THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND.

Much Honored and Dear Sir: That glorious and sudden rising of Christ Jesus upon our poor Indians, which began a little before you set sail from these shores, hath not been altogether clouded since, but rather broken out further into more light and life, wherewith the Most High hath visited them; and because some may call in question the truth of the first relation, either because they may think it too good news to be true, or because some persons, maligning the good of the country, are apt, as to aggravate to the utmost any evil thing against it, so to vilify and extenuate any good thing in it; and because yourself desired to hear how far since God hath carried on that work, which your own eyes saw here begun, I shall therefore, as faithfully and as briefly as I can, give you a true relation of the progress of it, which I hope may be a sufficient confirmation of what hath been published to the world before, having this as the chief end in my own eye, that the precious saints and people of God in England, believing what hath been and may be reported to them of these things, may help forward this work together with us by their prayers and praises, as we desire to do the like for the work of Christ begun among them there. I dare not speak too much, nor what I think about their conversion. I have seen so much falseness in that point among many English, that I am slow to believe herein too hastily concerning these poor naked men; only this is evident to all honest hearts that dwell near them, and have observed them, that the work of the Lord upon them (whatever it be) is both unexpected and wonderful in so short a time. I shall set down things as they are, and then yourself and others, to whom these may come, may judge as you please of them.

Soon after your departure hence, the awakening of these Indians in our town raised a great noise among all the rest round about us, especially about Concord side, where the sachem, — an inferior prince, — (as I remember,) and one or two more of his men, hearing of these things and of the preaching of the word, and how it wrought among them here, came therefore hither to Noonanetum, (an Indian town so called,) to the Indian lecture; and what the Lord spake to his heart we know not, only it seems he was so far affected as that he desired to become more like to the English, and to cast off those Indian wild and sinful courses they formerly lived in; but when divers of his men perceived their sachem's mind, they secretly opposed him herein; which opposition being known, he therefore called together his chief men about him, and made a speech to this effect unto them, viz.: "That they had no reason at all to oppose those courses the English were now taking for their good, for (saith he) all the time you have lived after the Indian fashion under the power and protection of higher Indian sachems, what did they care for you? They only sought their own ends out of you, and therefore would exact upon you, and take away your skins, and your kettles, and your wampum from you at their own pleasure, and this was all that they regarded; but you may evidently see that the English mind no such things, care for none of your goods, but only seek your good and welfare, and, instead of taking away, are ready to give to you;" with many other things I now forget, which were related by an eminent man of that town to me. What the effect of this speech was we can tell no otherwise than as the effects showed it: the first thing was, the making of certain laws for their more religious and civil government and behavior; to the making of which they craved the assistance of one of the chief Indians in Noonanetum, a very active Indian, to bring in others to the knowledge of God; desiring withal an able, faithful man in Concord to record and keep in writing what they had generally agreed upon. Another effect was, their desire of Mr. Eliot's (teacher of the church of Roxbury, that preacheth to the Indians in their own language) coming up to them to preach, as he could find time among them; and the last effect was, their desire of having a town given them within the bounds of Concord, near unto the English. This latter, when it was propounded by the sachem of the place, he was demanded why he desired a town so near, whenas there was more room for them up in the country. To which the sachem replied, that he therefore desired it because he knew that if the Indians dwelt far from the English, that they would not so much care to pray, nor would they be so ready to

hear the word of God, but they would be all one Indians still; but dwelling near the English, he hoped it might be otherwise with them then. The town, therefore, was granted them; but it seems that the opposition made by some of themselves, more malignantly set against these courses, hath kept them from any present settling down: and surely this opposition is a special finger of Satan resisting these budding beginnings; for what more hopeful way of doing good than by cohabitation in such towns, near unto good examples, and such as may be continually whetting upon them, and dropping into them of the things of God? What greater means at least to civilize them? as is evident in the Cusco and Mexico Indians, more civil than any else in this vast continent, that we know of, who were reduced by the politic principles of the two great conquering princes of those countries after their long and tedious wars, from these wild and wandering courses of life, unto a settling into particular towns and cities. But I forbear, only to confirm the truth of these things. I have sent you the orders agreed on at Concord by the Indians, under the hand of two faithful witnesses, who could testify more, if need were, of these matters. I have sent you their own copy and their own hands to it, which I have here inserted.

Conclusions and Orders made and agreed upon by Divers Sachems and other Principal Men amongst the Indians at Concord, in the End of the Eleventh Month, An. 1646.

1. That every one that shall abuse themselves with wine or strong liquors shall pay for every time so abusing themselves 20s.

2. That there shall be no more powwowing amongst the Indians. And if any shall hereafter powwow, (powwows are witches or sorcerers, that cure by help of the devil,) both he that shall powwow and he that shall procure him to powwow shall pay 20s. apiece.

3. They do desire that they may be stirred up to seek after God.

4. They desire they may understand the wiles of Satan, and grow out of love with his suggestions and temptations.

5. That they may fall upon some better course to improve their time than formerly.

6. That they may be brought to the sight of the sin of lying, and whosoever shall be found faulty therein shall pay for the first offence 5s., the second 10s., the third 20s.

7. Whosoever shall steal any thing from another shall restore fourfold.

8. They desire that no Indian hereafter shall have any more but one wife.

9. They desire to prevent falling out of Indians one with another, and that they may live quietly one by another.

10. That they may labor after humility, and not be proud.

11. That when Indians do wrong one to another, they may be liable to censure by fine or the like, as the English are.

12. That they pay their debts to the English.

13. That they do observe the Lord's day, and whosoever shall profane it shall pay 20s.

14. That there shall not be allowance to pick lice, as formerly, and eat them, and whosoever shall offend in this case shall pay for every louse a penny.

15. They will wear their hair comely, as the English do, and whosoever shall offend herein shall pay 5s.

16. They intend to reform themselves in their former greasing themselves, under the penalty of 5s. for every default.

17. They do also resolve to set up prayer in their wigwams, (a wigwam is such a dwelling house as they live in,) and to seek to God both before and after meat.

18. If any commit the sin of fornication, being single persons, the man shall pay 20s. and the woman 10s.

19. If any man lie with a beast, he shall die.

20. Whosoever shall play at their former games shall pay 10s.

21. Whosoever shall commit adultery shall be put to death.

22. Wilful murder shall be punished with death.

23. They shall not disguise themselves in their mournings, as formerly, nor shall they keep a great noise by howling.

24. The old ceremony of the maid walking alone and living apart so many days, 20s.

25. No Indian shall take an Englishman's canoe, (a canoe is a small boat,) without leave, under the penalty of 5s.

26. No Indian shall come into any Englishman's house except he first knock, and this they expect from the English.

27. Whosoever beats his wife shall pay 20s.

28. If any Indian shall fall out with and beat another Indian he shall pay 20s.

29. They desire they may be a town, and either to dwell on this side the Bear Swamp, or at the east side of Mr. Flint's pond.

Immediately after these things were agreed upon, most of the Indians of these parts set up prayer morning and evening in their families, and before and after meat. They also generally cut their hair, and were more civil in their carriage to the English than formerly.

And they do manifest a great willingness to conform themselves to the civil fashions of the English. The Lord's day they keep a day of rest, and minister what edification they can to one another. These former orders were put into this form by Captain Simon Willard, of Concord, whom the Indians, with unanimous consent, entreated to be their recorder, being very solicitous that what they did agree upon might be faithfully preserved without alteration.

SIMON WILLARD.
THOMAS FLINT.

These things thus wrought in a short time about Concord side I look upon as fruits of the ministry of the word; for although their high esteem bred lately in them, especially the chief and best of the English, together with that mean esteem many of them have of themselves, and therefore will call themselves sometimes poor creatures, when they see and hear of their great distance from others of the English — I say, although these things may be some causes of making these orders and walking in these courses, yet the chief cause seems to be the power of the word, which hath been the chief cause of these orders; and therefore it is that until now of late they never so much as thought of any of these things.

I am not able to acquaint you very much from my own eye and ear witness of things, for you know the near relation between me and the fireside usually all winter time; only I shall impart two or three things more of what I have heard and seen, and the rest I shall relate to you as I have received from faithful witnesses, who testify nothing to me by their writings but what is seen in the open sun, and done in the view of all the world, and generally known to be true of people abiding in these parts we live in.

As soon as ever the fierceness of the winter was past, March 3, 1647, I went out to Noonanetum to the Indian lecture, where Mr. Wilson, Mr. Allen, of Dedham, Mr. Dunster, besides many other Christians were present; on which day, perceiving divers of the Indian women well affected, and considering that their souls might stand in need of answer to their scruples as well as the men's, and yet because we knew how unfit it was for women so much as to ask questions publicly immediately by themselves, we did therefore desire them to propound any questions they would be resolved about, by first acquainting either their husbands or the interpreter privately therewith: whereupon we heard two questions thus orderly propounded, which because they are

first that ever were propounded by Indian women in such an ordinance, that ever we heard of, and because they may be otherwise useful, I shall therefore set them down.

The first question was propounded by the wife of one Wampooas, a well-affected Indian, viz., "whether (said she) do I pray when my husband prays, if I speak nothing as he doth, yet if I like what he saith, and my heart goes with it;" (for the Indians will many times pray with their wives, and with their children also, sometimes in the fields:) she therefore, fearing lest prayer should only be an external action of the lips, inquired if it might not be also an inward action of the heart, if she liked of what he said.

The second question was propounded by the wife of one Totherswamp: her meaning in her question (as we all perceived) was this, viz.: "whether a husband should do well to pray with his wife, and yet continue in his passions, and be angry with his wife." But the modesty and wisdom of the woman directed her to do three things in one, for thus she spake to us, viz.: "Before my husband did pray, he was much angry and froward; but since he hath begun to pray, he was not angry so much, but little angry;" wherein, first, she gave an honorable testimony of her husband, and commended him for the abatement of his passion. Secondly, she gave implicitly a secret reproof for what was past, and for somewhat at present that was amiss. And thirdly, it was intended by her as a question whether her husband should pray to God, and yet continue in some unruly passions; but she wisely worded that, lest it might reflect too much upon him, although we desired her to express if that was not her meaning.

At this time (beside these questions) there were sundry others propounded of very good use, in all which we saw the Lord Jesus leading them to make narrow inquiries into the things of God, that so they might see the reality of them. I have heard few Christians, when they begin to look toward God, make more searching questions that they might see things really, and not only have a notion of them. I forbear to mention any of them, because I forget the chief of them; only this we took notice of at this day's meeting, that there was an aged Indian who proposed his complaint in propounding his question concerning an unruly, disobedient son; and "what one should do with him in case of obstinacy and disobedience, and that will not hear God's word, though his father command him, nor will not forsake his drunkenness, though his father forbid him;" unto which there were many answers to set forth the sin of disobedience to parents, which were the more quickened and sharpened because we knew

that this rebellious son, whom the old man meant, was by God's providence present at this lecture. Mr. Wilson was much enlarged, and spake so terribly, yet so graciously, as might have affected a heart not quite shut up, which this young desperado hearing, (who well understood the English tongue,) instead of humbling himself before the Lord's word, which touched his conscience and condition so near, he was filled with a spirit of Satan, and as soon as ever Mr. Wilson's speech was ended, he brake out into a loud, contemptuous expression. So saith he; which we passed by without speaking again, leaving the word with him, which we knew would one day take its effect one way or other upon him.

The latter end of this year, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Eliot, and myself were sent for, by those in Yarmouth, to meet with some other elders of Plymouth patent, to hear and heal (if it were the will of Christ) the difference and sad breaches which have been too long time among them, wherein the Lord was very merciful to us and them in binding them up beyond our thoughts in a very short time, in giving not only that bruised church, but the whole town also, a hopeful beginning of settled peace and future quietness; but Mr. Eliot, as he takes all other advantages of time, so he took this, of speaking with and preaching to the poor Indians in these remote places about Cape Cod, in which journey I shall acquaint you with what all of us observed.

We first found these Indians (not very far from ours) to understand (but with much difficulty) the usual language of those in our parts, partly in regard of the different dialect, which generally varies in forty or sixty miles, and partly and especially in regard of their not being accustomed unto sacred language about the holy things of God, wherein Mr. Eliot excels any other of the English, that in the Indian language about common matters excel him. I say therefore, although they did with much difficulty understand him, yet they did understand him, although by many circumlocutions and variations of speech, and the help of one or two interpreters which were there present.

Secondly. We observed much opposition against him, and hearing of him at the day appointed, especially by one of the chiefest sachems in those parts, a man of a fierce, strong, and spurious spirit, whom the English, therefore, call by the name Jehu; who, although before the day appointed for preaching, promised very fair that he would come and bring his men with him; yet that very morning, when they were to be present, he sends out almost all his men to sea, pretending fishing; and therefore, although at last he came late himself to the sermon, yet his men were absent,

and when he came himself, would not seem to understand any thing, although he did understand, as some of the Indians themselves then told us, when Mr. Eliot by himself and by them inquired of him if he understood what was spoken; yet he continued hearing what was said with a dogged look and a discontented countenance.

Thirdly. Notwithstanding this opposition, we found another sachem then present willing to learn, and divers of his men attentive and knowing what was said: and in the time which is usually set apart for propounding questions, an aged Indian told us openly "that these very things which Mr. Eliot had taught them as the commandments of God, and concerning God, and the making of the world by one God, that they had heard some old men, who were now dead, to say the same things; since whose death there hath been no remembrance or knowledge of them among the Indians, until now they hear of them again." Which when I heard solemnly spoken, I could not tell how those old Indians should attain to such knowledge, unless perhaps by means of the French preacher, cast upon those coasts many years since, by whose ministry they might possibly reap and retain some knowledge of those things; this also I hear by a godly and able Christian who hath much converse with them; that many of them have this apprehension now stirring among them, viz., "that their forefathers did know God, but that, after this, they fell into a great sleep, and when they did awaken they quite forgot him," (for under such metaphorical language they usually express what eminent things they mean,) so that it may seem to be the day of the Lord's gracious visitation of these poor natives, which is just as it is with all other people, when they are most low, the wheel then turns, and the Lord remembers to have mercy.

Fourthly. A fourth and last observation we took was the story of an Indian in those parts, telling us of his dream many years since, which he told us of openly before many witnesses when we sat at meat. The dream is this: he said, "that about two years before the English came over into those parts, there was a great mortality among the Indians, and one night he could not sleep above half the night, after which he fell into a dream, in which he did think he saw a great many men come to those parts in cloths, just as the English now are appareled, and among them arose up a man all in black, with a thing in his hand which he now sees was all one *English* man's book; this black man," he said, "stood upon a higher place than all the rest, and on the one side of him were the English, on the other a great number

of Indians. This man told all the Indians that God was *moos-quantum* or angry with them, and that he would kill them for their sins; whereupon, he said, himself stood up and desired to know of the black man what God would do with him and his squaw and pappooses; but the black man would not answer him a first time, nor yet a second time, until he desired the third time; and then he smiled upon him, and told him that he and his pappooses should be safe, and that God would give unto them *mitch-en*, (i. e., victuals,) and other good things; and so he awakened." What similitude this dream hath with the truth accomplished you may easily see. I attribute little to dreams; yet God may speak to such by them rather than to those who have a more sure word to direct and warn them. Yet this dream made us think, surely this Indian will regard the black man now come among them rather than any others of them. But whether Satan, or fear and guilt, or word prevailed, we can not say; but this is certain, that he withdrew from the sermon, and although he came at the latter end of it, as hoping it had been done, yet we could not persuade him then to stay and hear, but away he flung, and we saw him no more till next day.

From this 3d of March until the latter end of this summer I could not be present at the Indian lectures; but when I came this last time, I marveled to see so many Indian men, women, and children in English apparel, they being at Noonanetum generally clad, especially on lecture days; which they have got partly by gift from the English, and partly by their own labors, by which some of them have very handsomely appareled themselves, and you would scarce know them from English people. There is one thing more which I would acquaint you with, which happened this summer, viz., June 9. The first day of the synod's meeting at Cambridge, where the forenoon was spent in hearing a sermon preached by one of the elders as a preparative to the work of the synod, the afternoon was spent in hearing an Indian lecture where there was a great confluence of Indians from all parts to hear Mr. Eliot, which we conceived not unseasonable at such a time, partly that the reports of God's work begun among them might be seen and believed of the chiefs who were then sent and met from all the churches of Christ in the country, who could hardly believe the reports they had received concerning these new stirs among the Indians, and partly hereby to raise up a greater spirit of prayer for the carrying on of the work begun upon the Indians, among all the churches and servants of the Lord Jesus. The sermon was spent in showing them their miserable condition without Christ, out of Eph. ii. 1; that they were dead

in trespasses and sins; and in pointing unto them the Lord Jesus, who only could quicken them.

When the sermon was done, there was a convenient space of time spent in hearing those questions which the Indians publicly propounded, and in giving answers to them. One question was, what countryman Christ was, and where he was born; another was, how far off that place was from us here; another was, where Christ now was; and another, how they might lay hold on him, and where, being now absent from them; with some other to this purpose, which received full answers from several hands. But that which I note is this: that their gracious attention to the word, the affections and mournings of some of them under it, their sober propounding of divers spiritual questions, their aptness to understand and believe what was replied to them, the readiness of divers poor naked children to answer openly the chief questions in catechism which were formerly taught them, and such like appearances of a great change upon them, did marvelously affect all the wise and godly ministers, magistrates, and people, and did raise their hearts up to great thankfulness to God; very many deeply and abundantly mourning for joy to see such a blessed day, and the Lord Jesus so much known and spoken of among such as never heard of him before; so that if any in England doubt of the truth of what was formerly writ, or if any malignant eye shall question and vilify this work, they will now speak too late; for what was here done at Cambridge was not set under a bushel, but in the open sun, that what Thomas would not believe by the reports of others, he might be forced to believe by seeing with his own eyes, and feeling Christ Jesus thus risen among them with his own hands.

I have done with what I have observed myself. I shall therefore proceed to give you a true relation of what I have heard from others, and many faithful witnesses have seen. And first I shall speak a little more of the old man who is mentioned in the story now in print. This old man hath much affection stirred up by the word; and coming to Mr. Eliot's house, (for of him I had this story,) Mr. Eliot told him that because he brought his wife and all his children constantly to the lecture, that he would therefore bestow some clothes upon him, (it being now winter, and the old man naked;) which promise he not certainly understanding the meaning of, asked, therefore, of another Indian (who is Mr. Eliot's servant, and very hopeful) what it was that Mr. Eliot promised him. He told him that he said he would give him some clothes, which when he understood he affectionately brake out into these expressions: "God, I see, is merciful;"

a blessed, because a plain-hearted, affectionate speech, and worthy Englishmen's thoughts when they put on their clothes; to think that a poor blind Indian, that scarce ever heard of God before, that he should see not only God in his clothes, but mercy also in a promise of a cast-off, worn suit of clothes which were then given him, and which he now daily wears. But to proceed: —

This same old man, (as I think a little before he had these clothes,) after an Indian lecture, when they usually come to propound questions, instead of asking a question, began to speak to the rest of the Indians, and broke out into many expressions of wondering at God's goodness unto them, that the Lord should at last look upon them, and send his word as a light unto them that had been in darkness and such gross ignorance so long: "Me wonder (saith he) at God that he should thus deal with us." This speech, expressed in many words in the Indian language, and with strong actings with his eyes and hands, being interpreted afterwards to the English, did much also affect all of them that were present at this lecture also.

There were this winter many other questions propounded, which were written down by Mr. Edward Jackson, one of our town constantly present at these lectures to take notes both of the questions made by the Indians and returned by Mr. Eliot to them: this man having sent me in his notes, I shall send you a taste of some of them.

1. Why some men were so bad that they beat those men that would teach them good things.

2. Whether the devil or man were made first.

3. Whether, if a father prays to God to teach his sons to know him, and he doth teach them himself, and they will not learn to know God, what should such fathers do? (This was propounded by an old man that had rude children.)

4. A squaw (an Indian woman) propounded this question: whether she might not go and pray in some private place in the woods when her husband was not at home; because she was ashamed to pray in the wigwam before company.

5. How may one know wicked men, who are good and who are bad.

6. To what nation Jesus Christ came first unto, and when.

7. If a man should be enclosed in iron a foot thick, and thrown into the fire, what would become of his soul; whether could the soul come forth thence or not.

8. Why did not God give all men good hearts, that they might be good?

9. If one should be taken among strange Indians that know

not God, and they would make him to fight against some that he should not, and he refuse, and for his refusal they kill him, what would become of his soul in such a case? This was propounded by a stout fellow, (they hold that all their stout and valiant men have reward after death,) who was affected.

10. How long it is before men believe that have the word of God made known to them.

11. How they should know when their faith is good, and their prayers good prayers.

12. Why did not God kill the devil, that made all men so bad, God having all power?

13. If we be made weak by sin in our hearts, how can we come before God to sanctify a Sabbath?

There were many questions of this kind, as also many philosophical about the sun, moon, stars, earth, and seas, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, etc., which I forbear to make mention of, lest I should clog your time with reading, together with the various answers to them. By these you may perceive in what stream their minds are carried, and that the Lord Jesus hath at last an inquiring people among these poor naked men, that formerly never so much as thought of him; which questionings and inquiries are accounted of by some as part of the whitenings of the harvest toward, [near at hand:] whenever they are found among any people, the good and benefit that comes to them hereby is and will be exceeding great.

We had this year a malignant, drunken Indian, that (to cast some reproach, as we feared, upon this way) boldly propounded this question: "Mr. Eliot, (said he,) who made sack? who made sack?" But he was soon snibbed by the other Indians, calling it a pappoose (that is, a childish) question, and seriously and gravely answered (not so much to his question as to his spirit) by Mr. Eliot, which hath cooled his boldness ever since, while others have gone on comfortably in this profitable and pleasant way.

The man who sent me these and the like questions, with their several answers, in writing, concluded his letter with this story, which I shall here insert, that you may see the more of God among these poor people: "Upon the 25th of April last, (saith he,) I had some occasion to go to speak with Waban, (an Indian sachem,) about sunrising in the morning, and staying some half an hour's time, as I came back by one of the wigwams, the man of that wigwam was at prayer; at which I was so much affected, that I could not but stand under a tree within hearing, though I could understand but little of his words, and consider that God was fulfilling his word, viz.: the ends of the earth

shall remember themselves, and turn upon him ; and that scripture, 'Thou art the God that hearest prayer; unto thee shall all flesh come.'"

Also this present September, I have observed one of them to call his children to him from their gathering of corn in the field, and to crave a blessing, with much affection, having but a homely dinner to eat.

These things, methinks, should move bowels, and awaken English hearts to be thankful. It is no small part of religion to awaken with God in family prayer, (as it seems these do it early,) and to crave a blessing with affectionate hearts upon a homely dinner, perhaps parched corn or Indian stalks. I wish the like hearts and ways were seen in many English who profess themselves Christians, and that herein and many the like excellences they were become Indians, excepting that name, as he did in another case, except his bonds. And that you may see not only how far religion, but civility hath taken place among them, you may be pleased, therefore, to peruse this court order, which is here inserted.

The Order made last General Court at Boston, the 26th of May, 1647, concerning the Indians, etc.

Upon information that the Indians dwelling among us, and submitted to our government, being by the ministry of the word brought to some civility, are desirous to have a course of ordinary judicature set up among them, it is therefore ordered, by authority of this court, that some one or more of the magistrates, as they shall agree amongst themselves, shall once every quarter keep a court at such place where the Indians ordinarily assemble to hear the word of God, and may then hear and determine all cases, both civil and criminal, not being capital, concerning the Indians only, and that the Indian sachems shall have liberty to take order in the nature of summons or attachments, to bring any of their own people to the said courts, and to keep a court, of themselves, every month if they see occasion, to determine small causes of a civil nature, and such smaller criminal causes as the said magistrates shall refer to them ; and the said sachems shall appoint officers to serve warrants, and to execute the orders and judgments of either of the said courts, which officers shall from time to time be allowed by the said magistrates in the quarter courts or by the governor ; and that all fines to be imposed upon any Indian, in any of the said courts, shall go and be bestowed toward the building of some meeting houses, for educa-

tion of their poorer children in learning, or other public use, by the advice of the said magistrates and of Master Eliot, or of such other elder as shall ordinarily instruct them in the true religion. And it is the desire of this court that these magistrates and Mr. Eliot, or such other elders as shall attend the keeping of the said courts, will carefully endeavor to make the Indians understand our most useful laws, and the principles of reason, justice, and equity whereupon they are grounded ; and it is desired that some care may be taken of the Indians on the Lord's days.

Thus, having had a desire to acquaint you with these proceedings among the Indians, and being desirous that you might more fully understand, especially from him who is best able to judge, I did therefore entreat my brother Eliot, after some conference about these things, to set down under his own hand what he hath observed lately among them; which I do therefore herein send unto you in his own handwriting, as he sent it unto me, which I think is worthy all Christian thankful ears to hear, and wherein they may see a little of the spirit of this man of God, whom in other respects, but especially for his unweariedness in this work of God, going up and down among them, and doing them good, I think we can never love nor honor enough.

The Letter of Mr. Eliot to T. S. concerning the late Work of God among the Indians.

Dear Brother:

At your desire I have wrote a few things touching the Indians which at present came to my mind, as being some of those passages which took principal impression in my heart, wherein I thought I saw the Lord, and said the finger of God is here.

That which I first aimed at was to declare and deliver unto them the law of God, to civilize them, which course the Lord took by Moses to give the law to that rude company, because of transgression, (Gal. iii. 19,) to convince, bridle, restrain, and civilize them, and also to humble them. But when I first attempted it, they gave no heed unto it, but were weary, and rather despised what I said. A while after God stirred up in some of them a desire to come into the English fashions, and live after their manner, but knew not how to attain unto it, yea, despaired that ever it should come to pass in their days, but thought that in forty years more, some Indians would be all one English, and in a hundred years, all Indians hereabout would so be; which when I heard, (for some of them told me they thought so, and

that some wise Indians said so,) my heart moved within me, abhorring that we should sit still and let that work alone, and hoping that this motion in them was of the Lord, and that this mind in them was a preparative to embrace the law and word of God; and therefore I told them that they and we were already all one save in two things, which make the only difference betwixt them and us. 1. We know, serve, and pray unto God, and they do not. 2. We labor and work in building, planting, clothing ourselves, etc., and they do not. And would they but do as we do in these things, they would be all one with Englishmen. They said they did not know God, and therefore could not tell how to pray to him, nor serve him. I told them, if they would learn to know God, I would teach them. Unto which they being very willing, I then taught them, (as I sundry times had endeavored afore,) but never found them so forward, attentive, and desirous to learn till this time; and then I told them I would come to their wigwams, and teach them, their wives and children, which they seemed very glad of; and from that day forward I have not failed to do that poor little which you know I do.

I first began with the Indians of Noonanetum, as you know, those of Dorchester Mill not regarding any such thing; but the better sort of them perceiving how acceptable this was to the English, both to magistrates and all the good people, it pleased God to step in and bow their hearts to desire to be taught to know God, and pray unto him likewise; and had not I gone unto them also, and taught them when I did, they had prevented me, and desired me so to do, as I afterward heard.

The effect of the word which appears among them, and the change which is among them, is this: 1. They have utterly forsaken all their powwows, and given over that diabolical exercise, being convinced that it is quite contrary to praying unto God; yea, sundry of their powwows have renounced their wicked employment, have condemned it as evil, and resolved never to use it any more; others of them, seeing their employment and gains were utterly gone here, have fled to other places, where they are still entertained, and have raised lies, slanders, and an evil report upon those that hear the word, and pray unto God, and also upon the English, that endeavor to reclaim them and instruct them, that so they might discourage others from praying unto God; for that they account as a principal sign of a good man, and call all religion by that name, praying to God; and beside they mock and scoff at those Indians which pray, and blaspheme God when they pray; as this is one instance: A sober Indian, going up into the country with two of his sons, did pray, (as his

manner was at home,) and talked to them of God and Jesus Christ; but they mocked, and called one of his sons Jehovah, and the other Jesus Christ, so that they were not without opposition raised by the powwows, and other wicked Indians.

Again: as they have forsaken their former religion and manner of worship, for they do pray unto God constantly in their families, morning and evening, and that with great affection, as hath been seen and heard by sundry that have gone to their wigwams at such times; as also when they go to meat they solemnly pray and give thanks to God as they see the English to do. So that that curse which God threatens to pour out upon the families that call not on his name, is, through his grace and tender mercy, stayed from breaking forth against them, and when they come to English houses they desire to be taught; and if meat be given them, they pray and give thanks to God; and usually express their great joy, that they are taught to know God, and their great affection to them that teach them.

Furthermore, they are careful to instruct their children, that so when I come they might be ready to answer their catechism, which, by the often repeating of it to the children, the men and women can readily answer to.

Likewise they are careful to sanctify the Sabbath; but at first they could not tell how to do it, and they asked of me how they should do it, propounding it as a question whether they should come to the English meetings or meet among themselves. They said, if they come to the English meetings, they understand nothing, or to no purpose, and if they met together among themselves, they had none that could teach them. I told them that it was not pleasing to God, nor profitable to themselves, to hear and understand nothing, nor having any that could interpret to them. Therefore I counseled them to meet together, and desire those that were the wisest and best men to pray, and then to teach the rest such things as I had taught them from God's word, as well as they could; and when one hath done, then let another do the like, and then a third; and when that was done, ask questions; and if they could not answer them, then remember to ask me, etc., and to pray unto God to help them therein; and this is the manner how they spend their Sabbaths.

They are also strict against any profanation of the Sabbath, by working, fishing, hunting, etc., and have a law to punish such as are delinquents therein by a fine of ten shillings; and sundry cases they have had, wherein they have very strictly prosecuted such as have any way profaned the Sabbath. As for example, upon a Sabbath morning, Cutchamaquin, the sachem, his wife going to

fetch water, met with other women, and she began to talk of worldly matters, and so held on their discourse a while, which evil came to Nahanton's ear, who was to teach that day, (this Nahanton is a sober, good man, and a true friend to the English ever since our coming;) so he bent his discourse to show the sanctification of the Sabbath, and reproved such evils as did violate the same, and among other things worldly talk, and thereupon reproved that he heard of that morning. After he had done, they fell to discourse about it, and spent much time therein, he standing to prove that it was a sin, and she doubting of it, seeing it was early in the morning and in private; and alleging that he was more to blame than she, because he had occasioned so much discourse in the public meeting. But in conclusion, they determined to refer the case to me; and accordingly they did come to my house on the second day morning, and opened all the matter, and I gave them such direction as the Lord directed me unto, according to his holy word.

Another case was this: Upon a Lord's day, toward night, two strangers came to Waban's wigwam, (it being usual with them to travel on that day, as on any other;) and when they came in, they told him that at a place about a mile off they had chased a raccoon, and he took himself into a hollow tree, and if they would go with them, they might fell the tree and take him; at which tidings Waban being willing to be so well provided to entertain those strangers, (a common practice among them, freely to entertain travelers and strangers,) he sent his two servants with them, who felled the tree and took the beast. But this act of his was an offense to the rest, who judged it a violation of the Sabbath, and moved agitation among them; but the conclusion was, it was to be moved as a question upon the next lecture day, which was accordingly done, and received such answer as the Lord guided unto by his word.

Another case was this: Upon a Lord's day, their public meeting holding long, and somewhat late, when they came at home, in one wigwam the fire was almost out, and therefore the man of the house, as he sat by the fireside, took his hatchet and split a little dry piece of wood, which they reserve on purpose for such use, and so kindled his fire; which being taken notice of, it was thought to be such a work as might not be lawfully done upon the Sabbath day, and therefore the case was propounded the lecture following for their better information.

These instances may serve to show their care of the external observation of the Sabbath day.

In my exercise among them, (as you know,) we attend four

things, besides prayer unto God for his presence and blessing upon all we do.

First. I catechize the children and youth, wherein some are very ready and expert; they can readily say all the commandments, so far as I have communicated them, and all other principles about the creation, the fall, the redemption by Christ, etc., wherein also the aged people are pretty expert, by the frequent repetition thereof to the children, and are able to teach to their children at home, and do so.

Secondly. I preach unto them out of some texts of Scripture, wherein I study all plainness and brevity, unto which many are very attentive.

Thirdly. If there be any occasion, we in the next place go to admonition and censure; unto which they submit themselves reverently and obediently, and some of them penitently confessing their sins with much plainness, and without shiftings and excuses. I will instance in two or three particulars. This was one case: A man named Wampoowa, being in a passion, upon some light occasion beat his wife, which was a very great offense among them now, (though in former times it was very usual,) and they had made a law against it, and set a fine upon it; whereupon he was publicly brought forth before the assembly, which was great that day, for our governor and many other English people were present: the man wholly condemned himself without any excuse. And when he was asked what provocation his wife gave him, he did not in the least measure blame her, but himself. And when the quality of the sin was opened, that it was cruelty to his own body, and against God's commandment, and that passion was a sin, and much aggravated by such effects, yet God was ready to pardon it in Christ, etc., he turned his face to the wall, and wept, though with modest endeavor to hide it; and such was the modest, penitent, and melting behavior of the man, that it much affected all to see it in a barbarian, and all did forgive him. Only this remained, that they executed their law notwithstanding his repentance, and required his fine, to which he willingly submitted, and paid it.

Another case of admonition was this: Cutchamaquin, the sachem, having a son about fourteen or fifteen years old, he had been drunk, and had behaved himself disobediently and rebelliously against his father and mother, for which sin they did blame him, but he despised their admonition. And before I knew of it, I did observe, when I catechized him, when he should say the fifth commandment, he did not freely say, "Honor thy father," but wholly left out "mother," and so he did the lecture day before;

but when this sin of his was produced, he was called forth before the assembly, and he confessed that what was said against him was true; but he fell to accuse his father of sundry evils, as that he would have killed him in his anger, and that he forced him to drink sack, and I know not what else, which behavior we greatly disliked, showed him the evil of it, and Mr. Wilson, being present, labored much with him, for he understood the English, but all in vain; his heart was hard and hopeless for that time. Therefore, using due loving persuasions, we did sharply admonish him of his sin, and required him to answer further the next lecture day, and so left him. And so stout he was that when his father offered to pay his fine of ten shillings for his drunkenness according to their law, he would not accept it at his hand. When the next day was come, and other exercises finished, I called him forth, and he willingly came, but still in the same mind as before. Then we turned to his father, and exhorted him to remove that stumbling block out of his son's way, by confessing his own sins, whereby he had given occasion of hardness of heart to his son; which thing was not sudden to him, for I had formerly in private prepared him thereto. And he was very willing to hearken to that counsel, because his conscience told him he was blameworthy, and accordingly he did; he confessed his main and principal evils of his own accord, and upon this advantage I took occasion to put him upon confession of sundry other vices which I knew he had in former times been guilty of, and all the Indians knew it likewise, and put it after this manner: Are you now sorry for your drunkenness, filthiness, false dealing, lying, etc., which sins you committed before you knew God? Unto all which cases he expressed himself sorrowful, and condemned himself for them; which example of the sachem was profitable for all the Indians.

And when he had thus confessed his sins, we turned again to his son, and labored with him, requiring him to confess his sins, and entreat God to forgive him for Christ's sake, and to confess his offense against his father and mother, and entreat them to forgive him; but he still refused. And now the other Indians spake unto him soberly and affectionately, to put him on, and divers spake one after another, and some several times. Mr. Wilson again did much labor with him, and at last he did humble himself, confessed all, and entreated his father to forgive him, and took him by the hand, at which his father burst forth into great weeping. He did the same also to his mother, who wept also, and so did divers others. And many English being present, they fell a-weeping, so that the house was filled with weeping on

every side; and then we went to prayer, in all which time Cutchamaquin wept, insomuch that when we had done the board he stood upon was all dropped with his tears.

Another case of admonition was this: A hopeful young man, who is my servant, being upon a journey, and drinking sack at their setting forth, he drank too much, and was disguised; which when I heard, I reproved him, and he humbled himself with confession of his sin and tears. And the next lecture day I called him forth before the assembly, where he did confess his sin with many tears.

Before I leave this point of admonition, if I thought it would not be too tedious to you, I would mention one particular more, where we saw the power of God awing a wicked wretch by this ordinance of admonition. It was George, that wicked Indian, who, as you know, at our first beginnings, sought to cast aspersions upon religion, by laying slanderous accusations against godly men, and who asked that captious question, Who made sack? And this fellow, having killed a young cow at your town, and sold it at the college instead of moose, covered it with many lies, insomuch as Mr. Dunster was loth he should be directly charged with it when he called him forth, but that we should rather inquire. But when he was called before the assembly, and charged with it, he had not power to deny it, but presently confessed, only he added one thing, which we think was an excuse. Thus God hath honored this ordinance among them.

Fourthly. The last exercise, you know, we have among them, is their asking us questions; and very many they have asked, which I have forgotten, but some few that come to my present remembrance I will briefly touch.

One was Wabbakowet's question, who is reputed an old powwow. It was to this purpose: Seeing the English had been twenty-seven years (some of them) in this land, why did we never teach them to know God till now? "Had you done it sooner," said he, "we might have known much of God by this time, and much sin might have been prevented; but now some of us are grown old in sin," etc. To whom we answered, that we do repent that we did not long ago, as now we do; yet withal, we told them that they were never willing to hear till now, and that, seeing God hath bowed their hearts to be willing to hear, we are desirous to take all the pains we can now to teach them.

Another question was that of Cutchamaquin, to this purpose: "Before I knew God," said he, "I thought I was well; but since I have known God and sin, I find my heart full of sin, and more

sinful than ever it was before ; and this hath been a great trouble to me ; and at this day my heart is but very little better than it was, and I am afraid it will be as bad again as it was before ; and therefore I sometimes wish I might die before I be so bad again as I have been. Now my question is, Whether is this a sin or not ?" This question could not be learned from the English, nor did it seem a coined feigned thing, but a real matter, gathered from the experience of his own heart, and from an inward observation of himself.

Another question was about their children — whither their little children go when they die, seeing they have not sinned. Which question gave occasion more fully to teach them original sin, and the damned state of all men. And also and especially it gave occasion to teach them the covenant of God, which he hath made with all his people, and with their children ; so that, when God chooses a man or a woman to be his servant, he chooses all their children to be so also ; which doctrine was exceedingly grateful unto them.

Another great question was this : When I preach out of 1 Cor. vi. 9–11, old Mr. Brown, being present, observed them to be much affected, and one especially did weep very much, though covered it what he could. And after that there was a general question which they sent unto me about, by my man, as the question of them all — whether any of them should go to heaven, seeing they found their heart full of sin, and especially full of the sin of lust, which they call *nanwunwudsquas*, that is, mad after women. And the next meeting being at Dorchester Mill, Mr. Mather and Mr. Wareham, with divers others, being present, they did there propound it, expressing their fears that none of them should be saved ; which question did draw forth my heart to preach, and press the promise of pardon to all that were weary and sick of sin, if they did believe in Christ, who had died for us, and satisfied the justice of God for all our sins, and through whom God is well pleased with all such repenting sinners that come to Christ and believe in him. And the next day I took that text, Matt. xi. 28, 29 ; and this doctrine some of them in a special manner did receive in a very reverent manner.

There is another great question that hath been several times propounded, and much sticks with such as begin to pray, namely : If they leave off powwowing, and pray to God, what shall they do when they are sick ? for they have no skill in physic, though some of them understand the virtues of sundry things ; yet the state of man's body, and skill to apply them, they have not ; but all the refuge they have and rely upon in time of sickness is

their powwows, who, by antic, foolish, and irrational conceits, delude the poor people. So that it is a very needful thing to inform them in the use of physic, and a most effectual means to take them off from their powwowing. Some of the wiser sort I have stirred up to get this skill. I have showed them the anatomy of man's body, and some general principles of physic, which is very acceptable to them, but they are so extremely ignorant that these things must rather be taught by sight, sense, and experience, than by precepts and rules of art. And therefore I have had many thoughts in my heart, that it were a singular good work, if the Lord would stir up the hearts of some or other of his people in England to give some maintenance toward some school or collegiate exercise this way, wherein there should be anatomies and other instructions that way, and where there might be some recompense given to any that should bring in any vegetable or other thing that is virtuous in the way of physic. By this means we should soon have all these things which they know, and others of our countrymen that are skilful that way, and now their skill lies buried for want of encouragement, would be a-searching and trying to find out the virtues of things in this country, which doubtless are many, and would not a little conduce to the benefit of the people of this country, and, it may be, of our native country also. By this means we should train up those poor Indians in that skill which would confound and root out their powwows, and then would they be far more easily inclined to leave those ways, and pray unto God, whose gift physic is, and whose blessing must make it effectual.

There is also another reason which moves my thought, and desires this, viz., that our young students in physic may be trained up better than yet they be who have only theoretical knowledge, and are forced to fall to practice before they saw an anatomy made, or duly trained up in making experiments; for we never had but one anatomy in the country, which Mr. Giles Firman (now in England) did make and read upon very well. But no more of that now.

This very day that I wrote these things unto you, I have been with the Indians to teach them, as I was wont to do. And one of their questions, among many others, was, to know what to say to such Indians as oppose their praying to God, and believing in Jesus Christ. And for their own information also, "What get you," say they, "by praying to God and believing in Jesus Christ?" You go naked still, and you are as poor as we, and our corn is as good as yours, and we take more pleasure than you. Did we see that you got any thing by it, we would pray to God, and believe

in Jesus Christ also as you do. Unto which question I then answered them. 1. God giveth unto us two sorts of good things: one sort are little ones, which I showed by my little finger; the other sort are great ones, which I showed by my thumb, (for you know they use and delight in demonstrations:) the little mercies are riches, as clothes, food, sack, houses, cattle, and pleasures; these are little things which serve but for our bodies a little while in this life: the great mercies are wisdom, the knowledge of God, Christ, eternal life, repentance, faith, — these are mercies for the soul, and for eternal life. Now, though God do not yet give you the little mercies, he giveth you that which is a great deal better, which the wicked Indians can not see. And this I proved to them by this example: When Foxun, the Mohegan counselor, who is counted the wisest Indian in the country, was in the bay, I did on purpose bring him unto you. and when he was here, you saw he was a fool in comparison of you, for you could speak of God, and Christ, and heaven, and repentance, and faith; but he sat and had not one word to say, unless you talked of such poor things as hunting, wars, etc. 2. You have some more clothes than they, and the reason why you have no more is, because you have but little wisdom; if you were more wise to know God, and obey his commands, you would work more than you do; for so God commandeth, *Six days thou shalt work*, etc., and thus the English do. And if you would be so wise as to work as they do, you would have clothes, houses, cattle, riches, as they have; God would give you them.

This day they told me this news, that some of them having been abroad in the country at *Titacut*, divers of those Indians would be glad to know God, and to pray unto God, and would be glad if I would come and teach them; but some of them opposed, and would not. They asked me this day why God made the rainbow. These things are now fresh in my mind, that makes me so large in them; but I will forbear any more of their questions of this nature.

There do sundry times fall out differences among them, and they usually bring their cases to me, and sometimes such as it is needful for me to decline. Where I may, I advise them to some issue. One great case, that hath come several times to me, is about some debts as they owe by gaming, for they have been great gamesters, but have moved questions about it, and are informed of the unlawfulness of it, and have thereupon wholly given over gaming for any wages, and all games wherein is a lot, only use lawful recreations, and have a law against unlawful gaming; but other Indians, that are of another mind, come and challenge

their old debts, and now they refuse to pay, because it was a sin to game, and they now pray to God, and therefore must not pay such sinful debts. Now, the case being serious, and such as I saw a snare underneath, the first counsel they had was, whoever would challenge such a debt should come to our governor, and he would take order to rectify the matter. But the creditors liked not that way, and therefore soon after there came another case of the same kind, and an issue was very necessary; therefore I first dealt with the creditor, and showed him the sinfulness of such games, and how angry God was at them; and therefore persuaded him to be content to take half his debt, unto which he very willingly condescended. Then I dealt with the debtor, and asked him if he did not promise to pay him all that debt. And he answered, yea, he did so. Then I showed him that God commands us to perform our promises, and though he sinned in gaming, he must repent of that; but seeing he hath promised payment, he should sin to break his promise; at which he was utterly silenced. But then I asked him if he would willingly pay half, if I should persuade the other to accept it; yea, said he, very willingly; and so the matter ended. And in this way they usually end such cases since that time. Their young men, who, of all the rest, live most idly and dissolutely, now begin to go to service, some to Indians, some to English. And some of them, growing weary, broke out of their service, and they had no help among them for it; so that some propounded what they should do to remedy that evil. They were answered, that the English bring such servants to the court, and our magistrates rectify those evils. Then they desired that they might have a court among them for government, at which motion we rejoiced, seeing it came from themselves, and tended so much to civilize them. Since which time I moved the General Court in it, and they have pleased to order a way for exercising government among them. The good Lord prosper and bless it.

They moved also, as you know, for a school; and through God's mercy a course is now taken that there be schools at both places, where their children are taught.

You know, likewise, that we exhorted them to fence their ground with ditches, stone walls upon the banks, and promised to help them with shovels, spades, mattocks, crows of iron; and they were very desirous to follow that counsel, and call upon me to help them with tools faster than I can get them, though I have now bought a pretty store, and they, I hope, are at work. The women are desirous to learn to spin, and I have procured wheels for sundry of them, and they can spin pretty well. They begin

to grow industrious, and find something to sell at market all the year long. All winter they sell brooms, staves, eel pots, baskets, turkeys; in the spring, cranberries, fish, strawberries; in the summer, whortleberries, grapes, fish; in the autumn they sell cranberries, fish, venison, etc. And they find a good benefit by the market, and grow more to make use thereof. Besides sundry of them work with the English in hay time and harvest; but yet it is not comparable with what they might do, if they were industrious; and old boughs must be bent a little at once. If we can set the young twigs in a better bent, it will be God's mercy.

Dear brother, I can go no further; a weary body and sleepy eyes command me to conclude. If I have not satisfied your desire in this little I have wrote, let me understand it from you, and I shall be willing to do my endeavor. And thus with dear love remembered to yourself and your beloved yokefellow, and desiring your prayers for God's grace and blessing upon my spirit and poor endeavors, I take leave at this time, and rest

Your loving brother in our Saviour Christ,

JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury, this 24th of September, 1647.

Let me add this postscript — that there be two reasons that make me believe the Lord's time is come to make a preparation at least for the coming of his grace and kingdom among them. 1. That he hath bowed their hearts, who were as averse and as far off from God as any heathen in the world, and their hearts begin to bow more and more. 2. Because the Lord hath raised a mighty spirit of prayer in this behalf in all the churches.

This relation of Mr. Eliot's, I know many things therein to be true, and all the rest I have heard confirmed by credible persons, eye and ear witnesses of these things, and they are familiarly known in these parts. I know also that Mr. Eliot writes (as his spirit is) modestly and sparingly, and speaks the least in sundry particulars; for in his story of the repentance and public admonition of his own man, (page 476,) he saith he manifested many tears in public; but I heard it from many then present that there were so many as that the dry place of the wigwam where he stood was bedirtied with them, pouring them out so abundantly. Indians are well known not to be much subject to tears; no, not when they come to feel the sorest torture, or are solemnly brought forth to die. And if the word works these tears, surely there is some conquering power of Christ Jesus stirring among them, which what it will end in at last the Lord best knows. If Mr. Brightman's interpretation of Daniel's prophecy be true,

that anno 1650 Europe will hear some of the best tidings that ever came into the world, viz., rumors from the eastern Jews, which shall trouble the Turkish tyrant and shake his pillars when they are coming to repossess their own land, for which they will be wrestling (if my memory fails not, according to his notion) about forty years. I shall hope then that these western Indians will soon come in, and that these beginnings are but preparatives for a brighter day than we yet see among them, wherein east and west shall sing the song of the Lamb. But I have no skill in prophecies, nor do I believe every man's interpretation of such scripture. But this is certain — God is at work among these, and it is not usual for the sun to set as soon as it begins to rise, nor for the Lord Jesus to lose an inch of ground in the recovering times of his churches' peace and his own eclipsed and forgotten glory, (if there be such times,) until he hath won the whole field, and driven the prince of darkness out of it, who is but a bold usurper of the Lord Jesus's inheritance, to whom are given the utmost ends of the earth. When Charles the Great had broken the chief power of the barbarous and fierce Saxons in Germany, he made this the only article of peace, that they should entertain such a gospel as good then as the degenerate Christian world could afford, and for that end admit of a monastery among them of such men as might instruct them. And this course prevailed, if we may believe Crantzius, (lib. i. ch. 1, 2,) the historian of those times. And shall we think that when the Lord Jesus hath set up, not a monastery of works, but churches of saints, in these coasts, to encourage the ministry and this work of Christ, that his blessed gospel can not or shall not in these days take some effect, since it hath broke so far? I dare conclude nothing, only it will be our comfort, in the day of our accounts, that we have endeavored something this way; and it may be this very endeavor shall be our peace. Gildas, our British historian, observing that one cause why God let loose the Saxons to scourge and root out the Britons was their deep carelessness of communicating unto them the Christian religion when they had their spirits at fit advantage; but I dare not discourse of these matters.

One thing more I remember concerning Mr. Eliot's conference with a Narraganset sachem, a sober man, this year. After that he had taught this sachem the law of God, and had showed him the means of salvation by Christ, he then asked him if he did know and understand those things; and he said, yes. He then asked him if he did believe them; but he could not get any answer from him that way, but did seem to take them into more

serious thoughts. He then asked him why they did not learn of Mr. Williams, who hath lived among them divers years; and he soberly answered that they did not care to learn of him, because he is no good man, but goes out and works upon the Sabbath day. I name it not to show what glimmerings nature may have concerning the observation of the Sabbath, but to show what the ill example of English may do, and to see what a stumbling block to all religion the loose observation of the Sabbath is, however man's shifting wits may find out evasions, to get loose from out of that net.

But this may serve to satisfy your own and others' desires concerning the progress of the gospel among the Indians. The Lord Jesus seems at this day to be turning upside down the whole frame of things in the world — kings, parliaments, armies, kingdoms, authorities, churches, ministers. And if out of his free grace he looks not upon these hopeful beginnings, these will be so turned also, for opposition there is from men and devils against it. And I have feared my own heart that within these few months there hath been some coolings among the best of these Indians; but we find it so also among many people that are English in their first work, but the Lord Jesus revives again. And therefore Mr. Eliot of late having told them that he was afraid that they began to be weary, they took it to heart, and propounded in my hearing, at a late Indian lecture at Noonanetum, many profitable questions, viz.: when they prayed and heard the word aright; and how they might know when they were weary of them; and what time it might be before the Lord might come and make them know him; and what the first sin of the devil was; (he discoursing to them about the danger of apostasy.) At this time they are (as you may perceive by Mr. Eliot's writings) about fencing in their ground and town given them, some hundreds of acres, with a stone fence, for which end Mr. Eliot provides them mattocks, shovels, and crows of iron, etc.; and to encourage their diligence, promised to give a groat or sixpence a rod, if they would thus far attend their own good, and work for themselves. All the poor Indians at Noonanetum are generally clad with such clothes as we can get them, and the wigwams of the meanest of them equalize any sachems' in other places, being built, not with mats, but with barks of trees in good bigness, the rather that they may have their partitions in them for husbands and wives together, and their children and servants in their places also, who formerly were never private in what nature is ashamed of, either for the sun or any man to see. It is some refreshing to think that there

is (if there was no more) but the name of Christ sounding in those dark and despicable Tartarian tents The Lord can build them houses in time to pray in, when he hath given unto them better hearts, and when, perhaps, he hath cursed and consumed theirs who have disdained to give that worship and homage to Christ in their sealed houses, which poor Indians rejoice to give to him in their poor tents and wigwams. I desire you to gather what stock of prayers you can for them. I had almost forgot to tell you of Mr. Eliot's going up the country lately with Mr. Flint, Captain Willard, of Concord, and sundry others, toward Merrimath River, unto that Indian sachem Passaconnaway, that old witch and powwow, who, together with both his sons, fled the presence of the light, and durst not stand their ground, nor be at home when he came, pretending fear of being killed by a man forsooth that came only with a book in his hand, and with a few others without any weapons, only to bear him company and direct his way in those deserts. But in it you may see the guilt of the man, and that Satan is but a coward in his lion's skin even upon his own dunghill, as also the hatred and enmity against the word which is in some, which argues that the attention which others give to it is a power of God, and not merely to flatter and get favor with the English. But the rest of Passaconnaway's men attended to the things which were spoken, and asked divers questions, the Indians in our parts accompanying Mr. Eliot, and giving blessed examples to the others herein, as also in saying grace before and after meat, praying in their wigwams with them, and some of them singing of psalms, which they have learned from the English; discoursing also with them about the things of God. It is somewhat observable, (though the observation be more cheerful than deep,) that the first text out of which Mr. Eliot preached to the Indians was about the dry bones, (Ezek. xxxvii.,) where it is said that by prophesying to the wind, the wind came, and the dry bones lived. Now, the Indian word for wind is *waubon*, and the most active Indian for stirring up other Indians to seek after the knowledge of God in these parts, his name is Waubon, which signifies wind, (the Indians giving names to their children usually according to appearances of providences,) although they never dream of this, that this their Waubon should breathe such a spirit of life and encouragement into the rest of the Indians, as he hath endeavored in all parts of the country, both at Concord, Merimack, and elsewhere. But some of the Indians themselves, that were stirred up by him, took notice of this his name and that scripture together, and the English also have much observed him herein,

who still continues the same man, although we think there be now many others, whom he first breathed encouragement into, that do far exceed him in the light and life of the things of God; Mr. Eliot also professing that he chose that text without the least thought of any such application in respect of Waubon.

There have been many difficult questions propounded by them, which we have been unwilling to engage ourselves in any answer unto, until we have the concurrence of others with us.

1. Suppose a man, before he knew God, hath had two wives, the first barren and childless, the second fruitful and bearing him many sweet children; the question now propounded was, which of these two wives he is to put away. If he put away the first, who hath no children, then he puts away her whom God and religion undoubtedly bind him unto, there being no other defect but want of children. If he put away the other, then he must cast off all his children, with her also, as illegitimate, whom he so exceedingly loves. This is a case now among them, and they are very fearful to do any thing cross to God's will and mind herein.

2. Suppose a man marry a squaw, and she deserts and flies from her husband, and commits adultery with other remote Indians, but afterwards it come to pass that she hearing the word, and sorry for what she hath done, she desires to come to her husband again, who remains still unmarried; whether this husband, upon her repentance, receive her again; and whether is he not bound thereunto so to do?

At the last lecture at Noonanetum this September, there were divers questions asked. One was propounded by an old squaw, a widow, viz.: If, when men know God, God loves them, why then is it that any are afflicted after that they know God?

I shall mention no more, but conclude with the solemn speech of a sober and hopeful Indian at this lecture, whose name is Wampooas, who, instead of propounding a question, fell into these expressions, viz.: "that because we pray to God, other Indians abroad in the country hate us and oppose us; the English, on the other side, suspect us, and fear us to be still such as do not pray at all; but (saith he) God, who knows all things, he knows that we do pray to him." To which speech Mr. Eliot replied, that it was true indeed that some of the English did so far suspect them for sundry reasons. But I do not so, and others of us, who know you and speak with you, we do not so think of you; and then gave them gracious and serious encouragements to go forward and make more progress in the things of God. This their own testimony of themselves, being propounded with much

sweetness and seriousness of affection, may be the last, although it be the least confirmation of some inward work among them; which I looked upon as a special providence that such a speech should be spoken and come to my ears just at such a time as this, wherein I was finishing the story, to confirm, in some measure, what hath been written; the Lord himself, I believe, and no man living, putting these words into their own hearts, to give this modest testimony concerning themselves. The beginning of this enlargement of Christ's kingdom should enlarge our hearts with great joy. If I should gather and sum up together the several gracious impressions of God upon them, from what hath been scattered here and there in the story, I think it might make many Christians ashamed, who may easily see how far they are exceeded by these naked men in so short a time, thus wrought upon by such small and despicable means; my brother Eliot, who is preacher to them, professing he can as yet but stammer out some pieces of the word of God unto them in their own tongue. But God is with him, and God is wont to be *maximus in minimis*, and is most seen in doing great things by small means.

The sword of God's word shall and will pierce deep, even when it is half broken, when the hand of a mighty Redeemer hath the laying of it on. And the Scripture herein is and must be fulfilled, that as soon as the heathen hear Christ they shall submit. (Ps. xviii. 43, 44.) And such nations whom Christ knew not shall run unto him. (Is. lv. 5.) The fall of the unbelieving Jews was the rising of the Gentiles. My prayer to God, therefore, for Europe is, that the fall of the churches (little bettered by the devouring sword which is still thirsty) may not be the rising of these American Gentiles, never pitied till now. I wish that Alstedius's prophecy herein may not prove true; but rather that the rising of these may be a provoking and raising up of them, especially of the English, to lament after that God whom they have forsaken, and to lament after him, together with us, for those poor Indians who never yet knew him.

Sir, I had ended these relations once or twice; but the stay of the vessel increaseth new matter, which because it is new and fresh, you shall have it as I heard of it from a faithful hand. There were sundry questions propounded at the Indian lecture at Noonanetum, this October 13, by the Indians. The first was propounded to Mr. Eliot himself, upon occasion of his sermon out of Eph. v. 11, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness," viz., "What Englishmen did think of Mr. Eliot because he came among wicked Indians to teach them?"

Secondly. "Suppose two men sin; the one knows he sinneth, and the other doth not know sin; will God punish both alike?"

Thirdly. "Suppose there should be one wise Indian that teacheth good things to other Indians, whether [he] should not be as a father or brother unto such Indians he so teacheth in the ways of God." This last question seems to argue some notions stirring in some of their hearts to pity and teach their poor countrymen. And surely then will be the most hopeful time of doing good among them, when the Lord shall raise up some or other like themselves to go among them and preach the word of life unto them with fatherly or brotherly bowels; and yet I limit not the Most High, who can make use of what instruments he pleaseth for this work. I shall conclude, therefore, with a story I had, both by writing and word of mouth, from a faithful man, (Mr. Edward Jackson,) which he saw with his own eyes this October 7.

There was one of the Indians at Noonanetum hath had a sick child of a consumption many a day, and at that time died of it. When it was dead, some of the Indians came to an honest man to inquire how they should bury their dead. The man told them how and what the English did when they buried theirs. Hereupon rejecting all their old superstitious observances at such sad times, (which are not a few,) they presently procured a few boards, and bought a few nails of the English, and so made a pretty handsome coffin, (for they are very dexterous at any thing they see once done,) and put the child into it, and so accompanied it to the grave very solemnly, about forty Indians of them. When the earth was cast upon it, and the grave made up, they withdrew a little from that place, and went all together, and assembled under a tree in the woods, and there they desired one Tutaswampe, a very hopeful Indian, to pray with them. Now, although the English do not usually meet in companies to pray together after such sad occasions, yet it seems God stirred up their hearts thus to do. What the substance of their prayer was, I can not certainly learn, although I have heard something that way, which I therefore name not, only I have and shall endeavor to get it, if it be possible for the poor Indian to express the substance of it, and so shall send it if the ship stays long. Only this is certain, by him who was occasionally an eye and ear witness of these things, that they continued instant with God in prayer for almost half an hour together, and this godly man's words to me (who understands a little of their language) are these: that this Tutaswampe did express such zeal in prayer, with such variety of gracious expressions, and abundance of tears, both of himself

and most of the company, that the woods rang again with their sighs and prayers. And, saith he, I was much ashamed of myself and some others, that have had so great light, and yet want such affection as they have, who have as yet so little knowledge. All this he saw standing at some good distance alone from them under a tree.

Thus you see, sir, that these old obdurate sinners are not altogether senseless of God's afflicting hand and humbling providences. And though natural affection may be much stirred in such times, yet you see how God begins to sanctify such affections among them; and I wish that many English were not outstripped herein by these poor Indians, who have got the start, I fear, of many English, that can pass by such sad providences without laying them in this manner to heart. I confess these and many such things which we see in divers of them do make some to think that there is more of God and his Spirit in some of their hearts than we yet can discover, and which they hope will break out in time.

Thus you have a true, but somewhat rent and ragged relation of these things; it may be most suitable to the story of naked and ragged men. My desire is, that no man's spectacles may deceive him, so as to look upon these things either as bigger or less, better or worse, than they are, which all men generally are apt to do at things at so great distance; but that they may judge of them as indeed they are, by what truth they see here expressed in the things themselves. I know that some think that all this work among them is done and acted thus by the Indians to please the English, and for applause from them; and it is not unlikely but so it is in many, who do not blaze for a time; but certainly it is not so in all; but that the power of the word hath taken place in some, and that inwardly and effectually, but how far savingly, time will declare, and the reader may judge of by the story itself of these things. Some say that if it be so, yet they are but a few that are thus wrought upon. Be it so; yet so it hath ever been — *many called, few chosen.* And yet, withal, I believe the calling in of a few Indians to Christ is the gathering home of many hundreds in one, considering what a vast distance there hath been between God and them so long, even days without number; considering also how precious the first fruits of America will be to Jesus Christ, and what seeds they may be of great harvests in after times. And yet, if there was no great matter seen in those of grown years, their children, notwithstanding, are of great hopes, both from the English and Indians themselves, who are therefore trained to school, where many are very apt to learn,

and who are also able readily to answer the questions propounded, containing the principles and grounds of all Christian religion, in their own tongue. I confess it passeth my skill to tell how the gospel should be generally received by these American natives, considering the variety of languages in small distances of places. Only He that made their ears and tongues can raise up some or other to teach them how to hear, and what to speak. And if the gospel must ride circuit, Christ can and will conquer by weak and despicable means, though the conquest, perhaps, may be somewhat long.

The beginning and foundation of the Spaniards in the southern parts of this vast continent, being laid in the blood of nineteen millions of poor innocent natives, (as Acosta the Jesuit, a bird of their own nest, relates the story,) shall certainly therefore be utterly rooted up by some revenging hand; and when he is once dispossessed of his golden mansions and silver mines, it may be then the oppressed remnant in those coasts also may come in. In the mean while, if it be the good pleasure of Christ to look upon any of the worst and meanest of those outcasts in these coasts of New England, let us not despise this day of small things, but as the Jews did of old, so let us now cry mightily to God, and say and sing, "Let the people praise thee, O God, yea, let all the people praise thee; then shall the earth bring forth her increase, and God, even our God, shall bless us."

I have sent you two witnesses, beside my own, of the truth of the Indian story printed; you may publish them if you please, as they have wrote and subscribed with their own hands.

THOMAS SHEPARD.

THE

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF CHILDREN,

AND THEIR

RIGHT TO BAPTISM,

ACCORDING TO

THAT HOLY AND EVERLASTING COVENANT OF GOD, ESTABLISHED BETWEEN HIMSELF AND THE FAITHFUL, AND THEIR SEED AFTER THEM, IN THEIR GENERATIONS;

CLEARED UP IN A LETTER,

SENT UNTO A WORTHY FRIEND OF THE AUTHOR, AND MANY YEARS AGO WRITTEN TOUCHING THAT SUBJECT.

PUBLISHED AT THE EARNEST REQUEST OF MANY, FOR THE CONSOLATION AND ENCOURAGEMENT BOTH OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN THE LORD.

"And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." — GEN. xvii. 7.

"For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." — ACTS ii. 39.

"Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy." — 1 COR. vii. 14.

Chemnitius, that eminent light in the church of God, in those elaborate works of his against the Papists, (Exam. part ii. can. 14, de Baptismo,) hath this memorable saying, viz.: —

"It is not to be left free to the choice of those who have been baptized in infancy, when they come to be adult, whether or no they will have that confirmed which was done in their baptism; as though the covenant of grace, and testament of peace, which is offered and sealed up to little children in baptism, should then first begin to be established, when the consent of their will, when adult, is added thereunto; for from this wicked foundation the Anabaptists simply have taken away and condemned Pædobaptism; but such baptized little ones are to be admonished, as they grow up, what a covenant of grace and testament of peace it is, which God hath entered into with them in baptism, and by what promise of gratitude they have likewise obliged themselves unto obedience to God with the renouncing of the devil. And they are seriously to be exhorted that they render thanks to God for that wonderful great benefit, that they abide in that covenant of peace, and endeavor to fulfill that obligation, by mortifying sin, and setting upon newness of life, and that they do this freely and sincerely; or if they shall, through unthankfulness, depart from that covenant and engagement, that then they repent, and return to the covenant, and subject themselves again to that stipulated obedience. But as for them that shall do otherwise, the most severe comminations of the wrath and indignation of God are to be heaped up and set before them, unto which (saith he) excommunication is to be added, for these are the weapons of our warfare." (2 Cor. x.)

PREFACE

TO THE READER.

Christian Reader: Might I have had mine own choice and desires granted, some other should have performed the task of a preface to the following treatise of my precious and much-honored father; but being put upon it by divers worthy friends, whom I knew not how to deny, I shall therefore humbly premise a word or two, in tenderness to the truth, and out of unfeigned love to those especially of Christ's poor sheep (however feeble or diseased) that either have been or may be in danger of going astray from so great a truth as is the subject of the ensuing discourse; being sincerely desirous that they may be restored, and from thence returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, and may in nothing be made a prey to him who is our great adversary, the devil, who walketh about, "seeking whom he may devour." For we should not be ignorant of his devices.

The enmity put by the Lord between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent (Gen. iii. 15) soon began to work, even in the infancy of the church, in the family of our first parents, as we see (Gen. iv. 8) by the martyrdom of righteous Abel. No small portion of that fixed hatred and hostility of the old serpent hath ever since been discovered against the young ones of Christ's little flock. The multiplication of the children of Israel is the occasion why Pharaoh deals so wisely as we read; endeavoring first, by the midwives, secretly to destroy the male children; and after that, more openly by an

edict, to drown them in his Egyptian waters; for which whatever his pretense might be, alleged Ex. i. 10, yet no doubt (as Calvin, on the place, somewhat that way hints) Satan had a design therein to cut off the name and posterity of Abraham, (who is the father of all them that believe, even of us all; "the father of many nations," Rom. iv. 11, 16, 17,) and so to evacuate and annihilate the promise of God, even that great promise of his everlasting covenant, to be a God to him, and to his seed forever, in their generations. Hence also afterward we find this spite of the great accuser of the brethren vented against these poor little ones, in the forbidding them communion with the church of God in that worship which God had instituted, and which he had commanded his people by the hand of Moses and Aaron to observe; (Ex. x. 3,) "Let my people go," that "they may serve me," saith the Lord; but hard-hearted Pharaoh seems to scruple whether the young children are a part of the Lord's people, as appears by his question, (ver. 8,) "But who are they that shall go?" Moses pleads for the young as well as the old; for the sons and the daughters; (ver. 9;) but Pharaoh is of another apprehension and resolution, (ver. 10, 11;) he will let the men go and serve the Lord, but not the little ones. Again: Haman, the Agagite, we find, is not satisfied with the destruction of the old generation of the Jews, but the little children of the church also are expressly mentioned, and designed to the same condemnation and massacre with their fathers. (Est. iii. 13.)

And much more of the like nature might be alleged out of many records, both ecclesiastical and other, were it needful; the satanical delusions of those heretical Cataphrygians and Pepuzians of old, who were wont to mingle the Eucharist with the blood of an infant of a year old, (of whom Austin speaks. tom. vi. *De Hæresibus ad Quodvultdeum,*) are not unknown. Not here to insist on that instance of Herod's infanticide, (Matt. ii. 16, 17,) we need not so much wonder at Hazael's cruelty against the children of Israel, in slaying their young men with the sword, and dashing their children, and ripping up their women with child, (2 Kings viii. 12,) seeing Satan hath many times prevailed

with those who were church members, and of long standing in the house of God, even the parents themselves, to murder and sacrifice their infants and little ones, which were the Lord's children, and born unto the Lord. (Ezek. xvi. 20, 21, etc.) Such an evil eye doth that great adversary of our comfort and salvation (seeing himself shut out of the kingdom of heaven) bear against these little ones, whom Christ hath taken in to himself, and concerning whom our Saviour professeth, that "of such is the kingdom of God." (Luke xviii. 16.) So doth he envy to see them in the arms of Christ, and blessed by him, and to have any room in his house, or so much as an external, visible interest in the covenant, with the initiatory seal and livery thereof. Baptism being the seal to all Christianity, it is Satan's policy, therefore, to strike at that, that in cashiering it, he may have at all. Hereunto tends his dealing with witches many times, (of which divers have spoken,) in causing them, when they become first his proselytes, solemnly to renounce the Trinity, (into the name of which they have been baptized,) especially their salvation by Christ; and saith Cooper, in his book entitled The Mystery of Witchcraft discovered, cap. vi. sec. 91, p. 1, in token thereof to disclaim their baptism.

An ill office and work then surely are they employed in, whose way and endeavors shall center in the accomplishing of that which Satan hath been so busily, and with such malignity, for so many ages undertaking; and no great thanks will such receive for that labor from the Lord Jesus another day. If Christ was so much displeased that his disciples rebuked those who brought their children to him, (Mark. x. 14,) and if the apostle Peter received so severe a check as we read, (Matt. xvi. 22, 23,) for speaking that which had a tendency to take the Lord Jesus off from laying down the price of redemption, how much more then will he be now displeased if (after such rebuke and warning given) any shall attempt to keep from him, and deprive him of his redeemed, whom he hath purchased by so dear a price! so many, I mean, of his purchased ones as the number of the infants and children of believers (dead, and alive, and to be born)

amounts unto. Why may we not believe that an exceeding great multitude of the sheep that shall be seen standing at the right hand of Jesus Christ, in the day of judgment, shall be a company of these lambs? As to withhold from Christ so great a part of his purchase (the labor of the Anabaptist) must needs be no other than highly anti-Christian, so to make good and recover the interest of Christ in such, and the glory which he obtains by them, according to the enlarged grant of the charter of his New Testament, (the scope and work of these few sheets,) is a service pleasing unto Christ, who out of the mouths of these babes and sucklings, even, perfecteth praise, (Matt. xxi. 15, 16,) and so, I trust, will be acceptable to his people, who, whenas they must go down to the dust, and can not keep alive their own souls, yet may behold their seed succeeding them in the service and worship of God, being accounted to the Lord for a generation, (Ps. xxii. 28–31,) — *vide* Rivet *in locum*, — schismatically to refuse to hold ecclesiastical communion with so great a part of the church of Christ as the children of believers are, (in many places the major part thereof,) is a rigid and sinful separation, and gratifying the design of the Papists, (the greatest Separatists in the world,) as by and by may be further seen.

And indeed the Lord (avenging the quarrel of his covenant, wherein he hath always been exceeding jealous) hath manifested not a little of his anger and displeasure against those who have troubled these baptismal waters of the sanctuary. The awful and tremendous passages of Providence recorded in several histories, concerning the original and progress of Anabaptism, and relating to God's strange, judicial hand against so many of them that have been throughpaced therein, in delivering them up to spiritual judgments to believe lies, and to fall, step by step, into almost all sorts of heresies, and to the commission of the most abhorred impieties, and loathsome wickednesses, and outrages against the commands both of the first and second table, (as Luther, Bullinger, Calvin, Beza, and others generally and and abundantly testify,) they are very observable, and not to be passed over slightly; and may make every honest and serious

heart to tremble whenever he finds himself inclining to that path; to this purpose, and concerning Anabaptism in this our age, (beside many other authors I might cite,) read only Baxter's Plain Scripture Proof of Infants' Church Membership, pp. 138–152. And as in the dawning of the reformation, begun by those worthies of Christ in the last century, Anabaptism seems to be the Trojan horse whereby so great confusion did befall that Israel, and was such a Remora to that glorious work then begun in Germany, and other neighboring countries, so now, in the further progress of that reformation here in this our Israel, should Anabaptism likewise (especially accompanied with Donatism, its wonted concubine) brood and become the instrument or medium of our miseries and confusions, possibly then experience (a slow, but many times a sure and severe instructor) may help some at length to see farther into the mystery of this iniquity than now they do. For in truth it is not improbable that the man of sin, seeing he could not openly and at once ruin the reformed churches in the days of those famous servants of Christ before expressed, did attempt secretly and gradually to do it this way, viz., by first sending forth his emissaries among the churches, who might fill them with the smoke of Anabaptism, that so he might the more securely pass to and fro, being undiscerned in such a fog; whence what mischief was wrought, and what a hinderance those turbulent Anabaptists were to the kingdom of Jesus Christ in that age, (for that was the first time of their swarming, as the most judicious have observed,) by vilifying, reproaching, and decrying the ministry; crying up themselves as the most godly, spiritual, and perfect; judging the Old Testament to be but as an almanac out of date; denying Scripture consequences, giving false interpretations of Scripture, especially by allegories wresting the same to their own destruction; making and fomenting schisms and factions in the churches; denying the magistrates' coercive power in matters of religion; making their own fanatic spirit the supreme judge unto all kind of disorder, etc., — the writings of the godly learned in those times do abundantly, even to amazement, inform us. And

indeed the great consent and harmony between the main tenets of the Anabaptists and Papists in this point give not a little ground for holy jealousy too sadly to suspect at what back door it was that the Anabaptist first crept forth.

And hence it is that in the controversies between the Protestants and the Papists, we shall generally and abundantly find the Papists denying the holiness of the infants of believers before baptism, — and how near of kin this is to Anabaptism the reader may easily guess, — and in like manner denying that great truth (as is afterward showed in this treatise, viz., that the covenant of God with Abraham, under the Old Testament, was the same for substance with what is now confirmed with us under the New Testament, etc., which (it is known) the Anabaptists also generally assert. Let me therefore propound a few instances this way, whereby we may see what patrons of Anabaptism the Papists are, in regard of those principles (I mean) and radical errors wherein the Papists and Anabaptists (although by divers of them upon the account of a diverse interest) symbolize and unite against the orthodox, and speak herein in a manner the same thing, (distinguishing always between the opinion and the person, and between some that are deceived, in other points orthodox and precious Christians, and others that are deceivers;) the main pillars of Anabaptism being no better than some of the old rotten studs and principles of Popery fetched at first from thence, in all likelihood, and so inclining thitherward again. The dialect of the Anabaptist is generally (and too much by some) understood, and therefore I forbear quotations out of their own writings; possibly some may not have so much taken notice of the like from the Papist, and therefore I shall briefly manifest the same by showing where we shall find some of the chief of those worthies that fought the Lord's battles against Antichrist, opposing and confuting them both therein. I will cite a few particulars this way among many the like which might be produced from several other eminent authors, holy, burning, and shining lights in the churches of Christ, who have been the Lord's witnesses against the darkness of that spiritual Egypt; and whose

testimony in this matter concludes as strongly against the Anabaptists, having espoused those anti-Christian notions so nearly to themselves.

1. In those words of the covenant ("I will be a God to thee and thy seed after thee") neither life eternal is promised, nor remission of sins, but only a certain peculiar temporal protection, saith Bellarmine, (agreeing therein with the Anabaptist,) against whom herein we find Chamier pleading for us. (Panstrat. tom. iv. lib. 3, cap. 3, parag. 9, 10, etc., and Rivet, on Gen. xvii. 11.) Again: we read (saith Bellarmine, the great Goliah of the Papists) that God promised unto Abraham, when he enjoined him circumcision, earthly matters only, according to the letter; that is, the propagation of a posterity, and the land of Palestine. Read Ames opposing him. (Bellarm. Enerv. tom. iii. lib. 1, chap. 4, thes. 9.)

2. Touching the perverse and Catabaptistical intent and meaning of that expression of the Papists, viz., that spiritual promises descend to us not by carnal generation, (as they call it, the very phrase of many Anabaptists, used in a way of derision of the grace of God,) but by spiritual regeneration, etc., (they are the words of Bellarmine and other Papists, cited and confuted by Ames and others,) read Ames, his answer thereto, Bell. Ener. tom. iii. lib. 2, cap. 1, thes. 5, (consonant to the judgment of the orthodox,) viz., we acknowledge indeed spiritual regeneration to be necessary to the solid participation of the promises; but that that regeneration is part of the promises, and belongs in a singular manner to the children of believers, the very form of the covenant manifestly declares. See likewise Chamier largely replying for us against Bellarmine, Stapleton, and others of the Papists, Panstrat. tom. iv. lib. 5. cap. 10, parag. 24–27, etc.

3. The sacraments of the old law (or Testament, saith Bellarmine) had no absolute promise of grace annexed, and the promises annexed to those old sacraments were fulfilled, although men did not believe. Read Ames against him, ibid. lib. 1, cap. 4, th. 5, 7. Again: the Papists (saith Chemnit) hold that God, by the sacraments of the Old Testament, which had even

the word of promise annexed, did exhibit and confer no grace to believers, which (saith he) is manifestly false; circumcision alone (which, as he showeth from Scripture, is called the seal of the righteousness of faith) demonstrateth as much. And thereupon he showeth the reason why the Papists so much urge that difference between the sacraments of the Old and New Testament, viz., because they endeavor by any manner of means to defend and stablish the opinion they have of their *opus operatum.* Chemnitij Exam. par 2, de sacram. sub canon. 2.

What a forcible engine of the man of sin this is, and of what vast concernment as to his interest, I need not here express, and what arrows of Anabaptism, drawn out of this very quiver, have been shot against the orthodox in this point, is known unto not a few.

Moreover, as to the comparison in Scripture made between the sacraments of the Old and New Testament, that in 1 Cor. x. 1–4 (among several other scriptures) is cited by Ames against Bellarmine, where the apostle speaks of our fathers being baptized in the sea, etc., thereby intimating our sacraments to be the same for substance with theirs; or sacramental signs and seals of one and the same spiritual grace, so that the covenant mercies, or promises of spiritual good, are the same to us as to them. Bellarmine opposeth this, (as doth the Anabaptist.) The fathers (saith he) are said to eat the same meat, not because ours and theirs was the same, but because they themselves, all of them, did eat the same; but that meat and drink were not sacraments; they had no promise annexed, etc. (Bell. Enerv. tom. iii. lib. 1, c. 4, th. 10, and Cham. Panstrat. tom. iv. l. 3, c. 2.)

4. The Scripture nowhere calls circumcision a seal, (saith Bellarmine to Rom. iv.,) unless it be in this place, where Abraham is spoken of, which is a manifest argument that circumcision was a seal unto Abraham alone. (Ames, ibid. c. 1, th. 12.) By this weapon, also fetched out of the armory of Antichrist, hath the Anabaptist not a little gratified the common adversary.

5. The Papists generally assert that the baptism of John was not the same for substance with the baptism of Christ, nor had

the same efficacy as the baptism of Christ hath. Which tenet see confuted by Cartwright on the New Testament, (Matt. iii. 11,) and by Ames, Bellar. Enerv. tom. iii. l. 2, c. 5, th. 1, 2, etc., and Rivet, Cathol. orthod. tractat. iii. qu. 2, and Chemnit, Exam. part 2, de baptismo sub canon. 1, and Chamier, Panstrat t. iv. l. 5, c. 12. Still we see the harmony between the Papist and the Anabaptist. And hence we find likewise the Papist pleading for the rebaptizing of those who had received the baptism of John. (Chamier, ibid. cap. 13, parag. 35, etc.)

6. The Papists assert that laics (as they call them, i. e., those that are not in office in the church) may in case administer baptism; yea, that not only men, but women, may do it. Read Ames, his confutation thereof, Bell. Enerv. tom. iii. l. 2, cap. 2, and Rivet against Baily, the Jesuit, Cathol. orthod. tractat. 3, qu. 7; add thereto Chamier's Panstrat. tom. iv. l. 5, cap. 14, *de legitimo Baptismi ministro*, where, among other passages, citing the thesis of Suarez, the Jesuit, viz., "that any body whosover, that can speak and wash, may be a sufficient minister of baptism, whether he be man or woman, believer or unbeliever, baptized or not baptized, if so be he know how to wash, and utter the words with a due intention, *hæc assertio* (saith the Jesuit) *est omnino certa.* But, saith Chamier, in the name of the orthodox, we teach the contrary, viz., that the right of conferring baptism belongs to those only who are public officers in the church, etc., which accordingly he there makes good against the Papists.

7. Baily, the Jesuit, (whom Rivet encountereth,) to the question between the orthodox and the Papists, viz., "whether the infants of believers are holy before baptism," he answereth roundly for them, no. (Rivet, Cath. Orthod. tract. 3, qu. 3.)

And touching that famous place controverted between ourselves and the Anabaptists, in regard of their wresting and perverting the sense of that scripture, 1 Cor. 7, 14, ("Else were your children unclean, but now they are holy,") we may observe how they tread in the steps of the Papists that have gone before them therein, (as they likewise do in that noted scripture, Col. ii. 11, 12,) not allowing baptism to answer circumcision according to

the mind and meaning of the Holy Ghost; wherein see Ames against them, Bel. enerv. tom. iii. l. 1, cap. 4, th. 13, and Rivet in Gen. xvii. Exercit. 88, pag. 340, etc. Take a taste of that 1 Cor. vii., as followeth: Baily, (the Jesuit,) before cited, ibid. quest. 3, laboreth thus to avoid the dint of that text. The apostle (saith he) either speaks of a civil sanctification before men, that the infants should not be illegitimate, or bastards, or else of an instrumental sanctification, because that one shall procure the salvation of the other, etc.: the like we find of Bellarmine's apprehension and judgment of the sense of that scripture. Such children (saith he) are said to be not (unclean,) that is, infamous and bastards, but (holy,) that is, legitimate, and free from civil ignominy. (Ames, ibid. lib. 2, c. 1, th. 6.) The Rhemists also very perniciously abuse this scripture, (and are not therein without their Antipedobaptistical followers;) blessed Cartwright excellently upon the place, in his confutation of their annotations on the New Testament, defends this cause of Christ against their Popish glosses.

It is (saith he) one thing (oftentimes in the Scripture) to be sanctified, and another to be holy: as for you, you err in both; for when it is said the unbelieving party is sanctified by the believing, it is not only meant, as you say, that the marriage is an occasion of the sanctification to the infidel party, but that the use of the infidel party in marriage company is sanctified or made holy and lawful unto the believing party; as meat and drink are said to be sanctified unto us by the word and prayer, (1 Tim. iv. 5;) and as your interpretation here is short, so in the exposition of the holiness of the children which are begotten in this matrimony it is utterly false; and first it is to be observed that the apostle, speaking of the children, doth not (as you do) apply one word of them to both, saying that they are sanctified, but saith that they are holy; which is more than he had spoken before of the infidel party; for although our meat and drink be sanctified unto us, and that the use of them is holy to those which are holy, yet the meats and drinks themselves are not holy: if therefore you were short in the interpretation of sanctified, you

fail much more in giving the same exposition unto the holiness of the children; for if the holiness here spoken of be not in the children when they are begotten and born of the parents, but come unto them afterward by baptism and faith, there groweth no sufficient comfort unto the faithful party to continue in marriage with the infidel, considering that occasion of holiness might come otherwise than by marriage. For that which is able to uphold the faithful in comfort and strength to abide in marriage with the infidel, is the knowledge that the children begotten in that marriage are in covenant, and are children of God's favor and grace, washed in Christ's blood, and sancified by his Spirit; and if you will know what this holiness of children new born is, the apostle telleth you (Gal. ii. 15) that it is (through the covenant) to be a Jew by nature, or birth; and if you will yet further understand what the holiness of children is, the apostle, in the same place, telleth you that it is not to be sinners by nature, as those which are born of the heathen, forasmuch as their sins who are in covenant are by Christ not reckoned unto them. And this doctrine of the holiness of the children which are born of the faithful, if you could not attain unto, it is so sensibly set forth unto you, that, unless together with the knowledge of the truth you are also bereaved of your common sense, you can not be ignorant of it; for how can you but understand that if the root be holy the branch is holy, (Rom. xi. 16,) and if the first fruits be holy the whole crop is holy? All which privileges of children new born, sometime being proper to the Jews, are now our privileges as well as theirs; since we are grown into one body with them, (Eph. ii. 15,) and being burgesses of the same heavenly city that they are, must needs have the same enfranchisement and prerogatives that they have; not that every one which is born under the covenant is holy, but that they are so to be taken of the church, until the contrary do manifestly appear, etc.

By the premises we may see, therefore, whence (even from that mother of harlots) probably this illegitimate birth, this anti-Christian flood of Anabaptism, hath issued forth; yea, and I also

fear is like to be nursed, and maintained in its course, until God hath dried up those breasts and rivers of spiritual Babylon; in the mean while, Calvin's admonition touching Anabaptism may not be unseasonable: *Merito debet nobis esse suspectum, quicquid a tala officina prodierit.* (Opuscul. in Psychopannychia, p. 411, S. M.)

There are some who, though they grant the baptism of some children, yet utterly deny the continuance of that covenant mercy of God to their succeeding generations, though the church society whereof they were members be not dissolved, nor the surviving posterity so much as deserve to be, by the discipline of Christ in his church, excommunicated. This seems in truth to arise from their not acknowledging sufficiently, or not abiding by the true genuine grounds of the baptism of those whose right to baptism is acknowledged by them.

For the information (therefore) of the minds of the weak, and stablishing their hearts in this truth of God, according to the Scriptures, even in the doctrine of Pedobaptism, (a doctrine of so great concernment, and of so much comfort and encouragement, both to believing parents and their children, not in life only, but in death; whence it is that they only can be preserved against sorrowing when they fall asleep, as others do which have no hope,) this ensuing treatise is, at the earnest request of many worthy friends to the author of it, (of blessed memory,) now published; wherein we may see both, 1. The membership of the children of church members proved to be of divine institution; and likewise, 2. Among other things, the continuance of the membership of those children in particular churches, when they are grown up, even until they are excommunicated, unless there be a dissolution of the person by death, or of the church society,* so that this latter is not a principle of innovation and apostasy; but as it was the judgment of the author of this following letter, (as is therein to be seen, and to manifest which was

* Instances hereof see in the preface to the act of the synod held at Boston, 1662, touching baptism and consociation of churches.

one special end of the printing thereof,) so was it the light which others have held forth, who in their time were stars not of the smallest magnitude, whom we have here seen sometimes shining with him at Christ's right hand, but are now set, and shining with that Sun of righteousness in another world.

That there is no cessation of the membership of a person in this or that particular church, (the church whereof he is a member continuing in being, together with the person himself,) unless it be by means of a church act intervening, is a truth of no small importance. And therefore, as for that notion which doth obtain with some, that in particular churches of Christ, walking in the order of the gospel, there are such as become ecclesiastically *felones de se*; that is, such church members, who, by their scandalous sin, do become their own executioners ecclesiastically, cutting themselves off from the church, so as that they thereby become actually non-members, and that the church hath no more power over them, either ecclesiastically to admonish them, or excommunicate them; this seems unto me to be but a human invention, and not of divine institution; yea, in truth, destructive to the order of the gospel. And therefore to apply it (as to members in full communion, so) to these children of the church whom we now speak of, is not of God; as may appear by these reasons following: —

1. Because it is unscriptural. In matters of God's worship a negative argument is conclusive; if that which is asserted be not contained in the Scripture expressly, or by due consequence therefrom, it is to be rejected. To the law and to the testimony.

The Scriptures alleged by some, and thought to favor this notion of *felones de se*, are only such as do but lay down before us the sins of some church members, and do not speak of the επιτιμια, (punishment or censure,) as it is called 2 Cor. ii. 6, which in such cases is to be inflicted, and therefore are not *ad rem;* only that which seems to have most weight in it, and to which, therefore, I shall briefly reply, is that in Acts viii. 21, "Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter." *Ans.* I would not say that this text, propounded with reference to the children

of the church that are not in full communion, is not apposite, because the text speaks of a member in full communion; though to say so much is accounted by some a sufficient answer to such Scripture arguments as conclude against *felones de se*, from church members that are in full communion (*quatenus* church members) to such church members as are not in full communion. But yet, having gained this fort, that what is in Scripture spoken of a member in full communion is applicable (as far as mere membership reacheth) to a member that is not in full communion, we may now the more easily proceed in the after discourse. To this scripture (then) alleged for children of the church not in full communion, by their sin, when adult, to become *felones de se*, as above said, I answer, —

1. That the objection from hence tends as much to frustrate the church act, or censure of excommunication upon members in full communion, and makes that ordinance of Christ vain and needless to the parents in full communion, as to these children. 2. These words of the apostle Peter were indeed a dreadful admonition, and the apostle, being a church officer, did judge this sinner to deserve it for his simony; so that he was not (granting the cessation of his membership) *felo de se*. 3. By (this matter) spoken of in the text, seems most properly to be meant (not church membership, but) the power of giving the Holy Ghost spoken of in the context, which power Simon Magus would have bought with money, and for which the apostle rebukes him; and therefore his not having part or lot in that matter, is to be understood directly with relation to that extraordinary power; the apostle would have him know that he should not share in such a power or privilege as that was. 4. I would ask whether, if a member of a church be discovered not to have his heart right in the sight of God, but to be in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity, stand convict of simony, and the wickedness be so grossly aggravated as this scandal of Simon Magus was; I say, whether the church is not bound to bear witness against such an offender by inflicting some church censure (properly so taken) upon him. If it be said no, then may

it not be questioned whether such a church would not as well tolerate any other pollutions and defilements in it whatsoever? the woful fruit whereof who is there that doth not easily perceive? On the other side, if it be said yes, that the church is to censure and authoritatively to put away from among themselves such a wicked person by excommunication, I then demand (if this notion of *felo de se* be right and sound) how they can excommunicate one who is a non-member before the church can pass the sentence of excommunication against him. Whether doth this scripture (Acts viii. 21) give the church power over him by its discipline to censure him who already (as the objection speaks) hath cut himself off from being a church member; or whether the church hath any part in him who hath no part or lot in them, or in these matters.

2. Scripture example leads us to what is contrary to this felony spoken of; witness, under the Old Testament, Ishmael's being cast out by Abraham, who was the chief officer in that family church. So the incestuous person under the New Testament is not *felo de se*, though guilty of such a sin as was not so much as named among the Gentiles, (1 Cor. v. 1;) but there is a church act intervening his sin, and the cessation of his memberly communion with that church, viz., a delivering him (τοιοῦτον, such a one) unto Satan. Hence, as the church of Ephesus is commended for not bearing with them which are evil, (Rev. ii. 2,) so the church of Thyatira is rebuked for suffering that woman Jezebel. (ver. 20.)

3. Because this notion of *felo de se* takes away the use of a ministerial judge in the church, in case of the offenses and scandals of this or that particular member of the church, to determine of the same. Supposing a person could ecclesiastically cut himself off from the church by his very act of sin, there would then be no room left for a competent judge to inquire into the crime whereof he is accused, and to make particular application of the rule to the case of the sinning brother, and pass sentence according to the true desert and nature of the offense. That God hath ordained a ministerial judge is plain, (Matt. xviii. 17;)

if he neglect to hear the church, the church is to be heard; the phrase of our Saviour Christ implies judicial superiority on the church's part, and the inferiority and subjection of a part or member to that whole, etc.; but now this felony denieth this order which Christ hath established. Though a person deserve excommunication perhaps, yet it must appear that he do deserve it; neither doth his wickedness for which he deserves excommunication render him a non-member till he be excommunicated; and hence in this case is very considerable what is asserted by that deservedly famous divine, Mr. Cotton, in his book entitled The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, viz., though the jury have given up their judgment and verdict, yet the malefactor is not thereupon legally condemned, much less executed, but upon the sentence of the judge; in like sort here (saith he) though the brethren of the church do with one accord give up their vote and judgment for the censure of an offender, yet he is not thereby censured till upon the sentence of the presbytery.

4. Because the binding and loosing mentioned Matt. xvi. 19, the opening and shutting of the doors of the church by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, belong to the same power or subject; hence, therefore, as none may intrude himself, or can regularly be admitted or let into this or that particular church without a church act intervening, so none can be shut out and deprived of that membership therein (as above said) without an act of the same power intervening. *Ejusdem potestatis est ligare et solvere, claudere et aperire.* (Mr. Cotton's Keys, cap. vii. p. 45.)

5. Taken from Matt. xviii. 15–18, which command and institution leaves churches under a solemn obligation of duty, that when this offending brother or church member deserveth excommunication, that censure be duly inflicted on him, so as that thereby (viz., the sentence or censure passed against him, in case he will not hear the church) he must be to the church as a heathen man and a publican; so that it is not a matter of indifferency, (to be observed or not to be observed,) but after the steps taken (mentioned in verses 15, 16) and the brother

remain obstinate, it is Christ's charge that then that public process (ver. 17) be attended, whereby the offender becomes ecclesiastically bound, according to verse 18. Christ therefore requires a church act to intervene, as above said, and so the offender is not *felo de se*.

6. Because a scandalous member of a church, by virtue of Christ's institution, (Matt. xviii. 17,) is to be accounted not as a heathen and publican, but still a church brother if he will hear the church, this is clearly intimated in those words, (if he neglect to hear the church,) running conditionally, which suppose that if he will hear, he is not to be as a heathen; i. e., his membership shall not cease, notwithstanding the scandalous sin committed. Therefore by his wickedness and offense he is not *felo de se*.

7. Because this felony objected tends to render that ordinance of church censure and admonition laid down Matt. xviii. 15, etc., vain and useless, for the *felo de se*, by his sin, becoming a non-member, and so no church brother; hence let a private member of the church go to tell him his fault, in the sense of the text, which is in order to more solemn church proceeding and judicature, in case he will not hear; or let the church require him in the name of Christ to hear, in such a church way as is there spoken of; he may tell them that he is no brother of the church, for he hath by his offense cut off himself, and therefore they have nothing to do with him; that that rule of Christ concerns only the brother, or the church member, not one that is out of the church, as he is, being *felo de se*, and therefore may say, (according to 1 Cor. v. 12,) "What have you to do to judge me that am without?" If his sin be not yet great enough to render him *felo de se*, and he suspect that therefore the church may have power over him, and is going about to bind him on earth, so that (being thereupon also bound in heaven) he shall become bound from an orderly entrance in at the doors of other sister churches without repentance first held forth to the acceptance of the church which he offended, it is then but to commit another fault, whereby he may be sure he shall be *felo de se*, and so he is beyond the church's reach, and this frustrates church

discipline, and renders vain that ordinance of Christ above mentioned.

8. To deny the intervening of this church act of excommunication is to deny unto, and withhold from a person deserving to be cast out of the church, an ordinance and means which may be for the saving of his soul. (1 Cor. v. 4, 5.) It is not enough to say that the *felo de se* makes himself no member, and so the church is freed from his communion, which would pollute it, as fully as if he were excommunicated; for God's means are not empty or vain means, and to think to reach the full end, but not in God's way, and by observing his means ordained, is neither Christian wisdom nor gospel policy; yea, to deny the application of this ordinance of excommunication to the offending brother is to deny a means for the salvation of his soul, and to deny a remedy for his repentance, and the healing and gaining of our brother again.

9. Because the Holy Ghost commands the church to judge them that are within, (1 Cor. v. 12,) "Do you not judge them that are within?" All that are within are subject to ecclesiastical judicature, and therefore can not by Scripture warrant be *felones de se*.

10. Because this notion of *felones de se* evacuates that power given of rebuking before all, (1 Tim. v. 20,) which is to be done without partiality, whether they be young or old, rich or poor, etc., (ver. 21,) and so likewise takes away that authority given of reproving with all long suffering, (2 Tim. iv. 2,) leaves no room for obedience to that command (2 Thess. iii. 15) of admonishing the offender as a brother, etc., add thereto that this notion of the *felo de se* supposeth some disobedience in a church member of an open, scandalous nature, against which God hath not provided the remedy of spiritual revenge in an ecclesiastical way, contrary to that 2 Cor. x. 6, where the apostle saith, "We have in readiness to revenge all disobedience," etc.; that this is spoken of church discipline is well cleared by that expression of worthy Mr. Cotton, viz., the apostle's revenge of disobedience by way of reproof in preaching doth not follow the people's obedi-

ence, but proceedeth, whether the people obey it or no; it was therefore their revenge of disobedience by way of censure in discipline, etc.

11. The notion of *felo de se* asserts the lawfulness of exclusion or shutting a church member out of the kingdom of heaven by none of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, viz., by the sin of this *felon*, or gives the managing of these keys, in a case which concerns the whole to act in, (for such is the non-communion of a member with the church,) into the hands solely of a private person; both which right reason doth plainly condemn.

12. Because, were the sin of a church member of as high and heinous a nature as heresy, nay, (which is more,) though the brother of a church should turn heretic, yet he is not immediately thereby a non-member, or *felo de se;* he is not presently to be rejected; but a first and second admonition must be applied, and in case of incorrigibleness then follows the ecclesiastical rejection spoken of Tit. iii. 10; he must be rejected, but according to God's order, even the order of the gospel; for all things are to be done in order, (1 Cor. xiv. 40:) so when the apostle required the Corinthians to put away from among themselves that wicked person, it is to be understood of putting such away, and avoiding such, and withdrawing themselves from such, and having no company with such, etc. All in due season, and all according to the order of Christ, even according to that rule of delivering such a one unto Satan, as is expressed 1 Cor. v., and suiting with that other command of Christ, (Matt. xviii.,) according as the nature of the offense is more or less heinous, proportionably is the admonition to be applied, either in case the offense be at first private, but grows public and notorious by the impenitency and obstinacy of the offender; or in case the offense be at first rise of it public and notorious, still we have no allowance from Scripture to entertain or admit of the opinion of this ecclesiastical felony.

Having thus finished this discourse, I shall now very briefly acquaint the reader, in a word or two further, touching the following treatise, viz.: that it was written by the author's own hand, and not three months before the time of his dissolution,

and sent to one who, before the receipt thereof, was not so clear in the point of infant baptism, but was hereby recovered and stablished in the truth, and died in the same faith as the letter did persuade him, (to use Mr. Fox his phrase in his Book of Martyrs, touching that excellent letter which Philpot, that glorious martyr, a little before his death also, wrote to a friend of his that was then a prisoner, upon this very subject of infant baptism, who was thereby converted from the error of his way, as is there to be seen — a letter exceeding well worth the reading and serious perusal by any, such especially as hesitate in this matter.) The reader may please further to mind that this was not intended by the reverend author for the public view, but was only a private answer sent to a special friend for his particular satisfaction, relating to some doubts mentioned in a letter of his to my father concerning this subject. Had he purposed to have written and printed off his thoughts to the world touching this article of baptism, I question not but he would have been more polite and curious; and the expectations of those who knew him thoroughly satisfied therein.

I would not detain the reader by any further preface of mine; and therefore, to conclude: May this, from one who is now in heaven, unto such as may have too far engaged against God's covenant mercies toward his and our poor children, sent indeed in a special manner unto such, have a rich and effectual blessing from the Father of lights and mercies, a better effect upon their hearts than that famous letter had of Elijah the prophet, upon Jehoram, to whom it was sent, (2 Chron. xxi. 12,) — written, it is thought, by divers, before his translation to heaven, but concealed until there was so fit a season for the presenting of it, — may this writing, (I say,) and in such a season also, have a better effect and fruit, even to bring them from the error of their way into the paths of truth and peace, and settle them and others more and more therein. That is the sincere desire of the publisher thereof, who is

Thine to serve thee in our Lord Jesus,

THOMAS SHEPARD.

I. THOMAS SHEPARDIUS.

Anagram: Paradisus hostem?

Heu! Paradisus alit sanctis infantibus hostem?
Quos baptizari præcipit ipse Deus?
Quos Deus ambabus, clemens, amplectitur ulnis,
Non finet in gremio Tingier ille suo?
Annon pro sanctis Ecclesia (mater) habebit,
Quos sancti sanctos vox ait esse Dei?
Hoc Deus avertat. Non sic Shepardius olim,
Non sic, quæ moriens scripta reliquit, aiunt.
Non sic doctores celebrat quos sanctior ætas,
Anglia quos celebrat Prisca, simulque nova.
His utinam sanctis Deus ipse laboribus almam
E superis, clemens, suppeditaret opem!
Quâ sine, doctores non ulli, scripta nec ulla,
Errores possunt carnificare malos.
Jus confirmabas puerorum, Christe, tuorum
A gremio vellent cum revocare tuo;
Surgito, lactentesque tuos defendito ab hoste
Qui vellet laudes (—cunque) perire tuas.

Amen. Johannes Wilsonus, *Senior.*

II. THOMAS SHEPARD.

Anagram: O, a map's thresh'd.

Lo, here's a map, where we may see
Well threshed a heap of corn to be,
By Thomas Shepard's happy hand,
Which from the chaff pure wheat hath fanned:
The wheat is the church member's right,
(Both great and little ones,) to wit:
Unto the seal of baptism, all
That are within the gospel call;
I mean believers and their seed,
To whom the Lord hath promised

To be their God; and doth reveal
Their right to's covenant and the seal;
On whom through grace the blessing came
Of his dear servant Abraham.
Be they or Jews or Gentiles, now
No difference the Lord doth know.
The promise is to us and ours
As large, or larger; and God pours
His Spirit now as much, or more
Than ere he did on them before.
And if that they were circumcised,
Then we are now to be baptized;
Our babes must now no less than theirs
Be sealed, (as of his kingdom heirs;)
Christ calleth them his little ones,
And as his darlings he them owns,
Denouncing against them a woe
That are despisers of them who
Offend the least of them, and such
As do their interest in him grutch.
Crispus, with Gaius, Stephanas,
With others, were not all through grace
Baptized that of their household were?
And children who will doubt were there?
Then let us not to them deny,
Nor seem as if we did envy
The privilege which God from heaven
Hath through his grace and favor given.
Nor let us limit his good spirit
In application of Christ's merit;
Whose blood was shed for them, as well
As those who them in age excel;
If such be taught of God, who dare
Deny they his disciples are?

III. THOMAS SHEPARD.

Anagram: More hath pass'd.

More from this holy pen hath passed
The baptism to defend
Of infants that church members are
(If well you do attend)
Than any anti-Baptists can
With solidness confute.
I wish with all my heart that God
Will grant these labors fruit,
As good or better than the pains
By other godly taken;
That thereby all his precious saints
He would please to awaken,
That none may any more oppose
With zeal preposterous
The truth which God's most holy word
Commendeth unto us;
That who were less convinced by
This holy Shepard's voice,
Yet in his letter left behind
They may the more rejoice.
He was a shining light, indeed;
Few other such are left;
The Lord vouchsafe we be not by
Our sins of them bereft,
And pour down of his Spirit more
Upon his sons surviving,
That will be more and more unto
Truth's lovers a reviving.

IV. THOMAS SHEPARD.

Anagram: Arm'd as the shop.

Armed (as the shop of God's good word
Doth weapons unto him afford,)

Defends the right of little ones,
Whom God in the church covenant owns
The children of his church among;
To whom his kingdom doth belong,
And therewithal the seal thereof,
Through his free mercy, grace, and love;
Yet are there some which them forbid
(As once his weak disciples did)
To come to Christ, and scruple make
Whether thereof they should partake.
But Christ was very angry for it;
As for such zeal, he did abhor it;
O, come, said he, and welcomed such
With tokens of affection much;
As if that they, and scarcely any
But such as they, might challenge any,
Or part or portion in his grace,
(So did his favor them embrace,)
His babes, his lambs, his little creatures
He calls them. As for such defeatures,
Christ they defeat as well as them
Whom they presume so to contemn.
This holy Shepard is like David,
From lion's mouth, and bear's, who savéd
That little kid; whom God did crown
With great and singular renown;
And so this Shepard hath (no doubt)
A glorious crown his head about,
For all his labors, (and for this,)
In high and everlasting bliss.
And as the Lord doth honor him,
(For Christ his sake,) so his esteem
Both is and ought to be most rare
'Mongst them who Christ his followers are;
And O, how should we bless his name
That on his son he pours the same
Good spirit that was in the father,
Or doubles it upon him, rather.
Lord, these epistles do thou bless!
And as thy truth they do confess,
So make them precious in the eyes
Of all that do thy gospel prize.

Amen. JOHN WILSON, *Senior.*

THE

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF CHILDREN

CLEARED UP IN A LETTER IN ANSWER TO THE DOUBTS OF A FRIEND.

When we say that children are members by their parents' covenant, I would premise three things for explication.

1. That children of godly parents come to the fruition of their membership by their parents' covenant, but that which gives them their right and interest in this membership is God's covenant, whereby he engageth himself equally to be a God to them and to their seed. This I suppose is clear.

2. That according to the double seed, viz., 1. Elect seed; 2. Church seed; so there is a double covenant, 1. External and outward; 2. Internal and inward. And because the covenant makes the church, hence there is an inward and outward membership and church estate; there is an outward Jew and an inward Jew. (Rom. ii. 28, 29.) All are not Israel (i. e., the elect seed) that are of Israel, (i. e., the church seed, or in outward covenant,) to whom the apostle saith belongs the adoption, the covenant, and the promises; that is, the external adoption, whereby God accounts them his children, or the children of his house and family, the children of the church; and accordingly have the promises belonging to them in respect of outward dispensation, although they be not children by internal adoption, to whom belong the promises by effectual and special communication of saving grace. It is clearer than the day that many who are inwardly, or in respect of inward covenant, the children of the devil, are outwardly, or in respect of outward covenant, the children of God. Is. i. 2, "I have brought up children," and yet "rebellious;" and in the next verse they are called "my people," (i. e., by outward covenant,) and yet worse than the ox, or ass.

Deut. xxxii. 19, 20, they are called sons, and yet provoking God to revengeful wrath; and children, and yet without faith. And look, as some may be externally dogs, and yet internally believers, (as the woman of Canaan, whom, in respect of outward covenant, Christ calls a dog, and the Jews who yet rejected him children, Matt. xv. 26,) so many may be externally children, in respect of external covenant, and yet internally dogs and evil men; and we see that the purest churches of Christ are called saints, and faithful, and children of God, and yet many among them hypocrites and unbelievers; because they that, in respect of church estate, and outward covenant and profession, are outwardly or federally saints, are many times inwardly and really unsound. Hence, therefore, it is, that when we say that children are in covenant, and so church members, the meaning is, not that they are always in inward covenant, and inward church members, who enjoy the inward and saving benefits of the covenant, but that they are in external and outward covenant, and therefore outwardly church members, to whom belong some outward privileges of the covenant for their inward and eternal good.

These things being clear, I the rather make mention of them to undermine divers usual objections against the membership and covenant interest of children; as, that they have no saving grace many times; and that they make no actual profession of any grace, and that many of them degenerate and prove corrupt and wicked, etc.; for suppose all these, yet God may take them into outward covenant, (which is sufficient to make them the church seed, or members of the church,) although he doth not receive them into inward covenant, in bestowing upon them saving grace, or power to profess it; nay, though they degenerate and grow very corrupt afterward.

3. Because you may question what this outward covenant is, to which the seals are annexed, and under which we shall prove children are comprehended; and because the knowledge of it is exceeding useful and very pleasant, I shall therefore give a short taste of it, as a light to our after discourse, especially as it is considered in the largest extent of it. This outward covenant, therefore, consists chiefly of these three branches, or special promises:—

1. The Lord engageth himself to them, that they shall be called by his name, or his name shall be called upon them, as it is Is. lxiii. 19. They shall be called the sons of God, (Hos. i. 10,) and the people of God, (Deut. xxix. 12, 13;) thou becamest mine, (Ezek. xvi. 8.) They may not be his sons, and people,

really and savingly, but God will honor them outwardly (at least) with this name and privilege; they shall bear his name, to be called so, and consequently to be accounted so by others, and to be reckoned as of the number of his visible church and people, just as one that adopts a young son; he tells the father, if he carry it well toward him, when he is grown up to years he shall possess the inheritance itself; but yet, in the mean while, he shall have this favor, to be called his son, and be of his family and household, and so be reckoned among the number of his sons. See Rom. ix. 4.

2. The Lord promiseth that they shall, above all others in the world, have the means of doing them good, and of conveying of the special benefits of the covenant. Nay, they shall be set apart above all people in the world, to enjoy these special benefits of remission of sins, power against sin, eternal life, etc., and shall certainly have these, by these means, unless they refuse them; this is evident from these and such like scriptures and examples: What privilege hath the Jew? (saith the apostle, Rom. iii. 1, and what advantage by circumcision, if by nature under wrath and sin? for upon that ground the apostle makes the question:) he answers, It is much every way, but chiefly because to them were committed the oracles of God, i. e., the word, promises, covenant; which are the ordinary means of saving grace and eternal good: others hear the word, but these in outward covenant enjoy it by covenant and promise; and hence these, in the first place and principally, are sought after by these means; and therefore Christ forbids his disciples at first to go preach in the way of the Gentiles, (persons out of covenant,) but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, (Matt. x. 6;) and himself tells the woman of Canaan that he came not but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. (Matt. xv. 24.) And although he bids his disciples go preach to all nations, yet (Acts iii. 26) it is said, Unto you first hath he sent Christ, because you are children of the promise and covenant, (ver. 25;) repent therefore, and be converted. (ver. 19.) Do not resist or refuse Christ, for he hath first sent Christ to you, to bless you and turn you from your iniquities; and the promise is full and fair. (Rom. xi. 23.) If they abide not in unbelief, (i. e., in refusing grace and Christ when offered,) they shall be graffed in, for God is able to do it, and will do it; and the reason why the Lord gave his people up to their own counsels, it was because "my people would none of me," after all the means God used for their good. (Ps. lxxxi. 11–13, and Deut. vii. 6.) The Lord hath chosen you, above all people on the earth, to be a special people to himself, and thou art a

holy people unto the Lord. How a holy people? By inward holiness? No, verily; for many of them were inwardly unholy, both parents and children; but thou art holy, i. e., thou art externally sanctified and set apart, by special means of holiness, to be a special people unto God. And therefore (Is. v. 7) the men of Judah are called God's pleasant plant; i. e., planted into the root and fatness of the church, and therefore had all means used for their further special good. (ver. 4.) "What could be done to my vineyard that hath not been done?" And hence it is, that though the word may come to heathens as well as church members, yet it comes not to them by way of covenant, as it doth to church members; nor have they any promise of mercy aforehand, as church members have; nor is it chiefly belonging to such, but unto the children of the covenant and the promise, as hath been said. And hence also it follows that God never cuts off the seed of his servants from the special benefits of the covenant, until they have had the means thereunto, and they have positively rejected those means; and hence the Jews (who are made the pattern of what God will do toward all Gentile churches, Rom. xi.) were never cast off till by positive unbelief they provoked the Lord to break them off by rejecting and refusing the means of their eternal peace.

3. The Lord promiseth that the seed of his people (indefinitely considered) shall have this heart (viz., which would refuse special grace and mercy) taken away, as well as means used for that end; this is evident from Deut. xxx. 6, "The Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart and the heart of thy seed to love the Lord;" he will cut off the uncircumcision, and sin, and resistance of the heart against God; he will take away the stony heart; not indeed from all in outward covenant particularly, but from these indefinitely; so that there is no promise to do this for any out of the visible church, (though God of his sovereignty and free mercy sometimes doth so,) but the promise of this belongs indefinitely to those of his church, among whom usually and ordinarily he works this great work, leaving him to his own freeness of secret mercy, to work thus on whom he will, and when he will; in the mean while no man can exclude himself, or any others within this covenant, from hope of this mercy and grace, but may with comfort look and pray for it; for this is God's covenant, that the Redeemer shall come out of Sion, and turn away ungodliness from Jacob, (Rom. xi. 26, 27;) for the covenant of God doth not only run thus, If thou believe and receive grace, thou shalt have it; but thus also, I will circumcise your heart, I will take away the stony heart, I will turn away

ungodliness from you, I will enable to believe. And hence these three things follow from these things thus opened: —

1. That as the covenant runs not only thus, viz., "If thou believest though shalt be saved," but also, "I will enable to believe," so a man's entrance into covenant is not only by actual and personal profession of faith, (as some say,) because God's covenant runs a peg higher, viz., to make and enable some to believe, and so to make that profession.

2. That the very outward covenant is not merely conditional, but there is something absolute in it; and hence it follows that it is a great mistake of some who think that circumcision and baptism seal only conditionally, the outward covenant being, say they, merely conditional; for those three things mentioned in the outward covenant, you see, are in some respect absolute, and if the covenant was only conditional, then the Lord was no more in covenant with church members than with pagans and infidels; for it may be propounded conditionally to all such, that if they believe they shall be saved; but assuredly God's grace is a little more extensive to the one than to the other.

3. Hence you may see what circumcision once did, and baptism now seals unto; even to infants the seal is to confirm the covenant; the covenant is, that God (outwardly at least) owns them, and reckons them among his people and children within his visible church and kingdom, and that hereupon he will prune, and cut, and dress, and water them, and improve the means of their eternal good upon them, which good they shall have, unless they refuse in resisting the means; nay, that he will take away this refusing heart from among them indefinitely, so that though every one can not assure himself that he will do it particularly for this or that person, yet every one, through this promise, may hope and pray for the communication of this grace, and so feel it in time.

These things thus premised, to clear up the ensuing discourse, I shall now do two things. 1. Leave a few grounds and reasons to prove that children are in church covenant, and so enjoy church membership by their parents. 2. I shall then answer your scruples.

Argument 1. *To the first.* The truth of it is manifest by clearing up this proposition, viz., that one and the same covenant, which was made to Abraham in the Old Testament, is for substance the same with that in the New; and this under the New Testament the very same with that of Abraham's under the Old.

I say, for substance the same; for it is acknowledged that there was something proper and personal in Abraham's covenant,

as to be a father of many nations; but this was not of the substance of the covenant, which belongs to all the covenanters, and unto which the seal of circumcision was set; for all Abraham's seed, neither in those nor these days, are the fathers of many nations, nor did circumcision seal it.

Again: it is confessed that the external administrations of this one and the same covenant are diverse; but still the covenant for substance is the same. For that old covenant was dispensed with other external signs, sacrifices, types, prophecies, than this under the new. There was something typical in Abraham's covenant concerning Canaan, a type of heaven; but yet the same covenant remains now with a more naked manner of dispensation, or promise of heaven. And hence it follows that, if it may appear that the covenant itself is one and the same now as then, then as now, then it will undeniably follow that, if the new covenant under the gospel be not a carnal covenant, no more was that; if the new covenant be not proper to Abraham's natural seed, no more was that which was made with Abraham; if the substance of that covenant was, "I will be a God to thee and thy seed," then this very covenant remains still under the gospel, it being one and the same with that; if, by virtue of that covenant, the children were made members of the church, and hence had a church privilege, and seal administered, then, the same covenant remaining the same, and in the same force and benefit, our children also are taken into the like membership. It remains therefore to prove that which all our divines have long since made good against the Papists, that the covenant then and now is for substance one and the same; or that the covenant made with Abraham was a gospel covenant, and this gospel covenant the same that was made with Abraham.

1. The covenant made with Abraham is renewed in the gospel, as to the main thing in it, viz., I will be their God, and they shall be my people, (Heb. viii. 10; Jer. xxxi. 33;) and though the seed be not expressed, yet it is understood, as it is Gen. xvii. 8, and if need be shall be proved hereafter.

2. Because Abraham's covenant is of gospel and eternal privileges; not proper therefore to him, and his fleshly posterity; for righteousness by faith was sealed up by circumcision, (Rom. iv. 11,) which is a gospel privilege, and is the ground of all other privileges; and yet in Gen. xvii. 7, there is no expression of this righteousness by faith, but it is understood therefore in this, I will be their God. So the promise of eternal life and resurrection thereunto is wrapped up in this, "I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."

3. Because there was never any covenant but it was either of grace or works; that of works on Mount Sinai, that of grace which was made with Abraham; and hence (Gal. iii. 17) the covenant which was confirmed afore by Christ, the law four hundred and thirty years after can not disannul. And what was that covenant before? Surely it was the covenant of grace, because it was confirmed by Christ: and what was this covenant confirmed by Christ but the covenant made with Abraham? for of this the apostle speaks, (ver. 14, 16,) and he calls it expressly by the name of gospel, or the gospel covenant. (ver. 8, 9.)

4. Because, when God reneweth his promise and covenant made with Abraham with his people at the plains of Moab, (Deut. xxx. 6,) it runs in these words, viz.: "I will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed." Now, this is a gospel privilege and a gospel covenant, as appears by comparing this text with Rom. x. 8, wherein the righteousness of faith, or the gospel, is brought in speaking the words of this covenant, saying, "The word is nigh thee, in thy heart and mouth." (Deut. xxx. 11–14.) Now, if that place (Gen. xvii. 7) should be said to be obscure concerning the promise, (I will be a God to thy seed,) yet here in this place God speaks plainly, which by comparing the Scriptures is a gospel promise, and of a gospel privilege, and therefore to be preached by ministers of the gospel, and to be believed by the professors of it.

5. Because this promise (I will be a God to thee and thy seed) doth not belong to Abraham and his seed as after the flesh, or as lineally descended of Abraham, but as believers; and this is most evident Rom. xi., wherein it is said of the Jews, 1. That they were broken off (made no people, no church) by unbelief. (ver. 20.) 2. That by faith they shall be graffed in again. (ver. 23.) If, therefore, they were broken off the church by unbelief, then they stood as members of the church by faith; and if by faith they should be graffed in, then they stood by faith at first. Again: it is said, in this Rom. xi. 28, that they are loved for the fathers' sakes, surely not as natural fathers, but as spiritual by faith; and hence (Neh. ix. 8) it is expressly said, that God found Abraham faithful before him, and made a covenant with him.

Again: if the posterity of Abraham were members upon this ground only or chiefly, (viz., because they were lineally descended of Abraham, then Esau, Ishmael,) the Jews (Rom. xi. 20) could never have been cast off from being members of the church, because they were always the natural offspring and posterity of Abraham. Hence, therefore, it follows that, if they were ingraffed in the church as believers, (the fathers as actually

believing, the children as set apart by promise of God to be made to believe, and in their parents' faith accounted believers,) then all believers at this day have the same privilege, and the covenant then, being made only in respect of faith, must needs be gospel covenant, the same with God's covenant at this day. And hence, also, it follows that if they were members as believers, then not as members of that nation. They were not, therefore, members of the church, because they were descended of Abraham, and were in a national church, and were by generation Jews. Circumcision was a seal of righteousness by faith, (Rom. iv. 11;) therefore they were sealed as believers.

Thus much for the first argument, wherein I have been the larger, because much light is let in by it, to answer divers mistakes. I shall name the rest with more brevity.

Argument 2. If it was the curse of Gentiles to be strangers to the covenants of promise (made with the Jews) before they became the churches of God, then by being churches this curse is removed; and hence (Eph. ii. 12, 13) the apostle saith they were strangers to the covenant and commonwealth of Israel, but are not so now. If you say that the Ephesians were in covenant, but not their seed, and so they were not strangers, I answer, that the apostle doth not set out their cursed estate merely because they were without any covenant, but because they were strangers to that covenant of promise which the Israelites had; for if their children had it not, they were then as without covenant, so without God and without hope, as pagans are, which is notoriously cross to the current of all Scripture, as may afterward appear.

Argument 3. The apostle expressly saith, "Your children are holy," (1 Cor. vii. 14;) and if federally holy, then of the church, (for real holiness can not be here meant,) and in the covenant of it; even as it is said, (Deut. vii. 6,) Thou art "a holy people unto the Lord thy God," few of which number were really and savingly holy; but they were all so federally, or by covenant, and so became God's special church or people.

If you say that this holiness is meant of matrimonial holiness, viz., that your children are not bastards, but legitimate, the answer is easy; for upon this interpretation the apostle's answer should be false; for then, if one of the parents had not been a believer, and so by his believing sanctified his unbelieving wife, their children must have been bastards; whereas you know that their children had not been in that sense unclean or illegitimate, although neither of them were believers; for the apostle's dispute is plain, viz., that, if the believing husband did not sanctify his

unbelieving wife, then were your children unclean, i. e., say you, bastards; but it is evident that children may be in this sense clean, and yet no faith in either parent to sanctify one another to their particular use, unless you will say that all children of heathens are bastards, because neither of the parents believe.

Argument 4. Rom. xi. 17, "The Jews are cut off from the fatness of the olive tree, and the Gentiles put in, or ingraffed in their room." Now, this ingraffing is not into Christ by saving faith, for it is impossible that such should ever be broken off who are once in; it must therefore be meant of their ingraffing into the external state of the visible church, and the fatness and privileges thereof, of which church Christ is the external and political head, into whom (in this respect) they are ingraffed by external visible faith and covenant. Hence thus I reason: that if the Jews and their children were ingraffed members of the church, then the Gentile churches ingraffed into the same state, and coming in their room, are, together with their children, members of the church; when the Jews hereafter shall be called, they shall be ingraffed in as they were before, them and their seed. (ver. 23.) In the mean while the apostle puts no difference between the present ingraffing of the Gentiles now and of theirs past, or to come, and therefore they and their seed are ingraffed members now.

Argument 5. Because there is the same inward cause moving God to take in the children of believing church members into the church and covenant now, to be of the number of his people, as there was for taking the Jews and their children; for the only cause why the Lord took in the Jews and their children thus, was his love and free grace and mercy. Deut. iv. 37, "Because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed;" which choosing is not by eternal election, or choosing to glory, for many of their seed never came to glory, but unto this privilege, to be his people above all others in outward covenant with him; which is exceeding great love, if you remember what hath been said of the branches of this outward covenant and visible church estate. And hence, (Deut. x. 15,) "because the Lord had a delight in thy fathers," hence he chose their seed above all people, as at that day, viz., to be his people; so that I do from hence fully believe that either God's love is in these days of his gospel less unto his people and servants than in the days of the Old Testament, or, if it be as great, that then the same love respects the seed of his people now as then it did. And therefore, if then because he loved them he chose their seed

to be of his church, so in these days, because he loveth us, he chooseth our seed to be of his church also.

Argument 6. Because our Saviour speaks plainly of all children who are brought to him, that of such is the kingdom of heaven; and none are ordinarily heirs of the kingdom of glory but such as are of God's visible church and kingdom here. The objections against this place I think not worth confuting, because I hope enough is said to clear up this first particular, to prove the children of confederate believers to be in covenant, and church members.

I now proceed to the second thing, viz., to answer your objections.

Objection 1. If children (say you) be members, as it was in Abraham's covenant, then wives and servants, and all the household, are to be taken in; for so it was Gen. xvii. and Gen. xxxv. 2, 3; and then what churches shall we have but such as you fear God will be weary of and angry with?

Answer. Churches at first (by your own confession) were in families, where therefore God's grace did the more abound by how much the less it did abound abroad. And hence Abraham's family and household was a church of God: but yet consider withal that all were not of this family church, merely because they were of the family or household, but because they were godly, or the children of such as were godly in the family; for Abraham's servants and household were such as he could and did command to keep the way of the Lord, and so were obedient to God in him, (Gen. xviii. 19;) and we see they did obey, and did receive that new, strange, and painful sign of circumcision, about the nature and use of which, no doubt, he first instructed them; and in the place you mention, (Gen. xxxv. 4,) they "gave to Jacob all their strange gods and earrings" to worship God more purely. And it is evident (Ex. xii. 45) that every one in the family had not to do with the seals of the church, and therefore now not of the church, though of the family; for a foreigner or hired servant was not to eat of the passover, nor was every one who was bought with money to eat of it until they were circumcised, (ver. 44,) nor were any such to be circumcised until they were willing and desirous to eat the passover, and that unto the Lord; then, indeed, they and theirs were first to be circumcised, (ver. 48;) and although this be not expressly set down (Gen. xvii.) in Abraham's family, yet I doubt not but that as one scripture gives light unto another, so this scripture in Exodus shows the mind of God in the first beginning of the church, as well as in these times: if, therefore, the servants

who were godly in the family were only to be circumcised, and their children born in the house with them, then this example is no way leading to corrupt churches, as you fear it will, but rather the contrary, that if proselyte servants then were received into the church together with their seed, much more are they received now; and if they did not defile the church then, neither should we think that they will do so now.

And, I beseech you, consider of it, that God was then as careful of keeping his church holy as in these days, especially in the first constitution of it, as in this of Abraham's. (Gen. xvii.) And hence God was as much provoked by their unholiness then as by any unholiness now. (1 Pet. i. 16.) Suppose, therefore, (as you imagine,) that all the household, whether profane or holy, were to be received into the covenant, and so to the seal of it, do you think that this course of admitting all profane persons then would not make the Lord soon weary of, and angry with, those family churches, as well as of national or congregational, now, upon the like supposition? If, therefore, any servants born in the house, or hired, were admitted, surely they were not such unholy ones, whom the Lord could not but be as much angry with then as now; but they were godly and holy, at least in outward profession, upon which ground the Lord commanded them to be circumcised.

I know there are some, and very holy and learned also, who think that if any godly man undertakes to be as a father to an adopted pagan or Indian, that such a one, not grown up to years, is, from the example in Gen. xvii., to be received into the covenant of the church, and the seal of it; and I confess I yet see no convicting argument against it, if it could be proved that some servants bought with Abraham's money were such, and were under years; but I see as yet no convicting argument for this assertion from this example, and therefore I stick to the former answer, and see no reason from any rule of charity but to believe that all those in Abraham's family were either visibly godly or the children of such, to whom circumcision belongs, and consequently might as well partake of church membership as Abraham himself; which sort of servants, in these days, may as well be admitted to church membership without fear of defiling the church as their masters themselves.

Object. 2. If children (say you) be members, then all children, good and bad, must be received, as Jacob and Esau, etc.

Ans. Why not? For if there be any strength in this argument, it holds as strongly against the admission of professing visible believers; where, though all are externally and federally

holy, yet some, yea, many, yea, the greatest part of such, may be inwardly bad, and as profane in their hearts as Esau; and must we therefore refuse them to be church members because many of them may be inwardly bad? Verily, there must then never be churches of God in this world. So it is among children: they are all outwardly holy, yet many of them may be inwardly unholy, like Esau: must we not, therefore, accept them to membership? It is a miserable mistake to think that inward, real holiness is the only ground of admission into church membership, as some Anabaptists dispute; but it is federal holiness, whether externally professed, as in grown persons, or graciously promised unto their seed.

Reply 1. But you here reply, If so, then they are of the church when they are grown up, and profane until they are cast out; and to take in profane is sinful. (Ezek. xliv.)

Ans. It is very true; for it is herein just as it is in admitting professing believers; they may prove profane, and continue so in church membership until they are cast out; but is this therefore any ground to keep out those who are personally holy by their own profession? No, verily; why, then should such as are parentally and federally holy be kept out from church membership because they may prove profane, and being profane must remain church members till they be cast out.

Reply 2. But then (you say) they must be church members though their parents themselves and the whole church be unwilling thereunto, even as (say you) a man that marrieth a woman, her children must be his, and he be a father to them, though he, and she, and they should say he shall not be a father-in-law to them.

Ans. This similitude of marriage doth neither prove nor illustrate the thing; for the relation between father and such children is absolute and natural, and hence continues though they say he shall not be their father, and though he profess he will not; but the relation founded upon church covenant between member and member is not natural, nor only and always absolute, but also conditional, which condition not being kept, the relation may be and is usually broken; for look, as the Jews were not so absolutely God's people, but, if they did in time reject the gospel, they were to be cast off, and indeed are so at this day, (Rom. ii. 25; Hosea ii. 2; Acts xiii. 46, 51,) so it is with all Gentile churches, and the members thereof; and as for that which you last say, that they may refuse their parents' covenant at age as well as own it, and so may members go out at pleasure, which is disorder, I answer, that the like may be said of such members

as come in by personal profession, for they may renounce their own covenant with God and the church: one may do so, and so may twenty; yet, though this be wickedness and disorder, yet the church may proceed against them, and so it may against their children, who are bound to own the covenant made with God, and of God with them in their parents, as well as any church members are to own their own covenant by their own personal profession. What disorder, therefore, will come in as you conceive this way, will come in by your own way, and what course you should take to heal the one, by the same you may heal the other.

Object. 3. If children (say you) be members, then their seed successively, until they be either dissolved or excommunicated; and if so, then what churches shall we have?

Ans. 1. What churches shall we have? Truly, not always churches of angels and saints, but mixed with many chaffy hypocrites, and ofttimes profane persons. But still I say this objection holds as firm against gathering churches of visible professing believers; for God knows what churches we may have of them, even heaps of hypocrites and profane persons, for I know not what can give us hope of their not apostatizing, but only God's promise to be a God to them and to preserve them; and truly the same promise being made to their seed gives me as much ground of faith to hope well of churches rising out of the seed of the godly, as of the professing parents themselves. I know one may have more experimental charity concerning some few professing the fear of God; but my church charity is equal about them, especially considering that those whom God receives into church covenant, he doth not only take them to be a people to him, but to establish them to be such, viz., for time to come. And hence God is said to establish his covenant with Isaac, not Ishmael, who was to be rejected, (Gen. xvii. 19,) and God is said to gather them into covenant, to establish them to be a people, both young and old, present posterity and that which was to come. (Deut. xxix. 11–15.)

2. God was as holy and as exactly requiring holiness from the Jewish church as well as from Christian churches: now, do you think that the covenant which then wrapped up the Jews' children into church membership was a highway of profaneness and unholiness in the members thereof, and of defiling and polluting God's church? or was it a way and means of holiness, and to keep them from being profane? To affirm the first is something blasphemous and very false, for it is expressly said, (Jer. xiii. 11,) that "as the girdle cleaveth to the loins of a man, so he caused the

whole house of Israel (not grown men only) to cleave to him, that they might be to him a people, (which was by covenant,) and for a name, for a praise, and for a glory." God's name, glory, praise, was the end, and the covenant was the means hereunto; and therefore it was no way or means of unholiness in that church; but if you say it was a means of holiness, why then should we fear the polluting of churches by the same covenant, which we have proved wraps in our seed also? Indeed, they did prove universally profane in the Jewish church; so they may in ours; but shall man's wickedness in abusing God's grace, and forsaking his covenant, tie the hands or heart of God's free grace from taking such into covenant? What though some did not believe? saith the apostle, (Rom. iii. 3, 4,) "Shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? God forbid."

3. Suppose they do prove profane and corrupt churches; yet even then, when they are corrupt, they are such churches where ordinarily God gathers out his elect, and out of which (till purer are gathered, or these wholly rejected) there can not be expected ordinarily any salvation; for so saith our Saviour, "Salvation is of the Jews," (John iv. 22,) even in that very corrupt and worst estate of the church that ever it was in.

Object. 4. If children be members, then they must come to the Lord's supper; for you know no difference between member and member in point of privilege, unless they be under some sin.

Ans. 1. Yes, verily, there is a plain difference between member and member (though professing believers) in point of privilege, though they lie under no sin; for a man may speak and prophesy in the church, not women. A company of men may make a church, and so receive in and cast out of the church, but not women, though professing saints.

2. All grown men are not to be admitted (though professing believers) to the Lord's supper: my reason is, a man may believe in Christ, and yet be very ignorant of the nature, use, and ends of the Lord's supper: now, such may be baptized as soon as ever faith appears, (Mark xvi. 16,) but they may not be admitted to the Lord's supper, because they will be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, if they through their ignorance can not discern the Lord's body. I know no reason but ignorant persons may be as well suspended from the use of this privilege, though they be true believers, (for faith may consist with much ignorance,) as well as distracted persons, who, notwithstanding, may be believers also.

3. If, therefore, children be able to examine themselves and discern the Lord's body, they may then eat; and herein

there is no difference in this privilege between member and member.

4. Children not being usually able to examine themselves, nor discern the Lord's body, hence they are not to be admitted to the use of this privilege; and yet they may be such members as may enjoy the benefit of other privileges, even that of baptism; for baptism seals up our first entrance into the covenant. This first entrance is not always by personal profession of faith, but by God's promise of working, or of vouchsafing the means of working of it: now, children (as is proved) being under this covenant, (as we see all the posterity also of Abraham was,) hence, though children can not profess faith, nor actually examine themselves, yet they may receive, and must receive, baptism, being already under God's covenant; but because the Lord's supper doth not seal up this first entrance and first right to the covenant, but our growth and fruition of the covenant, hence this act on our part is required to participate in this, which the apostle calls self-examination, and the act of taking and eating Christ, and of discerning the Lord's body, and of doing this in remembrance of Christ, which every baptized person and church member is not always able to do. A child may receive a promise aforehand of a rich estate given him, and this promise sealed up to him, his father receiving it for him; but it is not fit that he should be put to the actual improvement and fruition of that estate until he is grown up, understands himself, and knows how to do it: so it is here; the sacrament of the Lord's supper requires ability, 1. To take Christ as our own; 2. To eat Christ; that is, to take fruition of him; the which acts of faith God doth not require of all those immediately who are wrapped up in covenant with him.

Object. 1. But here you say that that examination (1 Cor. xi.) is required of all that be members, and that at all times, as well as at their first coming to the Lord's supper.

Ans. This examination is indeed required of all those members who should partake of the Lord's supper, but it is not required (as you seem to say) of every one to make him a member, so that none can be a member but him that is able to examine himself; for God's covenant to work faith, and to give power to examine one's self afterward, may make some as truly members as those who are able to act and express their faith. Now, I have proved that God's covenant is aforehand given to children; and to give them the seal of their first entrance into it many years after is as vile a thing as for them that are able and fit to examine themselves to have this sacrament of the Lord's supper denied or delayed till many years after.

Object. 2. But you say, It is left to every one's conscience to examine himself, not that others should examine them, and consequently, if children be members, then it must be left upon their conscience.

Ans. We know in our own consciences that children usually can not examine themselves: now, if the elders and the church are bound to see Christ's rules observed by others, and if this examination be the rule that all must walk by who participate here, then they must not suffer such young ones, no, nor persons grown up and entered in by personal profession, to receive this seal as they know are unable thus to do. I think, if churches should degenerate in these days, this course of discipline should be attended (especially by the elders) toward any of their members, which way soever they have entered, whether by their own or by their parents' covenant. And I have oft feared that there is some need already of it, even toward some who enter by their own covenant, and may have faith, but are miserably to seek in the nature, use, and ends of the Lord's supper, and consequently unfit to discern of Christ's body, and so to come to that sacrament.

Object. 5. If children may be members, and yet not come to the Lord's supper, then it may come to pass that a whole church may be a church, and yet not have the Lord's supper, or ought not to have it.

Ans. 1. So there may; for a church may be a true church, and yet want the benefit of some one or more of God's ordinances, sometimes pastors, sometimes elders, sometimes seals.

2. A church of professing believers may degenerate, and turn profane, and sottish, and so have no just right to the seals; and their officers may leave them, and so have no use of the seals; yet I suppose it is a church of Christ still, though degenerate, though unfit to enjoy seals: will you therefore think the way of their membership unlawful, viz., by professing their faith, because such a rare thing as this may happen? Why, then, should you think the way of children's membership unlawful, because of the like rarity in such a dark and gloomy state of them as you mention?

Object. 6. If children be members, then there will be many in the church who are not saints by calling, nor faithful in Christ Jesus, which ought not to be if the church could see it; but these may be too plainly seen.

Ans. 1. I do think it is true that poor children may be and are looked upon with too many dejected thoughts of unbelief, despising of them as children of wrath by nature, and not with such

high thoughts of faith as children and sons of God by promise, as I have shown. And I think herein is our great sin, as it was in Christ's own disciples, who were the first that we read of that would not have little children brought unto him, for which he rebuked them, showing their privilege; and for want of which faith in God's promise about our children, certainly God smites and forsakes many of our children.

2. If, therefore, you think that church members must consist only of saints by calling, so that your meaning is, such saints as are so by outward and personal profession, from the call of the gospel, are only to be church members, this is an error; for, 1. You know that they who define a church to be a number of visible saints, they usually put this phrase in, "and their seed," who may not profess faith perhaps as their fathers do, and you shall find that the Israel of God, under the Old Testament, are all of them said to be adopted, (Rom. ix. 4,) chosen, and called, (Is. xli. 8, 9,) and faithful, (Is. i. 21,) and yet we know they were not all so by personal profession, but in respect of their joint federation and the outward covenant of God with them. 2. The outward covenant is not always first entered into by personal profession of faith, but by God's covenant of promise to work, or to use the means to work faith. Hence it undeniably follows that as many may be in church covenant before they profess faith personally, so many may be members of the church without this profession of faith; for this covenant of working faith (as hath been formerly explained) doth not only belong to the Jews, but to Gentile churches also, and believers, as hath been proved, and might further be confirmed.

Object. But say you, If we saw hypocrites, we were to cast them out as well as profane persons; and we see no grace in many children, and therefore they must not be received in.

Ans. 1. If you see children of whom you can not say that they are faithful personally, yet they may be faithful federally, (as hath been showed,) for they may lie under God's covenant of begetting faith by some means in them, and then you are not to cast them out, but accept them, as God doth.

2. The children of godly parents, though they do not manifest faith in the gospel, yet they are to be accounted of God's church until they positively reject the gospel, either in themselves or in their parents; and therefore God did never go about to cast off the Jews and their seed, until they put forth positive unbelief; the Lord promised to give them the means of faith, and did so; and when Christ was come, and the gospel sent first unto them for their good, the Lord herein fulfilled his covenant mercy, as

toward his beloved people; but when they rejected these means, and cast off Christ and his gospel, then (Rom. xi.) they were broken off, and not before. Now, hypocrites are such as profess Christ in words, and yet deny Christ in deed. (Titus i. 16. 2 Tim. iii. 5.) Hence they are such as positively refuse Christ; hence the case of children in whom no positive unbelief appears is not the same with this of hypocrites or profane persons; and when young children shall grow positively such, I know not but they may be dealt with as any other members for any such like offense.

Thus you see an answer to your six objections. In the end of your paper there are two questions, which I suppose may not a little trouble against their baptism and membership. To these briefly.

Question 1. What good (say you) is it either for a wicked or an elect child, till he be converted, to be in the church? or what good may any have by being in the church, till they can profit by what they enjoy?

Ans. 1. The apostle puts the like case, and gives you an answer, (Rom. iii. 1, 2,) "What advantage hath the Jew? and what profit is there of circumcision?" What use or profit could the infants then make of their church covenant, membership, or seal, who understood none of these things? Do you think the Lord exposed his holy ordinances then unto contempt, and is more careful that they may be profitably used now? Was there no good by circumcision? Yea, saith the apostle, much every way.

2. What profit is it to persons grown up to years, and yet secretly hypocrites, who enter into the church by profession of the faith? You will say there is good and profit in respect of the privileges themselves, but, they abusing them, they had, in this respect, better have been without them, because they bring hereby upon themselves greater condemnation. The same say I of children, whom God receives into his church by promise and covenant of doing them good, although at present they may not be so sensible of this good.

3. To speak plainly, the good they get by being thus enriched is wonderful. And here there is more need of a treatise than of a letter, to clear up the benefits from all scruples arising by being in outward covenant in church fellowship, even unto infants. I confess I find little said by writers upon this subject, and I believe the doubts against children's baptism, as they arise by blindness in this particular, so I think that God suffers that opinion to take place, that by such darkness he may bring out

light in this particular. I will only hint unto you some few of my many thoughts, which have long exercised me for many years in this thing. The good by children's membership, especially when sealed, is in four things.

1. In respect of God. God shows hereby the riches of his grace toward them, in taking them to be his people; in adopting them to be his children; in preventing them with many special promises aforehand of doing them good; by all which the Lord doth, as it were, prevent Satan, in wooing their hearts, as it were, so soon to draw them to him before he can actually stir to draw their souls from him. So that I beseech you, consider; suppose they can not as yet understand, and so make profit by all this; yet is it not good for them, or for any of us, to partake of God's grace before we know how to make use of it? Is it not good for God to be good to them that are evil? Is it not good for God to glorify and make manifest his grace to man, though man knows not how to make use of his grace? Was it not rich grace for Christ to wash Peter's feet, and yet he not know at present what it meant, only, (saith Christ,) "thou shalt know it afterward"? Is it not good for God to give life to us, and to let us be born in such and such a place of the gospel where it is preached, and to lay in mercy aforehand for us, before we know how to be thankful, or know how to use any of these outward mercies? And is it no mercy or favor to have so much spiritual mercy bestowed on children aforehand, before they can be thankful or make use thereof? (Deut. vii. 6, 7.) The choosing of them to be his people above all other people, (which you know was from the womb,) it is called God's setting his love upon them, and the reason of this love (ver. 8) is said to be because God loved them; this love was not electing and peculiar love, (for thousands of these perished and went to hell,) but it was his external, adopting love, to choose them to be his people, and to improve all means for their good, and to give them the good of all those means unless they refuse, and to give indefinitely among them, and particularly to many of them, such hearts as that they shall not be able to refuse the good of those means, (as hath been showed formerly;) this is love; great love and mercy; not shown or promised to any who are not of the visible church throughout the whole world. By which God is glorified, and let him be so, though we can not see how to profit by it when it first breaks out. Have not you profited much by considering God's preventing grace, long before you understood how to make use of it? Hath not God received much glory from you for it? Hath this grace then, think you,

been unprofitably spent on God's part? No, verily. The case is the same here; David blesseth God for being his God from his mother's belly, and from the womb, (Ps. xxii. 9, 10,) and God's grace is shown through this expression. (Is. xlvi. 3.)

2. There is much good hereby in respect of the parents; for suppose the children can not profit by it, yet parents may; and it is in respect of them very much that God looks upon their children, thus to receive them into covenant. (Deut. iv. 37.) For, 1. Parents may hereby see and wonder at the riches of God's grace, to become a God not only to themselves, but to take in their seed also, whose good they prize as their own, and as if done to themselves; hence Abraham fell down upon his face adoring God, when he heard of this covenant. (Gen. xvii.) See also how Moses aggravates this love in the eyes of all that had eyes to see. (Deut. x. 14, 15.) 2. Hereby God gives parents some comfortable hope of their children's salvation, because they be within the pale of the visible church; for as out of the visible church (where the ordinary means of salvation be) there is ordinarily no salvation. (Acts ii. 47.) So, if children were not of Christ's visible church and kingdom, we could not hope for their salvation, no more than of pagans or Turks; for if they be without God, they are without hope, (Eph. ii. 12;) and to be without hope of such, to whom God hath made such promises of salvation not given to pagans, nor proper to Abraham, is very hard, and horrid to imagine; for the promise runs universally, that "the seed of the upright (whether Jews or Gentiles) shall be blessed." (Ps. cxii. 1, 2. Prov. xx. 7.) 3. Hereby parents are stirred up the more earnestly to pray for them, because God's covenant and promise is so large toward them, at which prayer looks, and by which it wrestles with God; and hence we find that Moses and others, they use this argument in their prayers: "O God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," etc. 4. Hereby they may not only hope and pray, but are encouraged to believe concerning their children and the rest of those who are in covenant among them, that God will do them good, as they conclude mercy to the remnant, forgiviness of their sins, with faith upon this ground, "Thou wilt remember the truth to Jacob, and thy mercy to Abraham, sworn unto our fathers in days of old." (Micah vii. 18, 20.) This, indeed, is the children's faith for themselves and their children; but so it may be a ground of parents' faith. And if we pray for our children, why should we doubt (leaving only secrets to God) if we see them die before they reject the gospel positively? I see no reason for any man to doubt of the salvation of his child if he dies, or that

God will not do good to his child in time if he lives. 5. This stirs up their hearts to be the more sincerely holy, and keep in with God, because of their children; and to educate them with more care and watchfulness, because they are the Lord's children as well as theirs; they are not common, but holy vessels, and therefore let them see that they be not defiled; and hence we find that when God exhorts to any duty of holiness in Scripture, he oft makes this the ground of it, "I am your God;" and hence God aggravates their sin in offering their children to Molech, (Ezek. xvi.,) because they were his children, that should have been better used.

3. In respect of themselves the good is very great. 1. It is a special means to prevent sin. (Deut. xxix.) I make this covenant, not only with him that is present, but with your seed also, who are not here, (ver. 15,) lest there should be among you man or woman, family or tribe, whose heart turns away from God, and lest there should be a root of gall and wormwood; and indeed it mightily works on the heart to think, Shall I, whom God hath chosen to be his, be my own, or be the devil's, or be my lusts'? etc. 2. It is a strong motive and engagement upon them to forsake sin, even the uncircumcision and sin of their hearts, as is evident, Deut. x. 15, 16. The Lord had a delight to choose the seed of your fathers, even you, to be his people, as it is this day: what follows? "Therefore circumcise the foreskin of your hearts, and be no more stiff necked. 3. It is a special help, as to avert their hearts from sin, so to convert and turn them to God, and to make them look toward God, that he would turn them, when perhaps they are without any hope (in other respects) of mercy, or of being able by any means they can use to turn themselves; this is evident, Acts iii. 19, with ver. 25. Repent and be converted, for you are the children of the covenant which God made with our fathers; this draws their hearts, when they see how God calls them to return. (Jer. iii. 22.) Come unto me, ye backsliding children, etc.: we come unto thee, for thou art the Lord our God. When backsliding Ephraim could not convert himself, he cries unto God, "O, turn me, and I shall be turned, for thou art the Lord my God," (Jer. xxxi. 18,) which places can not be meant of being their God only by internal covenant, in giving to them the special benefits of the covenant, for then they should be in covenant with God, and have remission of all their sins, etc., before they were turned, or before faith; and therefore it is meant of being a God in outward and external church covenant, which is no small motive and loadstone to believe. And although many do not believe, and will not be

turned, yet this covenant is a high privilege and great favor, fit in itself to draw to God, though many believe not; and hence the apostle saith that the privilege of the Jews is great in having God's oracles (which contain God's covenant) committed to them, though some believe not, which unbelief makes not (he saith) the faith of God, i. e., God's promise or covenant, of none effect, or an ineffectual and fruitless covenant; for this word of God's covenant shall take some effect among some such as are in it; which therefore is a privilege, though many perish, as is evident, Rom. ix. 4, 6. 4. It is a special means of binding them fast to God when they are turned. Jer. xiii. 11, "As the girdle cleaveth unto a man, so have I caused the whole house of Israel to cleave unto me, that they may be for a name and glory." Deut. xxx. 20, "Thou shalt cleave unto him, because he is thy life, and the length of thy days;" he was not their life spiritually and savingly, (for many thus exhorted were dead and in their sins,) but federally, or in outward covenant. 5. If they shall forsake and break loose from God, and from the bond of his covenant, and have (as much as in them lies) cast themselves out of covenant by their own perfidiousness and breach of covenant, that one would think now there is no more hope, yet it is a special means to encourage their hearts to return again, even when they seem to be utterly cast off; and therefore it is said, (Jer. iii. 1,) "Though thou hast committed whoredom with many lovers, (whereby the covenant was broken,) yet return unto me;" so, (Deut. iv.,) if when you are scattered among the nations, and shall serve wood and stone, and be in great tribulation, if from thence thou seek the Lord thy God, thou shalt find him, he will not forsake thee; and what is the reason of it? viz., his remembrance of the covenant with their fathers, for so it is Deut. iv. 27–31. But I forbear to name more such things as these which come by outward covenant to inchurched members.

4. In respect of others their good is very great; for, 1. Now they may enjoy the special watch and care of the whole church, which otherwise they must want. 2. They hereby have the more fervent prayers of others for their good; and hence (Rom. ix. 1–3) we see how Paul upon this ground had great zeal in his prayers for the Jews, not only because his countrymen, but especially because to them did belong the adoption and covenants, and they had gracious fathers, etc. So, (Ps. lxxxix. 49,) "Lord, remember thy former loving kindnesses, which are sworn to David in truth." And hence we see Moses oft pleads and prevails with God in prayer for the sinning Israelites, viz., "O, remember Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."

Now, I pray you, lay all these things together, and then see whether you have any cause to say, What profit is there by covenant and church membership of persons not yet able to profess the faith of Jesus Christ?

Quest. 2. You say, when families were churches, all of the family were of the church, and when a nation was a church, all that were of that nation were of that church; but now, believers being matter of the church, what if none were admitted till they can hold forth visible faith? would not many of these things be more clear?

Ans. In these words there is a threefold mistake.

1. That all of the family and nation in former times were of the church: this is false; for God never took any to be his church but as they were believers, at least externally, in that nation. I say believers; which either are professed believers, or promised believers, such as by outward covenant shall have the means to be made believers in that nation; and hence you have heard that the nation of the Jews stood by faith, and were broken off by unbelief; and if any rejected the covenant, as Ishmael and Esau, they were not of that church, though they did and might dwell in that nation, as doubtless thousands did.

2. You think that visible personal faith only makes the church, and members of it; which is an error, as may appear from many things already said; for children may be in God's account professors of the faith parentally as well as personally; i. e., in the profession of their parents as well as in their own. And hence you shall find that the covenant God entered into with the parents of church members personally, the children are said to have that covenant made with them many hundred years after. See, for this purpose, among hundreds, these few scriptures, Haggai ii. 5. In Haggai's time God is said to make a covenant with them then when they came out of Egypt, (which was not personally, but parentally;) so, (Hos. xii. 4, 5,) when God entered into covenant with Jacob at Bethel, God is said to speak with us who lived many years after; and hence the children many years after challenge God's covenant with them, which was made with their fathers for them. (Micah vii. 19, 20.) Hence, also, those children are said to come to Christ who were not able to come themselves, but only were brought in the arms of others to Christ. It is a known thing among men, that a father may receive a gift or legacy given to him and his heirs, and he and his heirs are bound to perform the condition of the covenant and promise by which it is conveyed, and that the child doth this in his father.

3. You think that if men only grown up and able to profess faith should be of the church, then all things would be more clear about children. Truly, I believe the quite contrary, upon the grounds before laid down; for, 1. Hereby pollution of the church shall not be avoided, but rather introduced, to exclude children from a holy-making covenant, as we have proved. 2. Hereby that good and benefit of their covenant should be lost (not gained) by excluding them out of covenant until they can personally profess and make use of the covenant. The wisdom of man furthers not the righteousness of God. And here let me conclude with the naked profession of my faith to you in this point, which is a bulwark of defense against all that is said by Anabaptists against baptizing of infants.

1. That the children of professing believers are in the same covenant God made with Abraham: Abraham was a father of many nations, and not of one nation only; and hence the same covenant made with him and the believing Israel in that nation, the same covenant is made with all his believing seed in all other nations. 2. That baptism is a seal of our first entrance and admission into covenant; and therefore is to be immediately applied to children of believing parents as soon as ever they be in covenant, and that is as soon as they become the visible seed of the faithful, for so the covenant to Abraham runs, ("I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed,") not only his elect seed, but church seed, (as hath been showed,) not only of his seed in that one nation, but in all nations.

These two things I can not tell how to avoid the light of, they are so clear; and the ignorance of these makes so many Anabaptists, (as they are called,) and I never yet met with any thing written by them (and much I have read) that was of any considerable weight to overthrow these. But I forget myself, and trouble you: my prayer is, and shall be, that the Lord would give you understanding in all these things.

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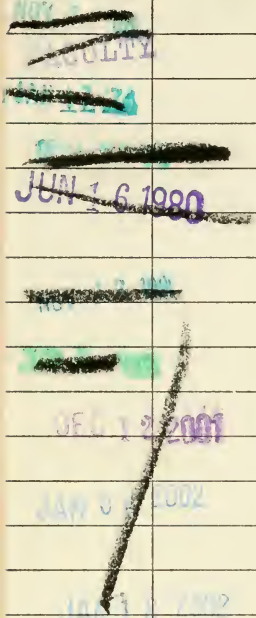

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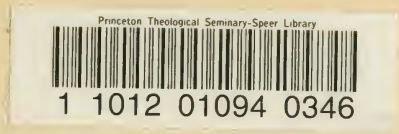
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